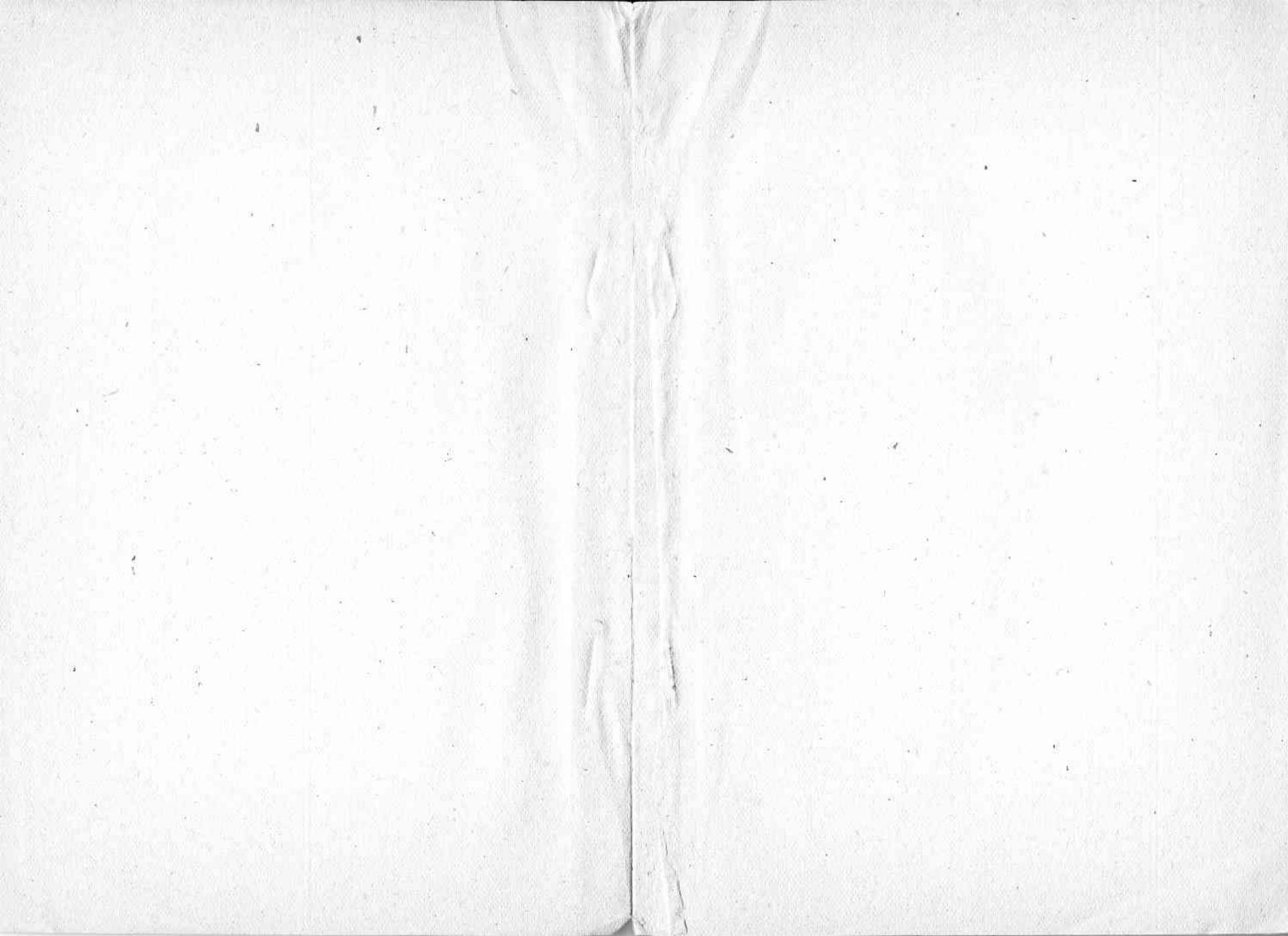


CHINA ACCUSES!

**Speeches of the Special Representative
of the Central People's Government
of the People's Republic of China at
the United Nations**

**Foreign Languages Press
Peking, China**



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FOREWORD

In view of their world-wide interest and historical importance we have deemed it essential to make available the full texts of the speeches made by Wu Hsiu-chuan, head of the delegation of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, at the United Nations. The mission of the Chinese Delegation to the U.N. Security Council was to accuse the United States Government of the unlawful and criminal act of armed aggression against China's territory Taiwan and the Penghu Islands. The Delegation was later appointed by the Chinese Government to take part in the discussions on the charge of American aggression against China, proposed by the Soviet representative at the Political and Security Committee of the 5th Session of the General Assembly. However, the Chinese representative did not get an opportunity to speak before the Political and Security Committee due to the fact that the date for resuming the discussion of the Soviet proposal was indefinitely postponed at the instigation of the United States representative. The full text of the speech which the Chinese representative had intended to deliver on this subject at the Political and Security Committee is included in this pamphlet. Also included are the statements which the Chinese representative made to the New York and London Press.

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SPEECH AT THE
U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL

On November 28, 1950

Mr. President, Members of the Security Council:

On the instructions of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I am here, in the name of the 475 million people of China, to accuse the United States Government of the unlawful and criminal act of armed aggression against the territory of China, Taiwan⁽¹⁾—including the Penghu Islands.⁽²⁾ I wish to invite the attention of the members of the Security Council to this fact. This is my concrete mission here. I have brought with me the original text of the telegraphic reply dated November 11 to Secretary-General Lie from Foreign Minister of the Central People's Government of China Chou En-lai. At the end of that cable it is stated:

"In view of the gravity of the two questions of armed intervention in Korea and aggression against Chinese Taiwan by the United States Government, and in view of the fact that the two questions are closely related, it would be most proper that the

Security Council combine the discussion of the accusation raised by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China against armed aggression on Taiwan by the United States Government and the discussion of the question of armed intervention in Korea by the United States Government, so that the representative of the People's Republic of China, when attending the meetings of the Security Council to discuss the complaint against armed aggression on Taiwan, may raise, at the same time, the accusation against armed intervention in Korea by the United States Government."

But Item B on the agenda of the Security Council is not in conformity with the wording of the cable of Chou En-lai, Foreign Minister of the Central People's Government. There is not the slightest resemblance between these two, and for this reason the representative of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China will of course not participate in the discussion of Item B of the agenda, the so-called "complaint of aggression against the Republic of Korea." Now I shall continue with the substance of my speech.

This charge brought by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China of aggression against Taiwan by the United States Government should have been lodged by the delegate to the Security Council of the People's Republic of China as a permanent member of the Security Council. But owing to the manipulation and obstruction by the United States Government, the lawful delegates of the

People's Republic of China have been, and are still being, excluded from the United Nations. Therefore, I must first of all protest to the United Nations for allowing even to this day the so-called "delegate" of the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique to sit unashamedly here in our midst, professing to be representing the Chinese people. Members of the Security Council, this is a state of affairs that the Chinese people cannot possibly tolerate.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, on the occasion of the establishment of the government on October 1, 1949, solemnly declared to the whole world that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government to represent all the people of China.

The tremendous achievements of the People's Republic of China during the past year in military, economic, political and cultural construction have eloquently proved to the world that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government representing the Chinese people.

The Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique, which opposes the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, has long ceased to exist on the mainland of China. In the more than four years of war since the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary clique launched the full-scale civil war in July, 1946 with the support of the United States Government, the Chinese

People's Liberation Army has annihilated Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary armies totalling 8,070,000 men, and liberated all the territories of China except for Tibet and Taiwan.

During the past year, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has united the whole people in various walks of life, has established local governments of all levels throughout the country and has effectively controlled the mainland of China.

The Central People's Government, as the government of all China, is unprecedented in Chinese history in that it is unified, stable and supported by the people. Even the enemies of the Chinese people cannot but admit this fact.

Furthermore, the Kuomintang reactionary government has long since collapsed and ceased to exist. Even its remnant elements have also been driven out of the mainland of China by the Chinese people. At present it is only owing to the armed protection of the United States that they are maintaining their precarious existence in Taiwan. But they have long been renounced by the Chinese people and have no longer any grounds, *de jure* or *de facto*, to represent the Chinese people.

The so-called "delegates" to the United Nations of the Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique are nothing but the personal tools of a handful of fugitive elements that will soon be entirely eliminated. They

have no qualifications whatsoever to represent the Chinese people.

Since November 15, 1949, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China has repeatedly demanded that the United Nations expel the so-called "delegates" of the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique from all the organs and meetings of the United Nations and admit the delegates of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. But until now, in spite of the vigorous support of the U.S.S.R. and other countries for the seating of the delegates of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, and the affirmative votes of 16 member States of the United Nations, namely, the U.S.S.R., Poland, Czechoslovakia, India, Burma, Israel, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Byelorussia, the Ukraine, Denmark, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Sweden, Yugoslavia and Norway—owing to the manipulation and obstruction of the United States Government, the United Nations still refuses to admit our lawful delegates. As a result, the so-called "delegates" of the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique are still sitting in the Security Council and in other organs of the United Nations. Against this, we cannot but lodge a grave protest.

Members of the Security Council: I would like to remind you that so long as the United Nations persists in denying admittance to a permanent member of the Security Council who represents 475 million people, it cannot make lawful decisions on any major

issues or solve any major problems, particularly those which concern Asia. Indeed, without the participation of the lawful delegates of the People's Republic of China, representing 475 million people, the United Nations cannot in practice be worthy of its name. Without the participation of the lawful delegates of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese people have no reason to recognise any resolutions or decisions of the United Nations.

In the name of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I once more demand that the United Nations expel the so-called "delegates" of the Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique and admit the lawful delegates of the People's Republic of China.

* * *

Members of the Security Council will recall that Foreign Minister Chou En-lai, on August 24, lodged with the United Nations Security Council a charge⁽³⁾ that the United States Government had committed armed aggression against China's territory Taiwan. But the United States Government used every means to obstruct discussion by the Security Council of this just accusation. It was only owing to the righteous stand of the Soviet delegate who was President of the Security Council during August and to the support of other countries that the charge by the People's Republic of China against United States armed aggression in Taiwan has now been placed on the agenda of the Security Council, although because of the opposition of the United States it was given

its present imperfect form as the "Complaint of Armed Aggression Against Taiwan (Formosa)".

After instigating the puppet government of Syngman Rhee in South Korea to start civil war in Korea, President Truman of the United States made a statement on June 27, this year, declaring that the United States Government had decided to prevent by force the liberation of Taiwan by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. At the same time, United States armed forces, on the orders of President Truman, began the full-scale, open invasion of Taiwan to carry out the policy of the United States Government of preventing by force the liberation of Taiwan by the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, in a statement issued on June 28, 1950, pointed out that the June 27 statement by President Truman of the United States together with the actions of the United States armed forces constituted armed aggression against Chinese territory and a gross violation of the United Nations Charter. The Chinese people cannot tolerate such barbaric, illegal and criminal acts of aggression by the United States Government.

Members of the Security Council: The case for the charge filed by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China against the United States Government is irrefutable.

People of common sense know that Taiwan is an inseparable part of the territory of China. Long before Christopher Columbus discovered America, the Chinese people were already in Taiwan. Long before the United States achieved its independence, Taiwan had already become an inseparable part of the territory of China. Precisely because of this irrevocable historical fact that Taiwan is China's territory, civilised nations of the world have never conceded that the occupation of Taiwan by imperialist Japan during the 50-year period from 1895 to 1945 was justifiable. Moreover, the people of Taiwan have always opposed the rule of Japanese imperialism. During the 50 years under Japanese imperialist rule, the people in Taiwan lived like beasts of burden and underwent all the sufferings of a subject people. But during these 50 years, the people in Taiwan had never ceased conducting a dauntless struggle against the alien rule of Japanese imperialism and for their return to the motherland. In their heroic struggle against Japanese imperialism, the people in Taiwan have written with blood and fire into the pages of history that they are a member of the great family of the Chinese nation. Even the White Paper, *United States' Relations with China*, compiled by the United States Department of State, has to admit:

"The native population for 50 years had been under the rule of a foreign invader and therefore welcomed the Chinese forces as liberators. During the Japanese occupation the principal hope of the people had been reunion with the mainland," (*United States' Relations with China*, P. 308).

Precisely because Taiwan is an inseparable part of China, the Cairo Declaration, jointly signed on December 1, 1943, by the Governments of China, the United States of America and the United Kingdom, explicitly stipulated that "it is their (the Three Great Powers') purpose . . . that all territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China."

Taiwan is an integral part of China. This is not only an incontrovertible historical fact, but also one of the main aims for which the Chinese people united in the fight against imperialist Japan. This aim was reflected in the above-mentioned Cairo Declaration. Moreover, the Cairo Declaration is a solemn international commitment which the United States Government has pledged itself to observe. As one of the principal provisions applying to the unconditional surrender of Japan, this solemn international commitment was again laid down in the Potsdam Declaration which was jointly signed on July 26, 1945, by China, the United States and Great Britain, and which was subsequently adhered to by the Soviet Union. Article 8 of the Potsdam Declaration states:

"The terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out and Japanese sovereignty shall be limited to the Islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku and such minor islands as we determine."

On September 2, 1945, Japan signed the instruments of surrender, the first article of which explicitly

provided that Japan accept the "provisions in the Declaration issued by the heads of the Governments of the United States, China and Great Britain on July 26, 1945, at Potsdam, and subsequently adhered to by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." When the Chinese Government accepted the surrender of the Japanese armed forces in Taiwan and established sovereignty over the island, Taiwan became, not only *de jure*, but also *de facto*, an inalienable part of Chinese territory. And this has been the situation as regards Taiwan since 1945. Hence, during the five post-war years from 1945 to June 27, 1950, no one ever questioned the fact that Taiwan, *de jure* or *de facto*, is an inseparable part of Chinese territory.

This state of affairs was so clear that even President Truman of the United States could not but admit on January 5, 1950:

"In the Joint Declaration at Cairo on December 1, 1943, the President of the United States, the British Prime Minister and the President of China stated that it was their purpose that territories Japan had stolen from China, such as Formosa, should be restored to the Republic of China.

"The United States was a signatory to the Potsdam Declaration of July 26, 1945, which declared that the terms of the Cairo Declaration should be carried out. The Provisions of this Declaration were accepted by Japan at the time of its surrender. . . .

"For the past four years, the United States and the Allied Powers have accepted the exercise of Chinese authority over the island.

"The United States has no predatory designs on Formosa or on any other Chinese territory . . . nor does it have any intention of utilising its armed forces to interfere in the present situation. The United States Government will not pursue a course which will lead to involvement in the civil conflict in China."

That is to say, even President Truman admitted that Taiwan is Chinese territory.

Thus it can be seen that there is no room for the slightest doubt that Taiwan is an inseparable part of Chinese territory. Nevertheless, the United States Government had the audacity to declare its decision to use armed force to prevent the liberation of Taiwan by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, and to dispatch its armed forces in a large-scale, open invasion of Taiwan.

Members of the Security Council: The fact that the United States has used armed forces to invade Taiwan requires no investigation, because the United States Government itself has openly admitted this fact. In announcing the afore-mentioned decision, President Truman first ordered the United States 7th Fleet to invade our territorial waters around Taiwan. Since then, the United States Government has never denied the fact that the United States 7th Fleet invaded Chinese territory Taiwan. The United States armed forces have not only invaded Chinese territory

Taiwan, but have also violated China's territorial waters and territorial air along our coastline, conducting active reconnaissance and patrols. According to a dispatch filed by the *New York Herald Tribune* correspondent at Taipeh on July 24, "The Fleet has a beat extending from Swatow in South China to Tsingtao in North China, a 1,000-mile coastline . . ." At the same time, the United States Government has never denied the invasion of Taiwan by the United States 13th Air Force. These United States naval and air units which invaded Taiwan, jointly with the United States aggression forces in Korea, have extended and are still extending their acts of aggression beyond Taiwan to the territorial waters and territorial air of China's mainland. I shall deal further with these facts later.

