

October 19, 1956

Transcript of Conversation between Zhou Enlai and Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy

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Summary:

Premier Zhou and Prime Minister of Pakistan, Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, debrief about the Bandung Conference. They discuss their views regarding international tensions in Asia and the rest of world. Suhrawardy praises Zhou on his attitude during the conference which gave Pakistan more clarity about China's position on international issues. Suhrawardy also says that he felt Zhou's sincerity and enthusiasm in getting along with other countries. Zhou says that he understands why other countries fear China and explains that China's goal at the moment is industrialization, not colonial expansion. Zhou tells Suhrawardy that the current generation of Chinese political leaders will make sure that future generations will not commit war and aggression. Suhrawardy disagrees with Zhou that current generation can control future political leaders decisions. Zhou calls for countries that are skeptical of China to engage with China to see for themselves China's intentions.

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Chinese

Contents:

Original Scan

Translation - English

倡导在国际上建立和平共处 互相监督的制度*

(一九五六年十月十九日)

周恩来总理(以下简称周): 万隆会议⁽¹⁰³⁾以后, 世界局势变化很大, 中巴两国关系也有了很大进步。你对国际紧张局势的和缓, 看法如何?

苏拉瓦底总理(以下简称苏): 亚洲的还是全世界的?

周: 亚洲和全世界的。

苏: 你出席万隆会议, 毫无疑问对会议的成就作出了巨大的贡献。在阁下参加万隆会议以前, 许多人不清楚中国的立场和目的, 不知道中国是要并吞世界其他国家, 还是要同别的国家友好合作。无疑地, 中国在重新统一和变得强大以后, 可以成为世界上最大的强国之一。巴基斯坦是一个小国, 如果中国要并吞巴基斯坦的话, 那是可以办得到的。过去, 鞑靼、蒙古的侵略都是从这个方向来的。你出席万隆会议受到很大的欢迎。你的合作态度

* 这是同巴基斯坦总理苏拉瓦底的会谈节录。

改变了会议的整个气氛。我这样说并不是恭维你，我不喜欢恭维人，我有自己的看法。如果不是由于看到你在那次会议上处理问题的方式，我也不会敢于到中国来。你使我们感觉到，中国真诚地和迫切地要同别的国家友好相处，并且共同求得发展。如果可能的话，最好不要再有恐惧和从这方面或那方面来的危险。如能避免这些，就会有和平的感觉，否则就会有侵略的危险。我对侵略所下的定义是：非法的、不合理的夺取。如果经常有侵略的危险，人们脑子里的恐惧就不会消失。

周：万隆会议取得成就，是所有与会各国努力的结果，这个成就不是一个国家的成就。在那次会议上，大家表现了团结和谅解，并且表示要为共同目标奋斗。中国人民的愿望是这样，政府的政策是这样，我作为中国人民和政府的代表和发言人，表达了这一愿望。总的说，万隆会议也表达了亚非亿万人民的愿望，因此它的影响才能扩大和发展下去。中国的解放、胜利和发展，有一方面的理由可能引起周围的和世界上的一些国家的恐惧。这我们是理解的。中国是大国，人口多，如果在一个相当时间内实现了工业化，发展成为强国，人们很容易会联想起过去的某些国家在强大以后向外扩张的例子。也有人会回想起东方的历史，某些民族曾经向外扩张过，中国封建帝国向外扩张过。联想到这些就会有恐惧，特别是中国的邻国。两年前，我们同印度和缅甸的总理接触的时候，就

感觉到这一点。在万隆会议中接触到更多国家的领导人，我也感觉到这一点。这是一方面。但是还有另外一方面，而且是主要的一方面，那就是时代不同了，中国的情况不同了。应该向有恐惧的外国朋友们解释的，首先是中国自己落后了一个世纪。不论是由于什么理由，中国过去被西方殖民主义侵略过，没有得到发展。现在我们胜利了，摆脱了殖民主义，要求得到政治上和经济上的独立发展。我们能取得胜利是因为我们建立了依靠人民的制度，这就是人民民主的制度。我们主要地依靠自己，来求得政治的完全独立和经济的独立发展，我们的目标是工业化。我们曾受过殖民主义的祸害，我们也看到了殖民主义的失败，我们怎能走殖民主义的老路去侵略人家呢？这是不许可的。这是我们国家的制度和政策所不许可的。我们主要依靠国内市场，这足以让我们得到发展。我们认为，只有同世界各国和平共处，才能得到发展；只有站在反殖民主义的立场，不容许自己重蹈殖民主义的覆辙，才不致失败。这一点已经成为我们规定在宪法里的基本政策。现在时代也不同了。殖民主义的一切表现（这是万隆会议决议的用词）都是要失败的。正如阁下昨天所说的，西方殖民主义终归导致了自己的失败。如果殖民主义有一种新的表现，象你所说的非法夺取，那也必然会失败。我们的时代不允许殖民主义发展，殖民主义必然要死亡。