Having declared and put into operation the policy of armed aggression against Taiwan, President Truman sent General MacArthur, Commander-in-Chief of the United States armed forces in the Far East, to Taiwan to confer clandestinely with Chiang Kai-shek on concrete measures for using Taiwan as a base to wage war against the Chinese people. MacArthur and Chiang Kai-shek decided that the land, naval and air forces of the United States and those of Chiang Kai-shek should be placed under the unified command of MacArthur for the "joint defence" of Taiwan. On his departure from Taiwan for Japan on August 1, MacArthur openly declared: "Arrangements have been completed for effective co-ordination between the American forces under my command and

those of the Chinese Government (the Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique)." And this is what Chiang Kai-shek said: "Agreement has been reached between General MacArthur and myself on all the problems discussed in the series of conferences held in the past two days. The foundation for a joint defence of Formosa and for Sino-American military co-operation has thus been laid." In league with its puppet, the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary clique, the United States Government, which has invaded and occupied Taiwan, thus casts the gauntlet of war before the Chinese people.

Long before June 27, this year, the United States Government, through its puppet, had already carried out all kinds of aggressive activities against Taiwan, including acts of armed aggression. Now, of course, the United States Government is even more reckless than ever. The United States 13th Air Force has already established an "advanced command headquarters in Formosa" (according to a Taipeh broadcast on August 10), which is operating at the air force headquarters of the Kuomintang bogus regime (according to a broadcast from Taipeh on August 7). The United States 7th Fleet has set up a "naval liaison staff" in Taiwan (according to a Taipeh United Press dispatch datelined July 24). In order to facilitate unified command of its naval and air aggression forces in Taiwan, the United States Government sent there an official military mission, named "the United States Far East Command Survey Group in Formosa". This "survey group" was reportedly recalled to Japan on October 3

and to all appearances seemed to have been disbanded. But everyone knows that this is nothing but an attempt to delude on the part of the United States Government. The United States armed forces, their commanding officers and military command posts are still there in Taiwan!

Taiwan is an inseparable part of the territory of China. The invasion and occupation of Taiwan by the armed forces of the United States Government constitutes an act of open, direct armed aggression against China by the United States Government.

There is not the slightest justification for the United States Government's invasion and occupation of Taiwan. Yet the United States Government had somehow to find a "justification" for the aggression. Thus we have the story that "the status of Taiwan is not yet determined," and that, therefore, the armed occupation of Taiwan by the United States cannot be regarded as invasion and occupation of Chinese territory by the United States. Is not this a "justification"? Did not President Truman declare at the time of issuing the order for armed aggression against Taiwan that "the determination of the future status of Formosa must await the restoration of security in the Pacific, a peace settlement with Japan, or consideration by the United Nations"?

Let us first deal with the question of the status of Taiwan and the peace treaty with Japan. Does it hold water to say that, since the status of Taiwan is not yet determined, the invasion of Taiwan by United

States armed force does not constitute aggression against China? No, it does not. Here we have, in the first place, the Truman of January 5, 1950, contradicting the Truman of June 27, 1950. On January 5, this year, Truman stated: "The United States and the other Allied Powers have accepted the exercise of Chinese authority over the island." Surely, at that time, Mr. Truman did not consider that the peace treaty with Japan had already been signed! Then, we have President Roosevelt contradicting Truman. On December 1, 1943, President Roosevelt solemnly declared in the Cairo Declaration that "all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China." Surely, neither President Roosevelt nor anyone else at that time considered that, in the absence of a peace treaty with Japan, the Cairo Declaration would be invalid, and that Manchuria, Taiwan and the Penghu Islands would remain in the possession of Japan! The facts of history over the past several centuries and the situation during the five years since the surrender of Japan also go to contradict Truman, because the facts of history and the situation after the Japanese surrender have long determined the status of Taiwan as an integral part of China. The status of Taiwan was determined long ago; there is no such question as that of Taiwan's status.

Article 107 of the United Nations Charter clearly provides: "Nothing in the present Charter shall invalidate or preclude action, in relation to any state

which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory to the present Charter, taken or authorised as a result of that war by the governments having responsibility for such action." Therefore, the United Nations has absolutely no right to alter the status of Taiwan, the less so as the question of the status of Taiwan does not exist.

President Truman of the United States declared that the so-called question of the status of Taiwan must await consideration by the United Nations. After the People's Republic of China had charged the United States with armed aggression against Taiwan before the United Nations, the United States Government indicated that it would welcome consideration and investigation by the United Nations in regard to the question of Taiwan. The United States representative at the Fifth Session of the United Nations General Assembly introduced the so-called "question of Formosa" and made use of its voting machine in the General Assembly to put this matter on the agenda. All these moves of the United States Government aim at stealing the name of the United Nations to legalise its illegal acts of armed aggression against Taiwan and to consolidate its actual occupation of Taiwan.

My government has protested in strong terms to the United Nations General Assembly, resolutely opposing the inclusion of the so-called "question of Formosa" concerning the status of Taiwan on the agenda of the General Assembly; whatever decision the United Nations General Assembly may take on the so-called question of the status of Taiwan—whether it be turn-

ing over the island to the United States to administer openly under the disguise of "trusteeship" or "neutralisation," or whether it be procrastinating by the way of "investigation," thereby maintaining the present state of actual United States occupation—will in substance be stealing China's legitimate territory and supporting United States aggression against Taiwan in opposition to the Chinese people. Any such decision will be unjustifiable and unlawful. Any such decision will in no way shake the resolve of the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan, nor will it prevent action by the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan.

I wish to call the attention of all those countries which are prepared to follow the United States on this question: Do not be taken in by the United States; do not pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the United States—because if you support United States aggression, you must bear the consequences of your actions. The status of Taiwan was determined long ago. The question of the status of Taiwan simply does not exist.

However, one question does exist regarding Taiwan, that is the question of armed aggression by the United States Government against the territory of China, Taiwan. Therefore, to argue that because the peace treaty with Japan is yet to be concluded the status of Taiwan remains undetermined and must await consideration by the United Nations—to argue thus is to make a mockery of history, of realities, of human intelligence, of international agreements. To argue thus is to make a mockery of the United Nations Charter. This is a preposterous farce, unworthy of

refutation, in which Truman makes a mockery of Truman himself.

Next, I would like to say a few words about the absurd argument that United States aggression against Taiwan is aimed at safeguarding security in the Pacific. The United States Government has persistently circulated a fabrication to the effect that United States aggression against Taiwan is a "temporary measure" arising from the Korean war and is intended to "localise" the Korean war and safeguard security in the Pacific. Therefore, according to the United States Government, "the determination of the future status of Formosa must await the restoration of security in the Pacific."

The civil war in Korea was created by the United States. But in no sense whatsoever can the civil war in Korea be used as a justification or pretext for United States aggression against Taiwan. Members of the Security Council: Is it conceivable that because of the Spanish civil war Italy was entitled to occupy the French territory of Corsica? Is it conceivable that civil war in Mexico would confer upon Great Britain the right to occupy the State of Florida of the United States? This is utterly absurd and inconceivable. In fact, the United States Government's policy of armed aggression against Taiwan, no less than its policy of armed aggression against Korea, had been decided upon long before the United States created civil war in Korea. Six days before the outbreak of the Korean civil war, that is, on June 19, 1950, the *New York Times* wrote in an editorial:

"It would seem, then, that the retention of some sort of bases for defending Japan was imperative. On the other hand, the old idea of three or four relatively isolated bases is, of course, nonsense. . . .

"It may well be for reasons such as these that General MacArthur is, according to recent reports, ready to urge a co-ordinated defence pattern for the whole of the Western Pacific and not merely for Japan alone. This revives the question of what should or can be done about Formosa. There is a substantial body of opinion to the effect that the island can be held and that, although it is late, it is not too late. . . .

"A vigorous defence programme, on a regional basis, would therefore involve political decisions of the first order. It could require a reversal of our position on Formosa."

An item in the *New York Post* on June 27, went further to say: "Before Johnson and Bradley went to Japan, the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff had agreed upon a Far Eastern Policy including the following two points: 1. No peace treaty with Japan for the next five years, 2. Adoption of all measures to prevent Formosa from falling into Communist hands."

A dispatch from Tokyo in the *New York Herald Tribune* of June 25, vividly revealed the specific details of this decision:

"A firm stand by the United States on Formosa would, according to Supreme Headquarters, have a 90 per cent chance of deterring Communist invasion

because the Chinese themselves are not ready for a head-on tilt with American power. . . .

“Headquarters officials believe that the Communists could be deterred from even starting an attack on Formosa if swift action were taken along about the following lines:

“A strong public pronouncement should be made by the United States that in the light of Soviet participation in Chinese military preparations and in the light of changed world conditions, the final disposition of Formosa—which was a former Japanese possession—must await a Japanese peace treaty. Until a treaty has been concluded, Formosa would be under American or United Nations jurisdiction. This pronouncement should be coupled with the dispatch of a large-scale military mission to Formosa with a limited supply of equipment. The amount of aid would be comparable to that given the Greek Government in its fight against the guerrillas. There have also been suggestions that the military mission should be supplemented by a show of naval strength. One officer contended that the presence of a single aircraft carrier would certainly deter the Communists from attacking for a long time to come.”

No further evidence on this point would appear necessary. Such important accounts regarding the United States Government have never been refuted by the United States Government and therefore must be accepted as reliable. What we have quoted above is already sufficient to show that the United States

Government had decided upon its policy of armed aggression against Taiwan long before it created the war in Korea. Even the concrete steps to be taken in executing this policy, such as the issuance of a strong pronouncement, a show of naval strength, the dispatch of military missions, etc., had been decided upon. The creation of civil war in Korea by the United States Government was designed solely to furnish a pretext for launching armed aggression against Korea and against our territory, Taiwan, and for tightening its control in Viet-Nam and in the Philippines.

Clearly, in carrying out aggression simultaneously against Korea and Taiwan under the pretext of the Korean civil war which was of its own making, the United States Government has vastly extended the scale of the Korean war. The series of provocations following the aggression against Korea and Taiwan by the United States armed forces have fully proved this point. The United States Government is carrying the flames of aggressive war to China according to plan.

Far from localising it, this is, on the contrary, extending the Korean war. The Chinese people have consistently supported all proposals for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question and for genuinely localising the Korean war. The Chinese people also fervently hope for security in the Pacific area. But the Korean war has been extended and security in the Pacific has been shattered.

Who has been extending the Korean war? Who has shattered security in the Pacific? Have Chinese

armed forces invaded Hawaii of the United States or have United States armed forces invaded Taiwan of China? As everyone knows, there are no Chinese forces between Hawaii and the United States mainland. It is precisely because the United States committed aggression simultaneously against Taiwan that the Korean war has been vastly extended. It is precisely because the United States armed forces traversed 5,000 miles of ocean to commit aggression against Korea and Taiwan that security in the Pacific has been shattered. It is the United States armed aggression launched under the pretext of "maintaining security in the Pacific" that has shattered the security of the Pacific. All the deceptions and lies that have been repeated too many times by Messrs. Truman, Acheson, Austin and the like, to the effect that United States aggression against Taiwan is a "temporary measure" arising from the Korean war, aimed at "localising" the Korean war, and "maintaining security in the Pacific", etc.—all such deceptions and lies are outweighed by a few voluntary confessions of General MacArthur.

In his message to the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States on August 28, General MacArthur flagrantly admitted that the United States regarded Taiwan as "the centre" of the United States Pacific front, "an unsinkable aircraft carrier," and that the United States must control Taiwan in order to be able to "dominate with air power every Asiatic port from Vladivostok to Singapore."

From this it can readily be seen that the United States armed aggression against Taiwan is definitely not any "temporary measure" arising out of the Korean war, but rather a premeditated plan that had been decided upon long before the civil war in Korea was created. This United States armed aggression was directed towards vastly extending and not towards "localising" the Korean war, towards seeking "to dominate every Asiatic port from Vladivostok to Singapore," and not towards doing any such thing as "maintaining security in the Pacific." This United States armed aggression has outrageously shattered security in the Pacific.

Further, the United States Government perversely argues that United States armed invasion and occupation of Taiwan was designed to effect the "military neutralisation" of Taiwan. The United States Government attempted to use this hypocritical slogan as its "justification" for armed aggression against Taiwan in order to deceive the people all over the world, particularly the American people. But the people in the United States and throughout the whole world clearly understand that the liberation of Taiwan, which the Chinese people are determined to carry out, is entirely China's domestic affair, and that no deceptive slogans can conceal the fact that this action on the part of the United States Government constitutes armed intervention in China's domestic affairs.

Let the American people pause to consider: If a country dispatches its naval fleet between Hawaii and

the United States mainland, divides up American territory and prevents the United States Government from exercising sovereignty there, while at the same time alleging that such action has been taken for the military neutralisation of Hawaii so as to safeguard security in the Pacific—if a country does all these things, would the American people tolerate them?

Let the American people further pause to consider: At the time when President Lincoln was mopping up the remnant forces of the Southern slave owners, if a foreign power had suddenly stepped in, occupying the State of Virginia by armed force, while alleging that this was designed for the military neutralisation of Virginia so as to safeguard the security of the American continent—if such a foreign power did all this, would not the American people consider this a flagrant intervention in the domestic affairs of the United States? Would not the American people consider this armed occupation of the territory of the United States?

The armed invasion and occupation of Taiwan by the United States Government is an act of aggression in that it is flagrant intervention in China's domestic affairs and armed occupation of Chinese territory. It is an open and wanton act of provocation against all the 475 million Chinese people. The Chinese people cannot tolerate this unlawful and criminal act of direct, armed, aggressive war against China by the United States Government. Neither will the American people, in our belief, approve of such criminal provocation. This is because such action on the part of the United

States Government is also detrimental to the interests of the American people. Can there be a single one of the peace-loving American people who is willing to serve as cannon fodder and to die just because his government has decided to invade Taiwan which is 5,000 miles away from America?

The outrageous action of the United States Government in committing unjustified armed aggression against Taiwan has roused the indignation of all righteous people in the world. No lies or deceits concerning the "future status" of Taiwan can dispel this indignation. As a result, the United States Government has been compelled to resort to even bigger lies in order to cover up its outrageous aggression. On July 19, the President of the United States in his message to Congress said:

"In order that there may be no doubt in any quarter about our intentions regarding Formosa, I wish to state that the United States has no territorial ambitions whatever concerning that Island, nor do we seek for ourselves any special position or privilege on Formosa."

Members of the Security Council: We Chinese are a people accustomed to "listening to words and observing deeds." The United States armed forces have invaded the territory of China, Taiwan. Yet the United States President asserted that the United States Government harbours no territorial ambitions concerning Taiwan. Shall we then believe in the "words" of the United States Government? Or in its "deeds"?

Here we have a situation where, having invaded another country's territory, the aggressor states he has no territorial ambitions on that territory. What, then, is meant by "territorial ambitions"? Let him not make a mockery of the common sense of humanity. The supreme manifestation of territorial ambitions towards any particular state surely is the invasion of its territory. This action of the United States armed forces in invading Taiwan eloquently proves that the United States not only harbours territorial ambitions towards China's territory, Taiwan, but already is realising them. The real intention of the United States is as MacArthur has confessed—to convert Taiwan into the centre of the United States Pacific front, for the purpose of dominating every Asiatic port from Vladivostok to Singapore.