我们虽然这样说，外国朋友或许会想是不是真是这样？因此必须要有接触。我们欢迎同邻国和世界各国的领导人接触，并且同各国人民接触。通过接触就可以看到实际情况。凡是来我国的外国朋友，都看到中国人民在进行和平建设，愿意同各国友好相处。我们在万隆会议上邀请了所有与会国的代表来中国访问，尽管有些国家同中国还没有外交关系。我们所邀请的包括泰国的旺亲王⁽¹¹³⁾、菲律宾的罗慕洛⁽¹¹¹⁾将军和土耳其的外交部长。我们邀请他们到中国来看看，特别是到他们有兴趣甚至有怀疑的地方去看看。譬如，泰国的朋友可以到云南西双版纳傣族自治州去看看。菲律宾的朋友可以到福建、广东等沿海地带去看看。将来同西藏的航线通了以后，巴基斯坦、印度、尼泊尔和阿富汗的朋友可以到西藏去看看，还可以到新疆去看看。到一切愿意去的地方以后，就可以看到中国人民在从事和平建设，中国人民愿意同世界各国人民友好；也可以看到，中国国内各民族是平等的，中国人民享有民主和自由。一个在从事和平建设、愿意同世界各国友好、国内各民族平等、人民享受民主的国家，是不可能产生殖民主义和侵略思想的，因为被制度和政策限制住了。朋友们也许会想，这只是现在，你们现在还不强，强大以后你们的制度是否能够保险？中国人民懂得，不仅要有目前的制度，而且这制度还要不断改进，这样就不可能发生那种危险。我们不但有了国内的

制度,而且主张在国际上建立一种制度,那就是各国和平共处,互相监督,国际间一切争端通过和平协商解决而不用武力。我们在国际上主张和平友好的政策,各国以和平共处五项原则^[67]或者以万隆会议的十项原则^[147]来相互约束。这就是一种国际保证,使得国家不分大小都可以和平共处,互相帮助发展而不附带任何条件。我们要把殖民主义只为自己发展而把别人搞穷的原则埋葬掉。这种政策是不排斥任何国家的,包括美国和其他西方国家在内,大家平等相处。

国际上有两种约束,一种是法律上的约束。除了联合国宪章以外,国与国之间还可以签订互不侵犯条约,或者扩大成为集体和平公约,例如亚洲和太平洋地区的国家可以签订一个集体和平公约。这种公约的目的不是要建立军事集团,而是为了集体和平;不排斥别人,也不反对任何国家。各国以五项原则或十项原则为基础,互相保证长期和平共处,用条约形式把这种保证固定下来。另外,还有道义上的约束,各国通过彼此来往,可以发表声明,签订协议,发表演说,强调反对侵略和反对殖民主义。这样做不仅可以形成国际的道义上的约束,而且可以作为对国内人民进行教育的内容。我们不仅要保证这一代不发生战争和侵略,还要影响下一代,使得以后世世代代都遵守我们现在主张的原则。这样,人们就可以和平共处,共同发展下去。我们这一代是发生重要变化的

一代,如果我们的工作做好了,会对后代起重大的作用。我们常常对外国朋友说,中国的领导人已经公开表示,不容许自己的后代走殖民主义的道路,中国强大了以后,也要同各国和平共处,互相帮助。如果我们的后代在这方面犯了错误,外国朋友可以指责他们做了他们的前人所不愿做的事。

苏: 那就太晚了。

周: 你不了解我们的精神,我们是要用各种方法,用法律上的和道义上的方法来保证。

苏: 我不这样看。

周: 在这点上我们之间存在着思想意识的不同。

苏: 不,我们都要和平。

周: 那么为什么你怀疑我们的下一代不能保证呢?

苏: 按照我的看法,那是由于人性。这是哲学。

周: 在国际关系中,有法律上的约束,也有道义上的约束。人不能离群而生活,国家也不能没有朋友。互相尊重的问题已经包括在五项原则和十项原则里,因此我没有重复提到这个问题,既然你提到了,我想解释几句。五项原则的第一条就是互相尊重主权和领土完整,国家不分大小强弱,都互相尊重,是完全对的,完全需要的。互相尊重首先必须不侵犯人家主权,不侵占人家领土,不干涉人家内政,不对别人进行侵略。彼此相处要平等对待,包括政治、经济和文化各方面,不应该要求特权。在进行

贸易和经济合作的时候要互利，而不是只有利于一方。互相尊重不能解释为一方可以为所欲为，要人家尊重，因为这样就妨碍了另一方。

PROPOSING CONSTRUCTING AN INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND MUTUAL SUPERVISION

Premier Zhou Enlai (hereafter shortened to Zhou): After the Bandung Conference, there have been substantial changes in the world situation, and Sino-Pakistan relations have also made great progress. What is your view of the relaxation of the tense international situation?

Premier Suhrawardy (hereafter shortened to Suhrawardy): In Asia, or all over the world?

Zhou: [Both] Asia and the world.