In his letter of August 25 to Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Austin, the United States delegate to the United Nations, stated: "The United States has not encroached on the territory of China, nor had the United States taken aggressive acts against China." Very well. Where, then, have the United States 7th Fleet and 13th Air Force gone? Can it be that they have gone to the planet Mars? No. The United States 7th Fleet and 13th Air Force have not gone elsewhere. They are in Taiwan. Can it be that what is referred to as the 7th Fleet and the 13th Air Force are simply not armed forces of the United States? No. The 7th Fleet and the 13th Air Force are without doubt the 7th Fleet of the United States and the 13th Air Force of the United States. Then where is the point at issue?

Can there be any aggressive act on earth more outrageous than that of invasion and occupation of another country's territory? It was only such fascist regimes as the German and the Japanese who did not admit that the invasion and occupation of China's Manchuria or the annexation of Austria and Czechoslovakia were acts of aggression. Members of the Security Council: We cannot tolerate this kind of trickery by the United States Government. We all live in a real world. And we are living after the victory of the anti-fascist war. No amount of sophistry, lies and fabrication can alter the iron-clad fact that the United States armed forces have committed aggression on the territory of China, Taiwan.

Members of the Security Council: The armed aggression of the United States Government on our territory, Taiwan, is not accidental. It is the inevitable consequence of the United States Government's policy of aggression against China, to interfere in China's internal affairs, and to seek exclusive domination over China—the United States' imperialist policy of long standing.

In the entire history of China's foreign relations, notwithstanding the fact that the peoples of the United States and China have always maintained friendly relations, the American imperialists have always, in their relations with China, been the cunning aggressor. The American imperialists have never been the friends of the Chinese people. They have always aligned themselves with the enemies of the Chinese people. They have always been the

enemies of the Chinese people. However shamelessly the American imperialists claim to be friends of the Chinese people, the historical record which distinguishes friend from foe cannot be altered.

Before the Second World War, because of the head-start gained by other imperialists in China, the American imperialists adopted what was known as the "Open Door" and "Equal Opportunity" policy which, though ostensibly different from the policies of the other imperialist powers, was in fact an aggressive policy aimed at sharing the spoils with other imperialists.

After the Second World War, mainly because of the efforts and sacrifices of the Chinese people and of the Soviet Union in the Second World War, the power of Japanese imperialism in China was smashed, and that of the other imperialists in China weakened. Taking advantage of this opportunity, the United States Government stepped up the execution of its policy of sole dominance over China. But the difficulties in realising this policy were formidable, for those who favoured this policy were only the Kuomintang reactionary clique, while the entire Chinese people opposed it. Therefore, in order to carry out their policy, it was necessary for the American imperialists to support the Kuomintang reactionary clique and to oppose the Chinese people with all their power.

After the surrender of imperialist Japan in 1945, the United States Government immediately adopted a policy of open intervention in China's internal affairs,

using every means to smooth the way for the Kuomintang reactionary clique to launch a bloody civil war and to slaughter the Chinese people. The United States Government mobilised 113,000 men of its naval, ground and air forces to make landings in the major ports of China, to grab important strategic points from which the Kuomintang reactionary clique could launch the civil war, and to assist the Kuomintang reactionary clique by transporting one million troops to the fronts on which the civil war was to be launched.

Moreover, the United States Government equipped, at one time or another, 166 divisions of reactionary Chiang Kai-shek's army as the main force for the invasion of the Chinese people's liberated areas; it helped Chiang to equip nine squadrons consisting of 1,720 aircraft, supplied the Chiang navy with 757 vessels, gave material and financial aid to Chiang to the amount of over 6,000 million U.S. dollars—although the United States Government admits only one-third of this figure. It is only because of the large-scale aid it received from the United States Government that the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang reactionary clique dared and was able to carry out a civil war against the people unprecedented in China's history for its scale and cruelty and to slaughter with United States arms several millions of the Chinese people.

During Chiang Kai-shek's bloody civil war against the Chinese people, apart from the United States Government's sending over 1,000 military advisers to Chiang Kai-shek to plan the civil war, United States troops stationed in China in fact participated directly

in the civil war, and invaded the Chinese people's liberated areas more than 40 times. During this period, the United States Government and the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang reactionary clique signed all kinds of unequal treaties and agreements which reduced China to the status of a colony and military base of the United States. These included such military agreements as the "Aviation Agreement"⁽⁴⁾ and "Naval Agreement"⁽⁵⁾ and such economic treaties and agreements as the "Sino-American Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation,"⁽⁶⁾ the "Bilateral Agreement between China and the United States,"⁽⁷⁾ and the "Sino-American Agreement on Rural Reconstruction."⁽⁸⁾

Furthermore, on the basis of these treaties and agreements, the United States Government secured in Kuomintang China many naval and air bases, and gained control of the military, political, financial and economic branches of the Kuomintang government. American goods flooded China's markets, causing China's national industries to fall into bankruptcy. The monopoly capitalists of the United States, through the four big families of Chiang, Soong, Kung and Chen,⁽⁹⁾ controlled the life-stream of China's economy. In fact, the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang reactionary regime was nothing more than a puppet whereby American imperialism controlled China.

The Chinese people are completely justified in entering all the tyrannical crimes of Chiang Kai-shek on the account of the American imperialists. The Chinese people will never forget their blood debt

against the American imperialists. American imperialism decidedly cannot escape the grave responsibility which it must bear for all the crimes committed by the Chiang Kai-shek brigands against the Chinese people. The hands of the American imperialists are stained with the blood of the Chinese people. The Chinese people have every right to indict the United States Government for the bloody crimes of slaughtering the Chinese people and enslaving the Chinese nation through its puppet Chiang Kai-shek.

However, all the efforts of the United States Government failed. A relatively complete record of this failure can be found in the White Paper entitled *United States' Relations with China*, compiled by the State Department of the United States. But the United States Government, still reluctant to admit that this is its final defeat, has converged for the time being all its activities of aggression against China to Taiwan Island, the lair of the Chiang Kai-shek remnant clique in its desperate struggle.

Shortly after the Japanese surrender, the United States armed forces had already started making various preparations for aggression against Taiwan under the pretext of assisting the Kuomintang regime in "accepting the surrender" and "repatriating war prisoners." What the United States did in Taiwan through the Kuomintang regime, just as it did in Japan, was first of all to keep intact all Japanese fascist forces and military installations. During the second half of 1947, under the direction of the United States Government, Hasegawa Kiyoshi, former Japan-

ese Governor of Taiwan, Yoshisuke Ayukawa, former President of the Japanese Manchuria Industrial Development Corporation, who was released by order of MacArthur from Sugamo Prison, as well as other notorious war criminals of the aggressive war against China, were sent to Taiwan under United States protection. They were sent there to participate in planning the construction of military bases in Taiwan and under United States instructions, to help train Chiang Kai-shek's troops to slaughter Chinese people. During this period, the United States successively established air bases, liaison radio stations and other installations in Taipeh, Sungsan, Taichung, Tainan and Hsinchu airfields. Military aircraft of the United States 13th Air Force in the Pacific were sent out to photograph the topography of the whole of Taiwan Island and to make meteorological surveys. Furthermore, United States military aircraft were constantly stationed in the various airfields in Taiwan. Hsinchu airfield, originally the largest air base in Taiwan during the Japanese occupation, became, after the Japanese surrender, the base of the United States aggression forces—the 13th Air Force.

Meanwhile, the United States gradually converted the ports of Keelung and Kaoshiung in Taiwan into its own naval bases. In the spring of 1948, Admiral Charles M. Cooke Jr. arrived in Taiwan with the United States West Pacific Fleet under his command, and compelled the Kuomintang regime—which had intended to cover up the fact that it had sold China's

seaports—to declare officially that Keelung as well as Tsingtao was a port open to the United States navy.

From that time onward, vessels of the United States navy have continually violated the territorial waters of our country around Taiwan and have been stationed in the various ports of Taiwan. In the port of Kaohsiung alone, at one time there were stationed as many as 27 United States naval vessels. In regard to land forces, the United States "Joint Military Advisory Group" long ago sent a large staff of officers in active service to be stationed permanently on Taiwan. In accordance with the joint war plans of the United States and Chiang Kai-shek, this military staff is responsible for organising, equipping and training the so-called "new army" of the Kuomintang to be used to attack the Chinese people. Thus, the United States has in reality taken over the military role of Japan, put Taiwan under its control and converted it into a military base of the United States.

Economically, the United States Government and American monopolies, such as Westinghouse Electric Company, Reynolds Metal Company, American Express Company and others, have, through various devices, jointly dominated Taiwan's main industries—electric power, aluminum, cement, fertiliser, and others—controlled the economic life of Taiwan, and actually reduced it to a colony of the United States. Under such conditions, it is natural that the United States will not lightly give up Taiwan. Consequently, in order to realise its aim of dominating Taiwan, the United States Government has long been engaged in

a variety of vicious political conspiracies. The instigation by the United States of the "Taiwan Separatist Movement" reached such a height of brazenness that an American government official in Taiwan openly declared that, if the people in Taiwan wanted to relieve themselves of China's rule, the United States was ready to help them.

The Chinese people of Taiwan have witnessed with their own eyes all these conspiracies of the United States Government in league with the Kuomintang reactionary remnants. Hence in the last five years, they have repeatedly launched great national liberation movements directed against the United States Government and its puppets. The glorious uprising of the Chinese people of Taiwan on February 28, 1947,⁽¹⁰⁾ declared to the whole world that just as they had not accepted the rule of Japanese imperialism, so they would never accept the rule of United States imperialism. The people of Taiwan fervently demand their return to the fold of their already liberated motherland and are right at this moment engaged in hard and heroic struggles for the liberation of Taiwan.

In 1949, the Chinese People's Liberation Army completed the liberation of the mainland of China. The vestiges of Chiang Kai-shek's clique fled to Taiwan to use it as a lair for their last desperate struggle. In spite of the United States President Truman's hypocritical statement on January 5, 1950, of "non-intervention in the Taiwan situation," the United States Government, in fact, intensified and stepped up

its support for the Chiang Kai-shek remnant clique herded together in Taiwan. The United States Government continues, through the Kuomintang remnant clique, to try to prevent the People's Republic of China from liberating Taiwan, so that Taiwan may remain under the actual domination of the United States.

But why does not the United States Government continue this course of action—this relatively covert form of aggression through the Chiang Kai-shek puppet regime—but must instead adopt the form of open and direct armed aggression to attain its objective of controlling Taiwan? There is only one reason—the growing might of the Chinese people and the imminent collapse of the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary remnant regime have made it impossible for any indirect form of aggression to ensure the attainment of the United States objective. Thus we can see that the United States act of open armed aggression against China's territory, Taiwan, is the inevitable outcome of the development of the United States' imperialist policy of aggression against China, a policy of long standing. The act of armed aggression against China's territory, Taiwan, by the United States Government serves only to prove once again to the Chinese people that United States imperialism regards with hostility all victories of the Chinese people; United States imperialism is the most deadly enemy of the Chinese people.

Members of the Security Council: I must further point out that the armed aggression of the United

States Government against the Chinese territory, Taiwan, is not an isolated affair. It is an integral part of the over-all plan of the United States Government to intensify its aggression, control and enslavement of the Asian countries and peoples of Korea, Viet-Nam, the Philippines, Japan, etc. It is a further step in the development of interference by American imperialism in the affairs of Asia.

During the five years since the war, General MacArthur, Commander-in-Chief of the United States Forces in the Far East, has adopted a series of unlawful measures, abusing the power granted to him as Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in Japan, and completely violating the Potsdam Declaration, jointly signed by China, the United States, Great Britain, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the "Basic Post-Surrender Policy Towards Japan" of the Far Eastern Commission. MacArthur arbitrarily sets free the Japanese war criminals, whom the people all over Asia bitterly hate. He revives the power of Japanese fascism, suppresses the movement of the Japanese people for independence and liberation, and refuses to bring about an early over-all peace treaty with Japan. He attempts to gain sole domination over Japan, to enslave the Japanese nation, and to reduce Japan to a United States colony as well as a United States base for a new aggressive war.

This policy of the United States Government towards Japan damages not only the interests of the Japanese people, but also the common interests of the Chinese people, the Korean people and the other peoples

of Asia. The Chinese people cannot but strongly protest and resolutely oppose this reactionary policy of the United States Government. Since the Chinese people won their victory on the Chinese mainland, the United States Government has still more frantically carried out a policy of rearming Japan to oppose the Chinese people and the other Asian peoples.

At present, the United States Government has not only turned Japan into its main base in the Far East in preparation for aggressive war but it has already begun to use this base as a means to launch aggressive wars against a series of Asian countries. The headquarters of the United States Government for its aggression against Korea and Taiwan is in Japan.

Under the pretext of the Korean civil war, which was of its own making, the United States Government launched armed aggression simultaneously against Korea and Taiwan. From the very outset, the United States armed aggression against Korea gravely threatened China's security. Members of the Security Council, Korea is about 5,000 miles away from the boundaries of the United States. To say that the civil war in Korea would affect the security of the United States is a flagrant deceitful absurdity. But there is only a narrow river between Korea and China. The United States armed aggression in Korea inevitably threatens China's security. That the United States aggression forces in Korea have directly threatened China's security is fully borne out by the facts.

From August 27, to November 10, 1950, the military aircraft of the United States aggression

forces in Korea have 90 times violated the territorial air of Northeast China, conducted reconnaissance activities, strafed and bombed Chinese cities, towns and villages, killed and wounded Chinese peaceful inhabitants, and damaged Chinese properties. The details are set out in a separate list. Here I should point out in addition that from 10:30 hours on November 10 to 13:10 hours on November 14, within 100 hours, United States airplanes violated China's territorial air for as many as 28 times. On nine of these occasions they bombed and strafed.

The total number of invading planes was 339. In ten of these raids, more than ten planes took part. On one occasion the number of invading planes was 68. Six Chinese people were injured and over 168 houses were destroyed by bombing and strafing. During the five days from November 15 to November 19, United States airplanes again violated China's territorial air 33 times. The total number of invading planes was 218. Naval craft of the United States aggression forces against Korea opened fire on and forcibly inspected Chinese merchant shipping on the high seas on September 20.

All these acts of direct aggression against China by the United States aggression forces in Korea are an insolent provocation which the Chinese people absolutely cannot tolerate.

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has repeatedly lodged accusations with the United Nations, demanding that it immedi-

ately take measures to stop such outrageous acts of the United States Government and to bring about the withdrawal of the United States aggression forces in Korea, so that the issue may not assume more serious proportions. Although because of the resolute support of the delegate of the U.S.S.R., our charge was placed on the agenda of the Security Council on August 31, nevertheless, owing to the manipulation and obstruction of the United States Government, the Security Council has up to now refused to admit the representative of China to state the case and participate in the discussion of this item. And now, the United States forces of aggression in Korea are approaching our Northeast frontiers. The flames of the war of aggression waged by the United States against Korea are swiftly sweeping towards China.

Under such circumstances, the United States armed aggression against Korea cannot be regarded as a matter which concerns the Korean people alone. No, decidedly not. Members of the Security Council: The United States aggression against Korea gravely endangers the security of the People's Republic of China. The Korean Democratic People's Republic is a country bound by close ties of friendship to the People's Republic of China. Only a river separates the two countries geographically. The Chinese people cannot afford to stand idly by in the face of this serious situation brought about by the United States Government's aggression against Korea and the dangerous tendency towards the extension of war. The Chinese people have witnessed with their own

eyes Taiwan fall prey to aggression, and the flames of the United States war of aggression against Korea leap towards them. Thus stirred into righteous anger, they are volunteering in great numbers to go to the aid of the Korean people. Resistance to United States aggression is based on self-evident principles of justice and reason. The Chinese People's Government sees no reason whatever to prevent their voluntary departure for Korea to participate, under the command of the Government of the Korean Democratic People's Republic, in the great liberation struggle of the Korean people against United States aggression.

The United States armed aggression against Taiwan is inseparable from its interference in the internal affairs of the Viet-Nam Republic, its support of the French aggressors and their Bao Dai puppet regime, and its armed attack on the Viet-Nam people. The people of the entire world know that France is the aggressor against Viet-Nam and that the Bao Dai regime is a typical puppet regime which cannot possibly win any confidence and support from the Viet-Nam people. In supporting this aggressor and this puppet regime against the people of Viet-Nam, the United States Government aims not only at aggression against Viet-Nam but also at threatening the borders of the People's Republic of China. The Chinese people cannot but be deeply concerned with the unfolding of the aggressive plot of the United States Government against Viet-Nam.

Members of the Security Council: In making Japan its main war base in the East, launching armed

aggression against Korea and Taiwan, carrying out active intervention against Viet-Nam and tightening its control over other countries in Asia, the United States Government is systematically building up a military encirclement of the People's Republic of China, in preparation for further attacks on the People's Republic of China, and to stir up a third world war.

The truth of the matter is not difficult to understand: After the Second World War, the United States imperialist policy on the Chinese mainland has met with miserable failure. The great victory of the Chinese people's revolution points out to the oppressed peoples and nations throughout Asia the way of driving imperialism out of Asia and achieving national independence. It shows them with living facts that it is possible to defeat American imperialism, and that without imperialist oppression the Asian peoples not only can survive, but will live a much better life. The great victory of the Chinese people's revolution has inspired and encouraged the oppressed peoples throughout Asia in their struggle of liberation for national independence. But American imperialism cannot resign itself to the shattering of its dream of exclusive domination over Asia, nor can it reconcile itself to its withdrawal from Asia. Hence American imperialism regards the victorious people's China as the most serious obstacle to its sole domination over Asia.

American imperialism is hostile to all liberation struggles of Asian peoples, and is particularly hostile

to the great victory of the Chinese people. It has, therefore, resorted to the form of open and direct armed aggression to realise its fanatical design of attacking New China and dominating the whole of Asia. The American imperialists claim that the United States "defence line" must be pushed to the Yalu River, to the Straits of Taiwan and to the mountainous border regions between China and Viet-Nam, or else the United States would have no security.

Therefore the United States has conducted armed aggression against Korea and Taiwan and intensified its intervention in Viet-Nam. But in no sense whatever can it be said that the Korean people's struggle for liberation, or the exercise of sovereignty by the People's Republic of China over its own territory, Taiwan, or the volunteering of the Chinese people to resist the United States and aid Korea, or the struggle for national independence of the Viet-Nam Democratic Republic against French imperialism and its puppets, affect the security of the United States of North America 5,000 miles away. The Chinese people, steeled by hardship and suffering know fully well that the United States Government has taken this series of aggressive acts with the purpose of realising its fanatical design of dominating Asia and the world. One of the master planners of Japanese aggression, Tanaka, once said: To conquer the world, one must first conquer Asia; to conquer Asia, one must first conquer China; to conquer China, one must first conquer Manchuria and Mongolia. To conquer Manchuria and Mongolia, one must first conquer Korea and Taiwan.

Ever since 1895, the course of aggression taken by imperialist Japan has exactly corresponded to the Tanaka plan. In 1895, imperialist Japan invaded Korea and Taiwan. In 1931, imperialist Japan occupied the whole of Northeast China. In 1937, imperialist Japan launched the war of aggression against the whole of China. In 1941, it started the war aimed at the conquest of all Asia. Naturally, as everyone knows, before it had realised this design, Japanese imperialism collapsed. American imperialism, by its aggression against Taiwan and Korea, in practice plagiarises Tanaka's memorandum, and follows the beaten path of the Japanese imperialist aggressors. The Chinese people are maintaining a sharp vigilance over the progress of American imperialist aggression. They have already acquired the experience and learned the lesson from history as how to defend themselves from aggression.

Members of the Security Council: American imperialism has taken the place of Japanese imperialism. It is now following the old track of aggression against China and Asia on which Japanese imperialism set forth in 1894-1895, ⁽¹¹⁾ only hoping to proceed with greater speed. But, after all, 1950 is not 1895; the times have changed, and so have the circumstances. The Chinese people have arisen. The Chinese people who victoriously overthrew the rule on China's mainland of Japanese imperialism and of American imperialism and its lackey Chiang Kai-shek, will certainly succeed in driving out the United States aggressors and recover Taiwan and all other territories that belong to China.

In the course of 55 years, as a result of the victories of the great Socialist October Revolution of the Soviet Union, of the anti-fascist Second World War, and of the great revolution of the Chinese people, all the oppressed nations and peoples of the East have awakened and organised themselves. Regardless of the savagery and cruelty of the American imperialist aggressors, the hard struggling people of Japan, the victoriously advancing people of Viet-Nam, the heroically resisting people of Korea, the people of the Philippines who have never laid down their arms and all the oppressed nations and peoples of the East will certainly unite in close solidarity. Yielding neither to the enticements nor to the threats of American imperialism, they will fight dauntlessly on to win the final victory in their struggle for national independence.

The armed aggression against the territory of China, Taiwan, and the extension of the aggressive war in Korea by the United States Government has multiplied a thousand fold the Chinese people's hatred and indignation against American imperialism. Since June 27, the thousands upon thousands of protests against this base act of aggression committed by the United States Government—raised by the various democratic political parties, people's organisations, national minorities, overseas Chinese, workers, peasants, intellectuals, industrialists and business men throughout China—have demonstrated the irrepressible wrath of the Chinese people.

The Chinese people love peace. But if the United States aggressors should take this as an indication of the weakness of the Chinese people, they would be making a grave mistake. The Chinese people never have been, and never will be, afraid of a war of resistance against aggression. Regardless of any military measures of obstruction by the United States Government, and no matter how it may arrogate for its purpose the name of the United Nations, the Chinese people are firmly determined to recover Taiwan and all other territories belonging to China from the grip of the United States aggressors. This is the irrevocable and immovable will of the 475 million people of China. The United States must bear the full responsibility for all consequences that may arise from its invasion and occupation of Taiwan.

To safeguard international peace and security, and to uphold the sanctity of the United Nations Charter, the United Nations Security Council has the inalienable duty to apply sanctions against the United States Government for its criminal acts of armed aggression against the territory of China, Taiwan, and the armed intervention in Korea. I, therefore, in the name of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, propose to the United Nations Security Council:

- (1) That the United Nations Security Council openly condemn, and take concrete steps to apply severe sanctions against the United States Government for its criminal acts of armed aggression against the territory of China, Taiwan, and armed intervention in Korea;

- (2) That the United Nations Security Council immediately adopt effective measures to bring about the complete withdrawal by the United States Government of its forces of armed aggression from Taiwan in order that peace and security in the Pacific and in Asia may be ensured;
- (3) That the United Nations Security Council immediately adopt effective measures to bring about the withdrawal from Korea of the armed forces of the United States and all other countries and to leave the people of North and South Korea to settle the domestic affairs of Korea themselves, so that a peaceful solution of the Korean question may be achieved.

These proposals have been translated into English. We request the Secretary-General of the United Nations to distribute them to members of the Security Council, keeping one copy for himself. We ask that a copy should not be given to the reactionary Kuomintang representative, disowned by the people of China. Finally I wish to declare that the President of the Security Council has made use of the fact that the representative of the People's Republic of China has only just arrived at Lake Success and is not familiar with the procedure here and of the fact that the People's Republic of China is still not a member of the Security Council. He has conspired with the United States representative to arrange an unreasonable procedure as regards speaking before the Council. The President has thus deprived the representative of the People's Republic of China of the right which is due to him to speak first before the Council. I wish to lodge a serious protest against this action.

THE TEXT OF THE PROPOSED SPEECH TO THE U.N. POLITICAL AND SECURITY COMMITTEE

Mr. President and members of the Committee:

I have listened to the speech made in the meeting of the Political and Security Committee on November 27 by the representative of the Soviet Union, Mr. Vyshinsky, charging the United States with aggression against China. In the name of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I hereby support and uphold completely the entire speech by the representative of the Soviet Union, Mr. Vyshinsky, on the charge of United States aggression on China. The Soviet Union has always been in history the great friend of the Chinese people. As long ago as shortly after the victory of the great Socialist October Revolution of the Soviet Union, it renounced the unequal treaties concluded with China by czarist Russia and adopted a policy of real equality with China.⁽¹²⁾

After the establishment of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, the

Soviet Union concluded with China the truly friendly Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance,⁽¹³⁾ which solidified in the form of a treaty the profound friendship between the people of China and the people of the Soviet Union. Mr. Vyshinsky's speech once again demonstrates that the Soviet Union is the most reliable friend and ally of the Chinese people in their resistance to imperialist aggression and in their construction of a people's China.

All the imperialist aggressors, particularly the United States imperialist aggressors, are afraid of the unity between the peoples of China and the Soviet Union. They are afraid of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance which opposes imperialist aggression and defends the mutual interests of China and the Soviet Union. As China and the Soviet Union are united, the imperialists can no longer carry out their aggressive plots. The strength of the firmly united 700 million people of China and the Soviet Union is the greatest obstacle to the course of imperialist aggression. Hence, in desperation, the imperialist aggressors have devised various measures in their attempt to drive a wedge in the relationship between the two great allies—China and the Soviet Union. But I must tell these imperialist aggressors: The great unity between China and the Soviet Union is unshakable. All your conspiracies to drive a wedge are futile, doomed to failure, and have already failed.

I have also listened on the same date to the reply by the United States representative, Mr. Dulles, to Mr. Vyshinsky's speech. However, Mr. Dulles's reply to Mr. Vyshinsky, Mr. Austin's speech on this same question and his reply to my speech in the Security Council and the arguments of the representative of the United Kingdom, Mr. Jebb, supporting the United States representative—all such speeches, replies and arguments are distortions of facts, perversions of truth, unable to withstand any examination. They have talked a great deal. But whatever they have said, whether it be history, or philosophy, or politics, or economics, they could never succeed in making their arguments consistent.

This is because they are determined to support aggression and to argue for aggression. They wish to call aggression as defence, to call war as peace, to call truth as falsehood and to call black as white. But regardless of how eloquent they are, this is impossible after all. With regard to the problem at present under our discussion, is it possible for them to talk out of existence the big monster which stationed in the Taiwan Strait—the United States Seventh Fleet invading and occupying China's territory, Taiwan? Is it possible for them to talk about the violations of China's territorial air, bombing, strafing and reconnoitring on thousands of occasions, as if such things had not occurred at all? No, this is not possible.

But to do the impossible—this is exactly the mission here of Mr. Dulles, Mr. Austin and other representatives of the Anglo-American bloc.

Posing as a kind-hearted gentleman, Mr. Dulles started his speech with a discussion of the friendship between the people of China and the people of the United States. Well, let us then take up the discussion of the friendship between the Chinese people and the American people. Is there a profound friendship between the Chinese people and the American people? Yes. At the time of my arrival in New York, I pointed out: "There has always been a profound friendship between the Chinese people and the American people." I would like to emphasise again: Not only has there been in the past a profound friendship between the Chinese people and the American people, not only is there a profound friendship at present, but this friendship will also continue to exist in the future. But the friendship between the Chinese people and the American people has nothing in common whatsoever with the so-called friendship, which Messrs. Dulles, Austin, Acheson and Truman have spoken of, between the United States imperialist aggressors and the Chinese people who were subjected to such aggression. Mr. Dulles and Mr. Austin made great efforts in their speeches to prove the existence of the so-called friendship of the United States imperialist aggressors towards the Chinese people. According to Mr. Dulles, this friendship was not based primarily upon American commercial interests in China, but was based upon cultural and humanitarian

motives. It is claimed that this has always been the case in the relationship between the United States imperialists and China for the past 150 years.

What actually is this so-called friendship of the United States imperialists to the Chinese people in history? What is the actual content of their cultural and humanitarian endeavours in China? Who are actually their friends in China?

Like the British, the American imperialists were opium traffickers who shipped opium to China from the earliest years. A considerable portion of the opium seized in Canton in 1839 was found in the hands of American opium dealers. In the Opium War, U.S. Naval Commander, Kearny himself commanded a fleet which came to Chinese waters to support the British forces. In July, 1844, the United States forced the Manchu government into signing the Treaty of Wanghsia.⁽¹⁴⁾ America was the first nation to create the provisions of "extra-territoriality" and "equal share of interests." The Treaty of Wanghsia was one of the earliest unequal treaties which the Manchu Government concluded with foreign governments.

During the period from 1857 to 1860, when Britain and France jointly invaded China, occupying Tientsin and Peking, American warships also took part in the action. Moreover, the Americans took advantage of the opportunity to force the Manchu Government into signing the Sino-American Treaty of Tientsin (1858)⁽¹⁵⁾ and obtained thereby the special

privileges such as restrictions on China's customs duties and navigation on Chinese inland waters.

In 1862, the United States Consul in Shanghai directed Ward⁽¹⁶⁾ and other Americans to organise troops jointly with the British to help the Manchu Government in suppressing the Taiping Revolutionary Movement of the Chinese people.

In 1871, American troops attacked Korea.⁽¹⁷⁾

In 1900, the United States took part in the 8-nation invasion of China⁽¹⁸⁾ and together with other imperialist powers acquired the prerogative under the Treaty of Peking to station troops in Peking and other Chinese cities.

In November, 1917, the U.S. Secretary of State, Robert Lansing and the Japanese Special Envoy to the United States, Ishii, signed an agreement⁽¹⁹⁾ in which America recognised Japan's prerogatives in China. In 1919, at the Paris Peace Conference⁽²⁰⁾ the United States further recognised the Japanese succession to the prerogatives of Germany in Shantung Province.

From 1922 to 1924, the United States Government supported the Chinese warlords of the Chihli clique, Tsao Kun and Wu Pei-fu,⁽²¹⁾ with arms and loans to carry on the civil war.

In the massacre of May 30, 1925,⁽²²⁾ the United States imperialists took part in the slaughter of the Chinese people.

In March, 1927, in order to suppress the Great Revolution of China and to bring about, in particular, the surrender of Chiang Kai-shek to imperialism, the United States Government together with Britain bombarded Nanking, thus resulting in the Hsiakuan Massacre.⁽²³⁾

During the period from 1931 to 1933,⁽²⁴⁾ the United States supplied the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary Government with loans (one of which amounted to 50 million U.S. dollars), airplanes, and military advisers, for the purpose of attacking the Workers and Peasants' Red Army led by the Communist Party of China.

During the period of the Japanese invasion of China, the United States Government supplied Japan with a vast amount of war materials. According to Japanese official data, war materials imported from the United States accounted for 33.5 per cent of the total Japanese imports of war materials in 1937. In March, 1940, the percentage further increased to 38.7. As late as the end of 1941, imports of scrap iron from the United States to Japan accounted for 70 per cent of the total Japanese imports of scrap iron.

After the surrender of Japan, the United States Government became even more active in its aggression against China in an attempt to take Japan's place in ruling over China and to turn China into an American colony. On November 4, 1946, the United States Government concluded with Chiang Kai-shek the notorious aggressive Sino-American Treaty of Friend-

ship, Commerce and Navigation, and thus robbed China of her sovereignty over its economy, customs, and coastal and inland navigation. Even a certain British Member of Parliament termed this "the most savage economic aggression against China in history."

After the surrender of Japan, the United States Government helped Chiang Kai-shek with money, ammunition, military equipment, war materials and military advisers to launch a full-scale civil war against the Chinese people. From about the time of the Japanese surrender to June, 1948, according to available data, the various forms of aid given by the U.S. Government to Chiang Kai-shek amounted to more than 6,000 million U.S. dollars. Such was the huge investment of the United States Government in Chiang Kai-shek's civil war against the people.

Thus, the history of the past 150 years proves that the United States imperialists have consistently been the aggressor against China. Their so-called friendship to the Chinese people is but another name for aggression. Their so-called cultural and humanitarian endeavours in China are actually but means to realise such aggression. Their friends in China, from the Manchu Emperor, Tseng Kuo-fan,⁽²⁵⁾ Li Hung-chang,⁽²⁶⁾ Yuan Shih-kai,⁽²⁷⁾ Wu Pei-fu and Tsao Kun down to Chiang Kai-shek, who is spat upon by the people throughout China, have all been their lackeys in their aggression.

As is well-known, the best friend of the United States Government in China now is Chiang Kai-shek.

Chiang Kai-shek is the best friend of the United States imperialists; yet he is the most deadly enemy of the Chinese people. Does this not prove that the American imperialists have always been the friends of the enemies of the Chinese people and that they themselves are the enemies of the Chinese people?

Mr. Dulles and Mr. Austin have attempted here to glorify the United States "Open Door" policy towards China in history. They consider this policy as the highest manifestation of the friendship of the American ruling clique towards the Chinese people. But what is actually the meaning of the "Open Door" policy? "Open Door" policy means that China's door must be kept open to the American imperialists as well as to other imperialist countries. It means the opposition of the American imperialists to the monopolisation of China by other imperialist countries. It means the American imperialists "sharing spoils" from the aggression against China by other imperialist countries. It means "equal opportunity" to the American imperialists in the exploitation of China with other imperialist countries. Is that not crystal clear?

The United States ruling bloc did undertake many so-called cultural, religious and humanitarian projects in China. There have indeed been many good-hearted American people who believed in the deceitful propaganda of the United States ruling circle and who participated in these projects. But the actual aim and the objective effect of the initiation of such projects were to paralyse the mind of the Chinese

people so that they would not resist aggression by the United States imperialists.

The best explanation of the so-called "friendship" of the American imperialists to the Chinese people is the so-called aid to China from the United States Government, which Mr. Dulles and Mr. Austin have also attempted to glorify. Was there any aid from the United States Government to China? Yes, there was indeed. But those who were aided by the United States Government are the enemies of the Chinese people. They were aided to suppress the Chinese people and to slaughter the Chinese people. Mr. Austin asserted that in the past 13 years, the so-called aid to China from the United States Government amounted to a yearly average of more than 100 million U.S. dollars.

Mr. Austin also pointed out that the actual amount was even greater than this figure. In the period after the war, the United States Government has supplied a vast amount of arms, guns, bombs, ammunition, airplanes and naval vessels to the Chiang Kai-shek government to wage the civil war. But what is the result of such so-called "aid" from the United States Government? Chiang Kai-shek slaughtered several million Chinese people with the aid of American arms. I have here an album of photographs of a part of the United States military equipment captured by the Chinese People's Liberation Army from the reactionary Kuomintang troops. I shall ask the members of this Committee to pass around this album. This is an iron-clad proof of the fact that the American

imperialists slaughtered Chinese people through the hands of Chiang Kai-shek. This is the manifestation of the so-called friendship of the United States Government towards Chinese people.

Profound friendship has always existed between the Chinese people and the American people. But what the American imperialists have for China and the Chinese people is only aggression. There has never been any friendship of the Chinese people towards the American imperialists and the American ruling bloc. What there is is only hatred. Such hatred is the inevitable result of the United States imperialist policy of aggression against China. As the American imperialist policy of aggression has already reached the stage of armed aggression against China, the friendship between the Chinese people and the American people is now in danger of being undermined.

But I would like to ask Mr. Dulles with his benevolent pose: Who are the ones that are undermining the friendship between the people of China and the people of the United States? They are none other than the United States Government, the ruling bloc of the United States, the United States imperialist aggressors, the United States Government policy and actions of armed aggression against China. It is the American imperialists who send the American youth to the Taiwan Strait and to China's territorial air to fight the Chinese people. Has there ever been any instance of the Chinese fleet entering American straits to prepare for war against the American people? Has

there ever been any instance of Chinese aeroplanes intruding in the American air to bomb American women and children? Was it not Truman, the U.S. President, who announced consideration of using the criminal weapon, the atomic bomb, to annihilate the Chinese people and the Korean people?

The United States imperialist aggression against China has now been changed from its covered and roundabout form in the past to the form of outright and open aggression.

Taiwan is indisputably an inalienable part of China's territory. The liberation of Taiwan by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is the exercise of sovereign rights over its own territory. This is strictly a domestic issue which allows of no interference from any foreign power. Yet President Truman openly dispatched American armed forces to Taiwan to prevent the Chinese Liberation Army from liberating Taiwan. This is clearly an outright and open aggression against China's territory on the part of the United States imperialists.

The United States representatives and their followers have said that "Taiwan is one of the territories formerly belonging to Japan, and its disposal, like that of other territories belonging to Japan, still remains a matter of international concern." These representatives of the Anglo-American bloc have forgotten that Taiwan has always been in history an integral part of China's territory. The residents of Taiwan are people of China, under the jurisdiction

of the Chinese Government. It was stolen by Japan only in 1895. The status of Taiwan was not only decided upon in the Cairo Declaration and the Potsdam Declaration, but has also been realised for five years ever since the end of the War.

The representative of the United States, Mr. Austin, asserted that the United States invasion of Taiwan was for the military neutralisation of that island. Yet, according to the United Nations Charter and according to international law, there is no reason whatsoever which may be used to justify interference in the domestic affairs of other countries or aggression against the territory of other countries. To argue that the invasion of Taiwan by the United States armed forces is for the military neutralisation of Taiwan is precisely an unwitting proof of the United States aggression against Taiwan.

Mr. Dulles asserted that the Government of the United States had not invaded Taiwan, because according to him there were stationed on Taiwan only 44 United States military personnel. Mr. Dulles thought that this would prove that the Government of the United States had not invaded Taiwan. But Mr. Dulles failed to tell us: How many military personnel are there with the Seventh Fleet and where is that Seventh Fleet stationed? Mr. Dulles used the trick of talking things into non-existence to defend the United States aggression on Taiwan. But no amount of Mr. Dulles's sophistry could make the Seventh Fleet which has invaded Taiwan vanish into thin air.

Mr. Austin, on the other hand, used another set of tricks. He did not deny the fact that the United States Seventh Fleet had invaded the Taiwan Strait, but he attempted to deny the indisputable fact and the international agreements which stipulate that Taiwan is China's territory. He had the audacity to raise the question: What are the intentions of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China towards Taiwan? The Chinese people are determined to recover Taiwan from the clutches of the shameless United States aggressors.

We are determined to do so and we have the strength to do so. The Government of the United States must bear the full responsibility for all consequences that may arise. Mr. Austin has attempted to steal the name of the United Nations to legalise the illegal act of United States aggression on Taiwan. But I must tell Mr. Austin: All illegal resolutions of the United Nations under the manipulation of the United States Government have not the least binding force over the Chinese people. The Chinese people are not only determined to defeat the major aggressors confronting China, but are also determined to defeat all the aggressors who dare to invade China's territory.

Mr. Dulles dare not deny the aggressive acts committed by the United States air force of aggression in Korea—their violations of China's territorial air and their bombing and strafing and reconnoitring activities. But Mr. Dulles asserted that of the 83 violations of China's territorial air as brought forward by the Soviet Delegation on November 15, 1950,

61 were merely of a reconnaissance character. I would like to ask Mr. Dulles: Assuming that they were violations of China's territorial air of a reconnaissance character, would that mean that they were not acts of aggression? What if Chinese airplanes should fly over New York to carry on reconnaissance? What would be Mr. Dulles' reaction then? The United States representative asserted also that if facts should prove that the United States military aircraft did invade China's territorial air, bomb Chinese cities and kill Chinese people, the Government of the United States was willing to pay appropriate compensation for the damages. How lightly the United States representative speaks. But I would like to call the attention of the United States representative, to the fact that the sovereignty of the People's Republic of China cannot be bought with your dollars. I would also like to tell the United States representative: You have encountered many difficulties in this world of today. One of the sources of these difficulties is that you think you can buy the sovereign rights of any country by your dollars. But you forget that China is now a country where the people are in power. The sovereignty of that country cannot be bought by your filthy dollars. What sovereignty you could buy is only such as that of the old China under Chiang Kai-shek's rule. But unfortunately for you, the ruling clique of old China, in spite of the billions of dollars that it has received from you, was driven out in the end from China's mainland by the Chinese people. Mr. Dulles, this is the reason for your animosity towards the Chinese people.

Mr. Austin asserted: "The United States Government's actions since the establishment of the Peiping regime have not been aggressive towards China or towards Korea or in Korea." But it is not an easy job for a robber loaded with loot to disguise himself as an angel entering the Gate of Heaven.

I shall now present to the Committee the following facts. By these facts, I accuse the United States Government of intervention, aggression and hostility against China.

1. The Government of the United States has actively supported and is still actively supporting the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary remnant clique in Taiwan to carry out its desperate struggle and has directed Chiang to blockade China's coast and to bomb Chinese cities. The United States Government has continuously been shipping ammunition, arms and other war materials to Taiwan. According to incomplete statistics, from January to October of this year, the Governments of the United States and Canada sent several hundred airplanes and over seven hundred tanks to the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary remnant clique, while United States military officers trained Chiang Kai-shek's troops to fight against the Chinese people.

The American warmonger Claire Chennault, former Commander of the United States Fourteenth Air Force, said openly: "To strangle the Communists by starvation, blockade is necessary." As is well-known to the whole world, the Chiang Kai-shek reac-

tionary remnant clique has been using American aircraft to bomb Chinese coastal cities. On February 6 of this year, Chiang Kai-shek used American planes to conduct a savage bombing of Shanghai, killed and wounded more than one thousand Chinese people and damaged a vast number of houses and properties. These things the Chinese people will never forget.

In addition to the open and active support to the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary remnant clique in its desperate struggle, the Government of the United States is also trying to sabotage the People's Republic of China from within. The secret service agencies of the United States Government together with those of the Kuomintang are jointly directing secret agents and bandits to engage in various kinds of disruptive activities.⁽²⁸⁾ According to the statistical report of the Southwest Military and Political Committee of China, 60 per cent of the important bandit leaders in the Southwest provinces have had United States and Chiang Kai-shek secret service training. The same Chennault stated openly in the November 18th issue of *Colliers* magazine: "A program of military aid to anti-Communist Chinese guerrillas is practicable. It would not cost very many American dollars. It would cost no American lives."

2. The United States Government has employed every measure to prevent the representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China from participating in the United Nations and the Allied Council for Japan, while insisting that the representatives of the common enemy of the

Chinese people, the Taiwan Kuomintang reactionary clique, usurp the seat of China.

Ever since November 15, 1949, our Foreign Minister Chou En-lai has repeatedly demanded that the illegal representatives of the Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique be expelled from the United Nations. The representatives of the Soviet Union, India and other countries have also repeatedly made similar proposals at the General Assembly and the Security Council of the United Nations. But all these just demands and proposals have been rejected by the United States and its satellites. Thus, up to now, the United States Government has not only kept the representatives of the Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique in the United Nations, but also led its pack of lackeys to attack the justified charge levelled by the lawful representative of the People's Republic of China.

3. The Government of the United States is actively rearming the fascist forces in Japan. The Japanese fascist forces are being revived. Disregarding protests and warnings from our Government, General MacArthur has illegally released a large number of the Japanese war criminals who had invaded China. The Japanese army is being rebuilt by the United States authorities in Japan under the name of "Police Reserve." The Japanese police force has already reached 125,000 men. The Japanese navy is also being revived. The so-called "Marine Security Bureau" of Japan has already 300 vessels under its command. The Government of the United States is

contriving to conclude a separate peace with Japan in order to obtain an exclusive domination over Japan. In the recent Aide Memoire of the United States Department of State to the Far Eastern Commission, it is even openly proposed that the status of the Chinese territory, Taiwan, should be determined by joint consultation of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, China and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. From this Memoire one can see what kind of a peace treaty with Japan the United States Government has in mind. In adopting such a policy towards Japan, the Government of the United States is unquestionably aiming to convert Japan into a military base for the American imperialists to wage aggressive war in the East. In fact, the United States Government has already made use of this military base, Japan, and Japanese fascist warlords to launch the armed aggression against China's territory, Taiwan, and against China's neighbour, Korea.

4. The United States Government has built up a vast network of military bases in the Pacific. This network runs from the United States military base on Alaska through the Aleutian Islands, Japan, Ryukyu Islands, Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, Viet-Nam down to Thailand. Everyone can see that this network of bases forms an encirclement of the New China. In fact, General MacArthur has openly admitted that this network of bases is aimed at China and the Soviet Union as its objects for encirclement and targets for attack. The simultaneous armed aggression against China's territory, Taiwan, and

China's neighbour, Korea, is not only the inevitable consequence of the consistent American imperialist aggression against China, but also a premeditated step for a further total attack against the People's Republic of China. The aim of the United States Government in its aggression on Taiwan is to convert Taiwan into a springboard for the American imperialists to attack the Chinese mainland. Similarly, the armed aggression against Korea is also aimed at converting Korea into another springboard for the American imperialists to attack China's mainland.

From the very outset, the aggression against Korea by the United State Government threatened China's security. Since then, the United States Government has disregarded the repeated warnings of the Government of China and directed its armed forces of aggression in Korea to persistently extend the flames of war towards the northeastern border of China. There would be no other purpose for the United States Government in taking such a course of action, except that of a further invasion of China after the occupation of Korea is completed.

Facts in history have shown that the end of a first aggression is the beginning of a second new aggression. In fact, even before the achievement of a total occupation of Korea, the American imperialist aggressors and their puppets have already formulated their next step. In 1949, Syngman Rhee submitted to the United States Government a draft of the "Korean-American Treaty of Alliance".⁽²⁹⁾ Article 7 of the draft Treaty stated: "It is recognised and

understood by the High Contracting Parties that if the war of liberation (i.e. the United States war of aggression) must be continued on the territory of Manchuria in reply to an attack of the Chinese Communist Party on Korea, His Excellency the President of the United States of America helps His Excellency the President of the Korean Republic to bring the war of liberation to a victorious conclusion. In his turn, the President of the Korean Republic, apart from the rehabilitation of Northern Korea, which will be of main interest for the Korean Republic, undertakes to hand over the development of the natural resources of Manchuria and other parts of Eastern China to the joint administration of the United States and Korea."

The American warmongers have been continuously clamouring for the crossing of the North Korean border by the United States armed forces to invade Northeastern China. The popular American magazine *United States News and World Report*, in its October 13th issue, published a bomb chart of the United States aggressive forces in Korea,⁽³⁰⁾ in which cities of Northeastern China are clearly marked as targets of the United States air forces of aggression in Korea. Two days after my arrival in New York, on November 26, the *New York Times* published a letter from Mr. Henry de Young, the former South Korean Minister to MacArthur's Headquarters in Japan, suggesting the establishment of a buffer state in China's territory north of the Yalu River. It cannot be accidental that the *New York Times* should

publish such a letter. All these demonstrate that the United States armed forces of aggression in Korea are systematically plotting to invade China's north-eastern area.

The intention of the United States Government to extend the aggressive war in Korea is even more clearly manifested in the actions of the United States armed forces of aggression in Korea. As early as August 27, the aircraft and naval vessels of the United States armed forces of aggression in Korea started persistent provocations against China. From August 27 to November 24, the United States air force of aggression in Korea, employing more than 1,000 airplanes, violated China's territorial air on more than 200 occasions, and penetrated far into China's territory to bomb, strafe and reconnoitre, causing heavy casualties among the Chinese people and serious damage to Chinese property.

Futhermore, naval craft of the United States aggressive forces against Taiwan and Korea unlawfully inspected Chinese peaceful merchant shipping on the high seas.⁽³¹⁾ The long series of aggressive actions of the United States proves that the United States Government is determined to extend the aggression to China and that the aggressive, war-like actions of the American imperialists against the People's Republic of China have already begun. I have here a series of tables which I shall ask the Chairman to pass around among the members of the Committee. This series of tables records the course of events from August 27 to 9:20 a.m.,

November 10, of violations of China's territorial air by the United States military airplanes and their bombing, strafing and reconnoitring, damaging Chinese property and killing Chinese people.

The American imperialists have long been committing aggressive actions against China. The American imperialists have been hostile to the Chinese people on every issue. The American imperialists have simultaneously launched aggression against Taiwan and Korea. They are determined to extend the aggressive war against Korea. They have persistently been making provocations against China. Under such unbearable circumstances, the Chinese people, in order to protect their homeland, are volunteering in great numbers to go to the aid of the Korea people to resist the American imperialists. This is completely natural, reasonable and honourable. This should not surprise the warmongers.

According to a premeditated plan, the United States ruling bloc directed its puppet, Syngman Rhee, to launch an attack on the Korean Democratic People's Republic, thus unleashing the civil war in Korea. Under the pretext of intervening in the civil war in Korea, the United States ruling bloc further simultaneously launched the aggression against Taiwan and Korea. While its aggression upon China's territory, Taiwan, is an act of outright and open aggression which is completely unjustified, its aggression on Korea is equally inexcusable. The arguments put forward by the United States Government to justify its aggression against Korea will not bear examination. The

United States Government has attempted to cover up its armed intervention in Korea under the cloak of the United Nations, but its efforts are in vain.

If the Syngman Rhee reactionary clique had not only unleashed the civil war in Korea but also gained the upper-hand in the civil war and pushed the war to the interior of the Korean Democratic People's Republic from the very outset, we may be sure that the United States Government would never have considered this as an aggression by South Korea against North Korea. Nor would they have called upon the United Nations to undertake the so-called measures of "anti-aggression." But unfortunately for the ruling bloc of the United States, the Korean Democratic People's Republic repelled the provocative attack of the reactionary clique of Syngman Rhee. Moreover, it immediately switched to a counter-offensive and swiftly pushed the war into the area ruled by the Syngman Rhee reactionary clique. The United States Government started to scream the absolutely absurd charge of so-called aggression of South Korea by North Korea. It at once dispatched its armed forces according to its premeditated plan to carry out armed intervention in the internal affairs of Korea and armed aggression against the Korean people.

To brand as aggression the counter-offensive of the people's armed forces of North Korea in the civil war against the reactionary clique of South Korea, is the biggest lie in history. But it is on this big lie that the United States Government relies to cover up its armed aggression against Korea. We would like

to ask the American representative the following questions. During the American civil war in the sixties of the 19th Century, President Lincoln led the armed forces of the Northern states in an attack upon the Southern states. Does the United States representative maintain that this was an aggression by the Northern states against the South? Does he maintain that President Lincoln was the greatest aggressor heading this aggression? Not long ago, the Chinese people had the same experience. In 1946, the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang reactionary clique violated peace in China and launched a civil war against the Liberated Areas which were under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. In 1948, after having repelled the offensive of Chiang Kai-shek, the armed forces of the Chinese people counter-attacked and pushed the war into the areas under the Kuomintang rule. Does the United States representative consider that as an aggression of the Chinese People's Liberation Army against the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary clique?

The United States ruling bloc may disown their own history, but the peace-loving people of the whole world know the clear facts. The counter-offensive of the armed forces of the North Korean people in the civil war against the Syngman Rhee reactionary clique of South Korea is in no sense an aggression. The real aggressors are the United States Government, the ruling bloc of the United States and the American imperialists, who dispatched their armed forces to Korea to attack the Korean people under the pretext

of opposing the so-called "aggression" of North Korea against South Korea. People the world over are posing the following question to the ruling bloc of the United States: How could the Korean people commit aggression against the Korean people? Why are the armed forces of the United States dispatched to Korea, 5,000 miles away from America, to attack the Korean people, who have never committed any aggression against the United States? This is a very pertinent question. The Korean people could no more commit aggression against the Korean people than the American people could commit aggression against the American people. The Korean people have never been the aggressor against the United States and the people of the United States. It is the ruling bloc of the United States that has intervened in the internal affairs of Korea and committed armed aggression against Korea.

The ruling bloc of the United States has usurped the name of the United Nations in an attempt to cover up its intervention in the internal affairs of Korea. However, such a manoeuvre cannot deceive anyone either. The United States representatives have repeatedly cited the resolutions of the United Nations Security Council of June 25, June 27 and July 7, which requested members of the United Nations to render armed support to the so-called Republic of Korea in opposing the Korean Democratic People's Republic for its alleged aggression.

It is said that these are the legal bases upon which the United Nations troops are opposing North

Korea for its aggression. However, all these legal bases are illegal themselves. They are in violation of the United Nations Charter both in their form and in their substance. The Charter of the United Nations clearly stipulates that the United Nations is not authorised to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state.

However, all the above-mentioned resolutions of the United Nations Security Council on the Korean issue are in gross violation of the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of any state, and hence illegal. As a matter of procedure, the adoption of these resolutions in the Security Council is also illegal. The Charter of the United Nations clearly stipulates that decisions of the Security Council on all matters other than procedural ones shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring votes of the permanent members.

But all those resolutions were adopted without the participation and the concurring votes of the two great permanent members, the Soviet Union and China. Therefore, they are in violation of the United Nations Charter and illegal. The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has long since expressed its stand, that is, it firmly opposes the reactionary resolutions adopted in the United Nations Security Council under the manipulation of the United States Government. As a matter of fact, it is superfluous to study and to analyse the illegal nature of these resolutions. This is

because of the fact that it was only after the United States Government had already decided on June 27 to commit armed intervention in the domestic affairs of Korea and had made a statement to the whole world to this effect, that Mr. Austin was ordered to present the resolution to the Security Council asking that it be approved.

Mr. Austin has repeatedly argued that the so-called anti-aggressive war in Korea is being waged by the United Nations troops. But who would be deceived by such arguments? Those who are fighting against the Korean people today are not United Nations troops but mainly United States troops and a small number of troops of other countries which are helping the United States. The one who is directing the war is not a United Nations commander-in-chief either, but the Commander-in-Chief of the United States Armed Forces in the Far East, General MacArthur, who is bitterly hated by the people of Asia.

The purpose of these troops which are fighting against the Korean people is not to oppose aggression as it is alleged, because the Korean people could not possibly commit aggression against the Korean people. Nor is the purpose the achievement of independence and unity for Korea, because there could never be such an absurdity that the independence and unity of a country had to be achieved by the armed forces of a foreign country or several foreign countries. The purpose of the United States troops which are fighting the Korean people is to conquer the whole of Korea and to use Korea as a springboard to attack the main-

land of China. As I have stated, the attack on the mainland of China has already begun.

These United States troops and Syngman Rhee's troops which are fighting against the Korean people have violated all international rules and precedents. They have slaughtered en masse the innocent and peace-loving residents of Korea, including women and children. They have savagely destroyed the peaceful towns and villages of Korea. Their barbarism and cruelty have surpassed those of the Hitlerite troops in Europe. The anger among the peoples of Korea and China and the peace-loving nations of the world that has been aroused by these barbaric, cruel and inhuman acts is immeasurable. I must point out here that as from August 5 to November 27, Foreign Minister of the Korean Democratic People's Republic, Pak Hen En, has repeatedly protested to the United Nations, demanding that the United Nations bring to an end such inhuman cruelties of the United States and Rhee's troops.

However, the United Nations has purposely disregarded these protests and has purposely covered up these bloody records. Despite the fact that the People's Army of Korea has treated with magnanimity the war prisoners who have laid down their arms—as is well-known to the American people, the People's Army of Korea has set free large groups of these war prisoners—news reports of the United States ruling bloc have been purposely exaggerating news of United States troops' being killed at the battlefield to fool the American people and to incite a spirit of revenge,

so as to prepare more pretexts for still greater massacre and destruction in Korea by the United States and Rhee's troops. This is a shameful act. Against this, we cannot but lodge a protest with anger. The reactionary view that only the lives of the Anglo-Saxons are precious while the lives of the Asian people are worthless no longer works. The Chinese people will fight resolutely without regard to sacrifices against such unprecedented barbaric, cruel and inhuman acts of the United States and Rhee's troop.

Members of the Committee, the true substance of the Korean issue is that the United States Government has committed armed intervention in Korea and slaughtered Korean people. Its aim is to conquer the whole of Korea and to attack the mainland of China. In the name of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I hereby submit to the United Nations General Assembly the charge against the United States Government of unlawful, criminal and aggressive acts of armed aggression in Korea, of slaughtering the Korean people, of extending the Korean war and of threatening China's mainland.

The armed aggression against Taiwan on the part of the United States Government is completely unjustified, outright and open aggression. The armed aggression against Korea on the part of the United States Government is in substance equally unjustified and inexcusable. The fact that the United States Government has carried out simultaneous armed aggression against Taiwan and Korea further proves

that the armed aggression against Taiwan and Korea by the United States Government is in fact the realisation of a premeditated plan of a large-scale aggression. Therefore, it is this aggression, which threatens simultaneously the Chinese people and the Korean people, that is a brazen aggression.

President Truman of the United States, Secretary of State Mr. Acheson, and representative of the United States, Mr. Austin, have persistently argued that the aggression against Taiwan by the United States Government is necessary due to its armed intervention in Korea. Even the President of the Security Council in November, Mr. Bebler, has argued in the same way. Mr. Bebler asserted that the question of aggression against Taiwan by the United States Government was only of secondary importance. By so arguing, he has supported those who advocate that the charge brought by my Government against the United States of armed aggression against Taiwan should not be discussed at all or that the solution of the question of the United States armed aggression on Taiwan must await the solution of the Korean question. I would like to point out that all these arguments are absurd and biased in favour of the United States aggressors.

The Charter of the United Nations clearly stipulates that no justification whatsoever may be used as an excuse for aggression. On what ground could the armed intervention in Korea by the United States Government be used as an excuse for its armed aggression on Taiwan? The attempt of the United States representative to justify the United States armed

aggression on Taiwan by its armed intervention in Korea, is ridiculous. It cannot deceive anyone, nor will it bear examination.

There is indeed a close relationship between the United States aggression on Taiwan and its aggression on Korea. But the relationship is not such that the armed intervention in Korea by the United States Government may be used as a justification of its aggression against Taiwan. The relationship is instead that both the aggression against Taiwan and the aggression against Korea by the United States Government are part of its overall design of attack against the mainland of China. To the Chinese people, those who are waging an aggressive war against the Korean people in Korea are the same aggressors who are committing aggression against Taiwan. As the United States Government has simultaneously launched the aggression against the territory of China, Taiwan, and against its close neighbour, Korea, there is no reason why the Chinese people should not support the Korean people on a voluntary basis against the United States armed aggression on Korea, at the same time as they are resisting the United States armed aggression on Taiwan.

I have heard much empty talk in the Security Council to the effect that the troops fighting in Korea at present have no intention to commit aggression against the northeastern territory of China. Moreover, it is said that the majority of the members of the Security Council are ready to put such assurances into a resolution. It seems that the Chinese people

should now rest assured. This is taking the Chinese people for idiots.

It is to be noted that those countries which wish to assure us that the United States troops in Korea would not violate the territory of China are precisely those which maintain that the United States Seventh Fleet should remain in the Taiwan Strait and continue its aggression against China. Suppose a detachment of the armed forces of a country hostile to the United States had occupied Hawaii, while another detachment of this same country was attacking the neighbour of the United States, Mexico. Now the aggressor comes to assure the American people: "You have nothing to fear. Our troops in Mexico will not commit any aggression against the United States."

Is it conceivable that the American people would believe in the assurances given by such an aggressor and its accomplices? The United States Government has invaded the territory of China, Taiwan, while its armed forces threaten to approach the border of China from another direction. But the United States Government and its accomplices are demanding that the Chinese people believe in their assurances that the armed forces which are approaching China's border would not invade China's territory. The Chinese people have had too much experience in struggle even to pay any attention to such empty words. The United States Seventh Fleet is invading the Strait of Taiwan and the United States Air force of aggression in Korea has violated the territorial air of China for more than 200 times. Such actions refute any

assurances that may be given by Mr. Austin or Mr. Jebb. The words of the United States Seventh Fleet are much more powerful and eloquent than those of Mr. Austin.

The Chinese people understand fully and correctly the whole implication of the constant provocations against China by the United States armed forces which are committing armed aggression simultaneously against Taiwan and Korea. The aggressor who has invaded Korea is exactly the same aggressor who is invading Taiwan. They understand that once the aggressor in Korea completes its aggression against Korea, its next step will inevitably be a further aggression against the mainland of China. China is the only country which has a common border of 500 kilometres with Korea.

The people of China and the people of Korea have always in history relied upon each other. The aggressor who invades Korea today invariably invades China tomorrow. This is what imperialist Japan did 55 years ago. This is what the American imperialists are doing now, only proceeding with a greater speed. Hence, the Chinese people, in their resistance against the United States aggression on Taiwan, are rendering help on a voluntary basis to the Korean people to resist the aggressive actions of the United States. Such actions are not only irreproachable, but wholly rightful. Such actions are not only a help rendered to their neighbour, but also an act of defence of their own homeland.

It is the American imperialist aggressors and their accomplices who have committed armed aggression against Taiwan and Korea. The actions of the Chinese people in rendering voluntary support to the Korean people in their resistance to the aggression of the United States Government, are rightful deeds aimed at opposing intervention and aggression. So long as the criminal acts of intervention and aggression on the part of the United States aggressors and their accomplices continue, the rightful struggle of the Chinese people and the Korean people against intervention and aggression will never cease, no matter how the United States aggressors and their accomplices try to pervert the truth, to cheat and to deceive.

The American imperialists have come 5,000 miles across the Pacific to invade Korea and Taiwan. To argue that the Chinese people must not render any voluntary support to the Korean people to oppose the intervention and aggression by the American imperialists against both China and Korea, is absurd and inconceivable. The lance of the American aggressors has extended too far. It has stabbed across 5,000 miles of the Pacific into the territory of China and that of Korea. The Chinese people and the Korean people resolutely demand that the United States aggressors and their accomplices draw back their aggressive long lance by withdrawing simultaneously all their armed forces from Taiwan and Korea.

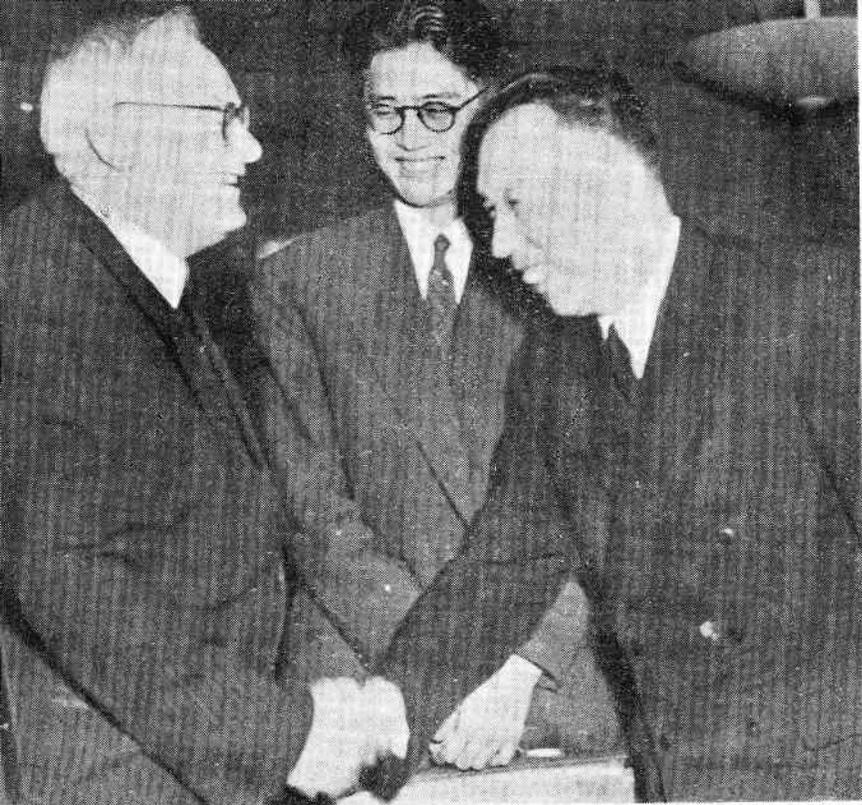
Recently, owing to the bankruptcy of the so-called "end the war" offensive launched by General MacArthur of the United States, President Truman of the

United States, Secretary of State Mr. Acheson, and the United States representative Mr. Austin have cried "new aggression" or "intervention" of China against Korea. They have threatened once more to use illegally the name of the United Nations to extend the war further into the mainland of China, not hesitating at all to stir up a third world war. Members of the Committee, these are barbaric threats. The people of China and the people of Korea, determined to resist the United States aggression, will never bow their heads to any threat whatsoever. The ruling bloc of the United States is attempting once more to steal the name of the United Nations to extend its aggressive war against Korea into the mainland of China. We firmly oppose the United Nations being used once again by the United States, for it would be a thorough violation of the United Nations Charter.

At the same time, I must call the attention of the representatives of those countries which are prepared to support such a manoeuvre of the United States. If you do so, it would mean that you are taking a further step in supporting the United States aggression. It would mean that you are making enemies of the 475 million people of China and of the people of the whole world who love peace and oppose war. The people of China and the people of the whole world would not lightly forgive you. You must bear the full responsibility for the inevitable consequences of your actions.



Wu Hsiu-chuan (right), head of the 9-man delegation of the People's Republic of China, and Chiao Kuan-hua (left), adviser to the delegation, leave Peking for Lake Success on Nov. 14, 1950.



A. Vyshinsky (left), Soviet Foreign Minister, welcomes Wu Hsiu-chuan (right) and Chiao Kuan-hua (centre) on their arrival at Lake Success.



The delegation of the People's Republic of China presents credentials to Mr. Trygve Lie (centre), Secretary-General of the United Nations on Nov. 24, 1950. From left to right: Pu Shan, Wu Hsiu-chuan, Lie, Chiao Kuan-hua and Kung Pu-sheng.



Wu Hsiu-chuan at the meeting of the U.N. Political and Security Committee on November 27, 1950.



China's special representative to the United Nations Mr. Wu Hsiu-chuan (seated far left) addresses the Security Council on Nov. 28, 1950.





At the Peking airfield the delegation is warmly welcomed by Government representatives on its return. On the right, next to Wu Hsiu-chuan is Chang Han-fu, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Central People's Government.

President Truman of the United States and Secretary of State, Mr. Acheson, have constantly referred to the "crisis" in the present international situation. Yes, there is indeed a "crisis" in the present international situation. But we would like to ask: What is the origin of this "crisis"? The origin of this crisis is the aggressive and war policy of the American imperialists. A handful of the American imperialist aggressors are determined to extend aggression and to demand world war, thus creating the so-called "crisis" in the present international situation. People of the whole world are opposed to war.

Nevertheless, peace cannot be obtained by making concessions to aggressors. The only way to avert the so-called "war crisis" and to improve the present international situation is for the peace-loving people of the whole world to strengthen their resistance to the United States imperialist aggression and to strengthen their struggle to end the United States imperialist aggression. Mr. Austin, in a complete distortion of facts, asserted that the question of world peace or world war was to be decided by the Chinese people, as if the Chinese people wanted to bomb America and to drop atomic bombs on the United States. No, Mr. Austin, the judgment of the whole world is not to be distorted.

The situation that confronts the whole world today is that a few American imperialist aggressors are determined against the will of the American people and of the people of the whole world to extend aggression and to demand war, even threatening to use the atomic bomb. The Chinese people have learned from

their bitter experience of long struggles that only by resisting the aggression of the United States Government without the minutest concession, can a world war be averted and peace of the world maintained. The Chinese people are determined to do so. All threats and deceit will be of no use.

The Chinese people have full confidence and determination to recover Taiwan from the grip of the United States aggressors and to put an end to all the direct and indirect aggressive actions of the United States Government against the People's Republic of China. But to safeguard international peace and security and to uphold the sanctity of the United Nations Charter, the United Nations has the inalienable duty to apply sanctions against the United States Government for its criminal acts of armed aggression on China's territory, Taiwan, and armed intervention in China's neighbour, Korea. I, therefore, in the name of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, request that the General Assembly adopt the following resolution:

The General Assembly

Recognising that the invasion and occupation of Taiwan by the armed forces of the United States of America constitute open and direct aggression on China's territory;

Recognising that the armed aggression on China's territory and the armed intervention in Korea by the armed forces of the Government of the United States of America have shattered peace and security in Asia

and violated the United Nations Charter and international agreements;

Requests the Security Council

1. To condemn and to take concrete steps to apply severe sanctions against the Government of the United States of America for its criminal acts of armed aggression against the territory of China, Taiwan, and armed intervention in Korea;

2. To immediately adopt effective measures to bring about the complete withdrawal by the Government of the United States of America of its forces of armed aggression from Taiwan, in order that peace and security in the Pacific and in Asia may be ensured; and

3. To immediately adopt effective measures to bring about the withdrawal from Korea of the armed forces of the United States of America and all other countries and to leave the people of North and South Korea to settle the domestic affairs of Korea themselves, so that a peaceful solution of the Korean question may be achieved.

APPENDICES

STATEMENT MADE BY THE CHINESE
DELEGATION ON ITS ARRIVAL AT
NEW YORK AIRPORT

On November 24, 1950

On the instruction of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I am here to attend the meeting of the United Nations Security Council which will discuss the charge of armed aggression against Taiwan (Formosa). I hope that this charge brought by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China will receive just treatment in the Security Council. If so, it will be helpful to peace and security in the Pacific and Asia. This is the desire of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and the 475 millions of Chinese people. Profound friendship has always existed between the Chinese people and the American people. I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to convey my greetings to the peace-loving people in the United States.

STATEMENT MADE AT LAKE SUCCESS

On December 16, 1950

We are here for the struggle for peace. In order to curb aggression and restore peace, we proposed that the Security Council of the United Nations adopt effective measures to make the American Government withdraw its armed aggressive force from the Chinese territory, Taiwan; end its intervention in the domestic affairs of Korea and withdraw all its armed invasion forces from Korea. But, unfortunately, though not unexpectedly, the Security Council of the United Nations, manipulated by the American-British bloc, has refused this reasonable and peaceful proposal of the Chinese Government. We firmly oppose and protest against this refusal.

Moreover, our Government accepted the invitation of the United Nations, and appointed me to take part in the discussions on the charge of American aggression against China, proposed by the Soviet representative, at the Political and Security Committee of the 5th Session of the General Assembly. Although the Soviet representative has endeavoured to induce the Political and Security Committee to continue to

discuss this proposal, owing to the manipulation of the American Government, the Political and Security Committee, so far, has not resumed the discussion of this important proposal.

Thus, although we were invited to come here and have waited for a long time, we have not, up to now, had a chance to speak. But, we consider that the voice of the People's Republic of China should be heard all over the world, therefore, I am distributing to you the speech I prepared to deliver at the Political and Security Committee meeting. At the same time, we are indignant at the way in which the United States manipulates the United Nations, so as not to give us an opportunity to speak.

The minority ruling clique of America stubbornly refuses to recognise the existence of the People's Republic of China, and ignores its decisive right to opinions and representation in matters relating to important Far Eastern question which are concerned with China. They stubbornly persist in the policy of crudely interfering in the internal affairs of China, of supporting the reactionary remnant clique of Chiang Kai-shek, which was cast off by the people of China and the world, of openly invading China and of antagonising the 475 million people of the People's Republic of China. But facts have proved that the People's Republic of China has an important say in Asiatic affairs and her place in the United Nations cannot be brushed aside by any force. Attempts to solve present important world problems can bear results only if this fact is fully recognised.

We have always stood for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question and for the localising of the Korean question. Hence, we hold to the stand that all foreign troops must be withdrawn from Korea and that the Korean question must be settled by the Korean people themselves. But the American ruling clique, while carrying on armed intervention in Korea, has, at the same time, carried out armed aggression on Taiwan, bombed Chinese territory and extended its aggression in East Asia. At the present time, when peace-loving people throughout the world are demanding a peaceful settlement of the Korean question, the American-British bloc, on the contrary, want to maintain their aggressive forces and continue their aggressive actions in Korea, continue their invasion and occupation of China's Taiwan and intensify the carrying out of their aggressive policy and their war policy throughout the world. This is corroborated by Truman's statement threatening to use the atomic bomb, by the joint communique of President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee and by the United States Government's proclamation of a state of national emergency. From this we can understand the real intention of the proposal favoured by Austin to cease fire in Korea first. It is to demand that the Korean People's Army and the Chinese people's volunteer formations should fold their arms so that the American aggressive forces in Korea can carry on their aggression; that Taiwan shall remain under American armed occupation; that Japanese militarism can be revived by MacArthur, that the American people can be driven at will by the American ruling clique into

the mire of war. Such a trap was laid many times in China by General Marshall in helping Chiang Kai-shek, and the Chinese people are not unacquainted with it. We want to expose this trick to the well-intentioned people of the world.

The people of our country zealously love peace and ardently hope that, free from invasion and threat, they can peacefully build their own country. Our Government consistently holds that the various important world questions should be settled by peaceful means, settling, first of all, the Far Eastern question which was brought about by the policy and action of the American ruling clique in its armed aggression against China and Korea. Although our basic proposal for the peaceful settlement of the Far Eastern question was rejected by the United Nations Security Council as a result of the manipulation of the American-British bloc, we exert our utmost efforts in striving for a peaceful settlement. We are willing to find ways and means to advise the Chinese people's volunteer formations, who were impelled to resist the American invading forces together with the Korean People's Army, to conclude their military action at an early date.

We express our cordial thanks for the American people's friendly welcome to us which was expressed in various forms during our stay here. We firmly believe that, though threatened at present by the policy and acts of aggression against China of the American ruling clique, the friendship between the Chinese and American people will certainly be maintained through the common efforts of the peace-loving peoples of China and America.

STATEMENT TO THE AMERICAN PRESS
PRIOR TO THE DEPARTURE OF
THE CHINESE DELEGATION
FROM AMERICA

On December 19, 1950

We wish the Americans a merry Christmas and happy New Year. We came here for the sake of peace and of restoring peace in the Far East. We submitted a proposal to the U.N. Security Council for preventing the continuation and expansion of the war in the Far East. That was a proposal for stopping the war. We believe that only by making an effort toward stopping the war could a genuine ceasefire be realised. Any device in contravention thereof would be nothing but trickery and a plot.

Although our peace proposal for the suppression of the war was rejected by the Anglo-American ruling bloc without due consideration, yet we are not in despair. We shall continue to strive for peace. There has always been profound friendship between the Chinese and American peoples. It is our belief that there is not a single peace-loving American who

approves of aggression against Taiwan and intervention in Korea. We also believe that there is not a single peace-loving American who wishes to start a world war by aggression against Taiwan and intervention in Korea. The peoples throughout the world, including the American people, are fervently demanding peace and are opposed to war. We believe that if the peace-loving peoples of the whole world unite closely together, distinguish calmly between right and wrong, truth and falsehood, and are neither deceived nor intimidated by a few war adventurers and warmongers who obstinately insist upon aggression, but strive resolutely to uphold truth, war could definitely be stopped and prevented. The Chinese people will strive for this together with all peace-loving American people.

STATEMENT TO THE BRITISH PRESS AT THE LONDON AIRPORT

On December 20, 1950

Gentlemen of the Press: In order to put a stop to American aggression and to restore peace in the Far East, we put forward to the U.N. Security Council a proposition for the withdrawal by the American Government of its armed forces from Taiwan, putting a stop to its intervention in Korea, withdrawal of all troops of America and other nations, and leaving the Korean question to be settled by Korean people themselves, as a basis for the peaceful settlement of the Far East question. This is a proposition which could genuinely put a stop to war. However, under the manipulation of the American ruling bloc the U.N. Security Council rejected our peace proposition without any consideration. The American military adventurers, who have something different in mind, supported the proposal of "cease-fire first" in Korea in an attempt to deceive the peoples of the whole world. But everybody knows that an effort toward putting a stop to war must be made first before genuine cease-fire can be achieved. The true aim of the so-called

“cease fire first” supported by the American military adventurers is only to bind the hands and feet of the Korean People’s Army and the Chinese people’s volunteers so as to enable the American troops to continue with their aggression and their expansion of the war. Chiang Kai-shek, with the help of General Marshall, played the same trick on the Chinese people. The Chinese people are not lacking in such experience. We wish to expose such deceit to the peace-loving peoples of the whole world.

It is not beyond our expectation that the American ruling minority should be doing this. They obstinately refused to recognise the existence of the People’s Republic of China and obliterated China’s right to speak and right of representation in all Far East questions concerned with China. They unscrupulously intervened in China’s internal affairs, obstinately supporting the remnant reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique, openly invaded China and are determined to be the enemy of the 475 million Chinese people. The peoples throughout the world have seen that such a reactionary and aggressive policy is going bankrupt. However, in order to pursue their bankrupt policy, the American ruling bloc is now furiously making preparations to push East Asia, West Europe and the whole world into the mire of war. American President Truman openly announced that he was considering the use of the atom bomb in the East. The American Government has declared a state of emergency in the whole country and carried out a sea blockade and economic sanctions against the People’s Republic of China. In Europe it unscrupulously re-

vived the Nazi military forces in West Germany. As a result of the aggression and war policies of the American ruling bloc, the whole world is now facing a formidable threat of war. Nevertheless, the peoples throughout the world are opposed to war. We believe that so long as the peace-loving peoples of the whole world unite together, distinguish between right and wrong, firmly uphold truth and struggle vigorously, the crazy war policy carried out by the American ruling bloc can be defeated.

The Chinese people enthusiastically love peace and ardently hope to be able to build their own country peacefully without being subjected to aggression or threat of aggression. The Chinese Government has always advocated the settlement of the existing important questions of the world by peaceful means, first and foremost the peaceful settlement of the Far East question arising out of the American ruling bloc’s armed invasion of Taiwan and Korea. Although the U.N. Security Council, under the manipulation of the American ruling bloc, rejected, in this instance, our basic proposition to solve the Far East question by peaceful means, we will, nevertheless, exert every possible effort to bring about the peaceful settlement of the Far East question, and will be willing to see our way to persuade the Chinese people’s volunteers to end at an early date the military operations which they, together with the Korean People’s Army, are obliged to carry out in order to resist America’s armed invasion.

Finally, I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to offer my respects to the peace-loving people of Britain.

EXPLANATORY NOTES

(1) **Taiwan**—otherwise known to the outside world as Formosa, was discovered by the Chinese early in the 7th century. It is situated in the China Sea, off Fukien Province. To the north, it is adjacent to the southern tip of the Ryukyu Island and to the south lie the Philippines. From the strategic and economic points of view, it is an important base in the west Pacific. The island was ceded to Japan, as the result of the defeat of the Manchu Dynasty in the Sino-Japanese War in 1894-1895. But the people of Taiwan had never ceased their determined and heroic struggle against the Japanese invaders. After the unconditional surrender of Japan in 1945, Taiwan was restored to China in accordance with the Cairo Declaration.

After the liberation of the mainland of China, the remnants of the reactionary Kuomintang government took refuge on the island under American protection. In a statement issued on June 27, 1950, American President Truman openly announced that he had ordered the 7th fleet of the U.S. Navy to prevent the liberation of Taiwan by the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

(2) **Penghu Islands**—also known as the Pescadores, are a group of small islets lying between the Chinese mainland and the western coast of Taiwan. They were ceded to Japan together with Taiwan after the Sino-Japanese War in 1894-1895. They were not restored to China until the defeat of Japan in 1945.

(3) The text of Foreign Minister Chou En-lai's telegram of August 24, 1950 to the Security Council reads in part as follows:

"On June 27, this year, President Truman of the United States announced the decision of the United States Government to prevent with armed force the liberation of Taiwan by the Chinese People's Liberation Army. This action on the part of the United States Government is armed aggression on

the territory of China and a total violation of the United Nations Charter.

"Taiwan is an integral part of China. This is not only a fact based on history, confirmed by the situation since the surrender of Japan but it is also stipulated in the Cairo Declaration of 1943 and the Potsdam Declaration of 1945 as binding international agreements which the United States pledged itself to observe.

"The people of China cannot tolerate this action of armed aggression by the United States Government on the territory of China and are determined to liberate from the tentacles of the United States aggressors Taiwan and all other territories belonging to China.

"On behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I now lodge this accusation with the United Nations Security Council and propose that, for the maintenance of international peace and security and for the upholding of the dignity of the United Nations Charter, the United Nations Security Council is obliged by its inalienable duties to condemn the United States Government for its criminal act in the armed invasion of the territory of China and to take immediate measures to bring about the complete withdrawal of all the United States' armed invading forces from Taiwan and from other territories belonging to China."

(4) **Aviation Agreement**—This agreement was signed between the Kuomintang regime and the United States on December 20, 1946. The U.S. acquired through this agreement the right of conducting non-restricted flights and making landings anywhere in China. With the signing of this agreement, China forfeited her sovereignty over the air.

(5) **Naval Agreement**—This agreement was signed between the Kuomintang regime and the United States on December 8, 1947. The agreement stipulated, among other things, that the United States government was entitled to exercise strict control over the training of Chinese naval forces, the establishment of naval bases in China, the organisation of the Chinese fleet and the collection of naval information.

(6) **Sino-American Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation**—This treaty was signed by the traitorous Kuomintang government with the United States on November 4, 1946.

As the result of the signing of this treaty, China forfeited her sovereignty and was virtually converted into a colony of the American imperialists.

(7) **Bilateral Agreement between China and the United States**—This agreement was signed by the KMT government on July 3, 1948. By this agreement, the United States was entitled to supervise the use of money loaned to the KMT government while China was under the obligation to supply the United States with raw material and all facilities for the sale of American goods in China.

(8) **Sino-American Agreement on Rural Reconstruction**—This agreement was concluded between China and the United States on August 8, 1948. According to the provisions of the agreement, a Committee of Rural Reconstruction in China was formed which was composed of five members (three Chinese appointed by the KMT government and two Americans). This Committee was authorised to draft and supervise the implementation of all agricultural plans ranging from agricultural production to rural education.

(9) **The big four families**—The four families refer to the families of Chiang Kai-shek, T. V. Soong, H. H. Kung and the Chen Brothers (Chen Kuo-fu and Chen Li-fu).

During their 20 years in power, the four families had amassed enormous capital totalling 10 to 20 billion American dollars. This monopoly capital, intimately connected with foreign imperialism and the domestic landlord class, is better known in China as bureaucratic capitalism.

(10) **February 28 Incident**—A large-scale popular uprising broke out in the last week of February, 1947 in Taiching, Taiwan, in protest against the misrule of the American-controlled Kuomintang regime in Taiwan. During the uprising, tens of thousands of people, including many women and children, stormed police stations, seized a number of cities and surrounded the official residence of the KMT governor. In view of the extreme gravity of the situation, American imperialists helped Chiang Kai-shek rush heavy reinforcements to Taiwan and thus drowned the uprising in blood. This is generally known in history as the blood bath of February 28.

(11) **1894-1895**—On July 23, 1894, the Sino-Japanese War broke out. The immediate cause of the war was that Japan

launched an aggressive war against Korea, then a protectorate of China. The war dragged on for about ten months and ended with the disastrous defeat of China. On April 17, 1895, the Treaty of Shimonoseki was signed, under which China was to recognise the independence of Korea, cede Taiwan and the Penghu Islands to Japan and pay an indemnity of 200,000,000 ounces of silver.

(12) The Soviet Government in July 1919 issued a manifesto announcing the abolition of all unequal treaties czarist Russia had imposed upon China. The manifesto maintained that "all people, no matter whether their nations are great or small, no matter where they live, no matter at what time they may have lost their independence, should have their independence and self-government and not submit to being bound by other nations." The Soviet government offered to return to China the territory seized by the former imperial Russian government, to restore to the sovereignty of China, without compensation, the Chinese Eastern Railway and the mines and forests appropriated by the former imperial Russian government, not to accept the Boxer indemnity payments, to cancel all special privileges for Russian subjects and to declare null and void all unequal treaties concluded with China.

(13) The Treaty was signed in Moscow on February 14, 1950. Under this treaty, "both Contracting Parties undertake jointly to adopt all necessary measures at their disposal for the purpose of preventing the resumption of aggression and violation of peace on the part of Japan or any other state that may collaborate with Japan directly or indirectly in acts of aggression. In the event of one of the Contracting Parties being attacked by Japan or any state allied with her and thus being involved in a state of war, the other Contracting Party shall immediately render military and other assistance by all means at its disposal."

(14) As a result of the Opium War, China had to accept the humiliating Treaty of Nanking (1842) which afforded the British many privileges and concessions. This made the Americans green with envy. In July, 1843, Caleb Cushing was sent to China as the first American commissioner to negotiate a treaty that would place the Americans in a more favourable position.

Upon his departure for China, Caleb Cushing was told by the Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, that he should impress upon the Chinese government "in decided terms and in a positive man-

ner that the government of the United States would find it impossible to remain on terms of friendship and regard with the Emperor, if greater privileges or commercial facilities should be allowed to the subjects of any other government than should be granted to the citizens of the United States." He was to display, Daniel Webster reminded Cushing, "the high character, importance and power of the United States." "You should mention," said Webster, "the vast size of the United States, the range of its trade and the strength of its navy," in order to obtain a more complete and better treaty from China than the one just concluded by the British."

With these instructions, Cushing left the United States with a fleet of four warships, and reached China in February, 1844. After protracted negotiation the Chinese government was coerced into signing the Sino-American Treaty of Wanghsia, known as the Cushing Treaty in the United States.

By this treaty, the United States exacted from China not only all the privileges and concessions which their "British rivals" had squeezed out of the Opium War, but also secured other concessions and privileges not listed in the Nanking Treaty. In his report to Washington, Cushing showed all the joy of a conqueror, saying that he had beaten the British by obtaining 16 more privileges.

(15) In 1854, a new American representative named Robert M. MacLane came to China to negotiate a revision of the Wanghsia Treaty. MacLane reported home that the difficulties of the Manchu government could well be taken advantage of, and he proposed that he be allowed to take concerted action with Great Britain and France, who were at the time also out to make the most they could out of the troubles of the Chinese people. When the latter two countries invaded China in 1857, the U.S. government showed its true colours by rendering active assistance to the Anglo-French aggressors. The American Secretary of State instructed William B. Reed, who had succeeded MacLane in China, to "communicate freely with the British and French ministers and make known to the Chinese that the President believes that the objectives of the Allied Powers are just and expedient." As soon as the invading army launched its attack on Tientsin, the United States government took the opportunity to force the Manchu government to sign what is known as the Sino-American Treaty of Tientsin. When it learned of the Treaty of Tientsin imposed upon China by Great Britain and France, the

U.S. government sought to revise its own treaty under the pretext of the "principle of equal opportunity." Eight clauses were thus added to the original version and the U.S. government secured additional privileges exceeding those enjoyed by the British and French.

The Sino-American Treaty of Tientsin not only kept all the privileges and concessions laid down in the Wangshia Treaty intact, but served to increase and expand special privileges of the Americans in China at the expense of the Chinese people. These included a more flexible interpretation of "consular jurisdiction," tariff concessions (which led to the control of China's customs by foreign powers), additional opportunities for navigation through Chinese inland waters, unrestricted religious activities in China's interior as well as in the treaty ports, etc. The "most-favoured-nation clause" was most strongly emphasised in the Treaty, so that such additional privileges as Great Britain and France had extorted by force of arms and such privileges as might be exacted from China in the future by other Powers would be extended to the United States.

(16) Frederick Townsend Ward first came to China in 1851. In 1859, he found his way into a Chinese gunboat as a mercenary. While serving in this capacity, he got acquainted with the Manchu lackeys. For a sum of 30,000 ounces of silver, he offered to recapture Sungkiang, a county near Shanghai, from the hands of Taiping revolutionaries. His offer was accepted and with the money he enlisted a hundred men, chiefly sailors attracted by the prospect of plunder. They made the attack but were repulsed. The plunderers led a second attack and in July, 1860, broke into Sungkiang. Henceforth, Ward led many similar exploits until he was killed in September 1862, at Tzeki, Chekiang Province. After the death of Ward the command of this motley force, the "ever-victorious army" as it was called, passed into the hands of another American, Henry Andrea Burgevine, who was later replaced by a Britisher. But throughout the whole period, the "ever-victorious army" received its financial support from American businessmen in Shanghai, and their account with the Manchu rulers was not settled until almost twenty years afterwards.

(17) In 1871, America demanded that Korea sign a commercial treaty. When it was refused, American naval forces started to bombard Korea. Korea, then a protectorate of China, was as

backward as China. Korean soldiers in bamboo helmets fought with such weapons as spears and arrows. However, due to the heroic resistance of the Korean people, the American invaders were repulsed.

(18) The event is better known to foreigners as the "Boxer Rebellion."

(19) The agreement was contained in an exchange of Notes, dated November 2, 1917, between Secretary of State, Robert Lansing and Viscount Ishii. "The governments of the United States and Japan recognise that territorial propinquity creates special relations between countries, and, consequently, the government of the United States recognises that Japan has special interests in China, especially in that part to which her possessions are contiguous."

In return for this, the Japanese government declared that it will "adhere to the principle of the so-called Open Door or equal opportunity for commerce and industry in China."

(20) By Articles 156, 157, 158, of the Treaty of Versailles all German rights in Shantung were transferred to Japan.

(21) Wu Pei-fu and Tsao Kun were both chief representatives of the warlords of Chihli, now called the Hopei Province in North China.

(22) In May 1925, Chinese workers in a Japanese cotton mill in Shanghai called a strike against ruthless exploitation and asked for better treatment. The Japanese mill owner not only refused to better the conditions of the workers, but pulled out his pistol and shot at the workers. One of the workers, Ku Chen-hung, was instantly killed.

When the news got out, thousands upon thousands of the people of Shanghai including workers, students and businessmen turned out into the streets in a parade against this outrage. Acting upon the orders of the imperialists, the Shanghai Municipal police arrested hundreds of strikers and their sympathisers. This failed to intimidate the Chinese people. More workers went on strike and more people turned out in protest. Then on May 30, when the demonstrators were approaching the police station demanding the release of those who had been arrested, a British police chief gave orders to shoot to kill, with the result that scores of people were killed or injured. This massacre set the whole

of China, then still under the rule of the warlords, ablaze and raised the curtain on China's Great Revolution of 1925 to 1927.

During the great upheaval following the May 30 Massacre, the American naval forces in Shanghai, in full collaboration with the Japanese and British imperialists, engaged in the persecution of the Chinese patriotic masses. At the same time the American magazine *New Republic* made suggestions to the effect that Peking should be attacked and occupied by an allied army including British, French, American and Japanese troops and that subsequently they should discuss the partition of China.

(23) On March 24, 1927, when the Nationalist Army had entered Nanking, the imperialists bombarded Hsiakuan, the water front of Nanking, inflicting heavy losses to Chinese lives and property.

(24) After his betrayal of China's Great Revolution, Chiang Kai-shek sold himself to the interests of the imperialists. Acting upon the orders of his masters, chiefly the American imperialists, Chiang between 1931 to 1933 launched five abortive offensives against the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, then centred around Juichin, Kiangsi Province. Each of the successive "Anti-Communist Campaigns" was on a larger scale than the one preceding it. Although the reactionaries failed to defeat the Red Army, they succeeded with the aid and encouragement of the American imperialists in killing an untold number of Chinese peasants in these five campaigns.

(25) Servile lackey of the Manchu Dynasty, who played the leading part in suppressing the Taiping Revolutionary Movement.

(26) As chief diplomat of the Manchu Dynasty during the latter 90s he sold Chinese national rights to foreign imperialists.

(27) He betrayed the Chinese Revolution of 1911 and became the "Great Emperor" in 1916 with American encouragement. He died an ignominious death the same year.

(28) A typical example of the American-Kuomintang special service organisation was the "Sino-American Co-operative Organisation" founded by M.E. Miles in May 1942 with the co-operation of Tai Li, most notorious boss of Chiang Kai-shek's secret service. American imperialists trained KMT's secret servicemen in the employment of new techniques.

(29) The lengthy preparations made by the U.S. and Syngman Rhee forces for an armed attack on the Korean Democratic People's Republic and invasion of Northeast China were exposed in captured enemy documents which were published in the Korean press. A letter to Syngman Rhee, dated April 18, 1949, from his counsellor on Foreign affairs Pen Ku Yen informed him that he had written to Acheson on the question of the treaty and that the contents of the draft had been brought to the knowledge of Truman last December. The letter advises Syngman Rhee to open negotiations with Muccio, U.S. Ambassador in South Korea. The concluding part of the draft treaty was published together with Pen Ku Yen's letter.

(30) The magazine published a report from its correspondent in Seoul with an accompanying map of Korea and Northeast China. On the Chinese part of the map were drawn three broad arrows with figures denoting flying distance between North Korea and Mukden, Harbin and Peking. The report reads in part:

"Across North Korea from Seoul lies Manchuria (Northeast China) which is the industrial powerhouse of Communist China. The Manchurian border is less than 250 air miles from Seoul. On the northeastern corner of North Korea is Russian Siberia. If and when Americans occupy North Korea, they will be just 100 air miles from Mukden, only 75 air miles from Vladivostok, in Siberia. It would be the only place in the world where United States troops would stand on the borders of the Soviet Union proper."

It further adds: "These links between Communist China and Soviet Russia have been under constant air attack. Now they are exposed to U.S. and U.N. forces victorious in South Korea."

(31) The Chinese ship, S.S. Anhai was fired upon and searched on September 21, 1950 by American destroyer D29. The ship was on her way from the coast of Southeast Shantung Coast to Antung in the Northeast. On board were 14 passengers including four women and two children, and a cargo of cotton cloth. The ship was shelled at 22 hours 45 minutes when she was 50 sea miles off the Chengshan Promontory.

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