Suhrawardy: There is absolutely no doubt that your presence at the Bandung Conference made an enormous contribution to the accomplishments of the meeting. Before your Excellency participated in the Bandung Conference, many people were unclear as to China's position and objective, not knowing whether China wanted to swallow up other countries, or whether it wanted to have friendly cooperation with other countries. Without a doubt, after China's renewal and unification, it has become powerful, and may become one of the world's great powers. Pakistan is a small country, and if China wanted to swallow up Pakistan, it could accomplish that. In the past, the Tartar and Mongol invasions both came from this direction. Your presence at the Bandung Conference was greatly welcomed. Your cooperative attitude transformed the entire atmosphere of the meeting. I say this not as flattery; I don't like flatterers, and I have my own views. Had I not seen the way that you handled problems at that meeting, I would not have dared to come to China. You made us realize that China sincerely and eagerly wanted to coexist in friendship with other countries and seek development together. If it were possible, it would be best that there be no further fear and danger from this or that side. If such fears can be avoided, then there could be a feeling of peace; otherwise, there would be the danger of aggression. My definition of aggression is illegal, unreasonable seizure. If there is frequent danger of aggression, then people will always feel afraid.

Zhou: The accomplishments of the Bandung Conference were the results of the efforts of every country participating in the meeting; they were not achieved by any one country. At that Conference, everyone showed solidarity and understanding, and demonstrated a desire to strive for common goals. That is the Chinese people's wish, that is the government's policy, and that is the wish that I expressed, as the representative and spokesperson for the Chinese people and government, that single hope. In general, the Bandung Conference also expressed the hopes of millions of people in Asia and Africa, and so its influence could broaden and develop further. There is some reason that China's liberation, victory and development might cause anxiety among some neighboring countries as well as the whole world. We understand this. China is a big country, with a large population, and if within a certain period of time it becomes industrialized and develops into a powerful country, it would be easy for people to recall examples of how in the past some countries, after becoming powerful, became expansionist. And some people may recall the history of the orient, in which some nationalities have been expansionist - the feudal Chinese empire was expansionist. Thinking of these could cause anxiety particularly among China's neighbors. Two years ago, when we met with the Prime Ministers of India and Burma, we were aware of this point. Coming in contact with the leaders of even more countries at the Bandung Conference, I was conscious of this point. This is one aspect. However, there is another aspect, which is the more important aspect, which is that the era is different, and China's situation is different. We must explain to those foreign friends who have anxieties, first of all, that China itself is a century behind. No matter for what reason, in the past China was invaded by Western colonialism, and was not able to develop. Now we are victorious, and have thrown off colonialism, and need independent political and economic development. We were able to achieve victory because we constructed a system that relied on the people,

that is, the people's democratic system. We principally rely on ourselves, to achieve total independence politically and independent economic development; our goal is industrialization. We have been harmed by colonialism, and we have also seen the defeat of colonialism, so how could we follow the old path of colonialism and invade others? This is impermissible. Our country's political system and policy would not permit it. We principally rely on our domestic market, which is sufficient for achieving development. We believe that only through peaceful coexistence with the countries of the world can we achieve development; only by taking the standpoint of anti-colonialism, and not allowing ourselves to repeat the mistakes of colonialism, can we avoid failure. This point has already been stipulated in our constitution as a fundamental policy. Also, the times now are different. All manifestations of colonialism (this is the term from the Bandung Conference's resolution) will fail. Just as your excellency said yesterday, western colonialism will inevitably bring about its own defeat. If there were to be some new manifestation of colonialism, such as you described as illegal seizure, that also will inevitably fail. Our times will not allow the development of colonialism; colonialism is destined to perish.

Of course, we can say this, but our foreign friends may well wonder whether this is really so. Consequently, it's necessary to have contact. We welcome contact with the leaders of neighboring countries and the countries of the world, and also contact with the people of every country. Through contacts we will be able to see the actual situation. All the foreign friends who come to our country see how the Chinese people are carrying out peaceful construction and want to get along in a friendly manner with various countries. At the Bandung Conference we invited the delegations of all the participating countries to visit China, in spite of the fact that some countries did not yet have diplomatic relations with China. Those we invited included Prince Wan Waithayakon of Thailand, General Romulo of the Philippines, and the Turkish Foreign Minister. We invited them to visit China, particularly to visit places in which they were interested, or even had suspicions about. For example, our Thai friends could visit the Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture in Yunnan. The Philippine friends could visit coastal areas in Fujian, Guangdong and elsewhere. In the future, after transportation routes to Tibet are open, our friends from Pakistan, India, Nepal and Afghanistan can visit Tibet, or can visit Xinjiang. After visiting whatever places they want, they will be able to see the Chinese people engaged in peaceful construction, how the Chinese people want friendship with the people of all the countries of the world; and they will also be able to see that all the nationalities within China are equal, and that the Chinese people enjoy democracy and freedom. A country engaged in peaceful construction, desiring friendship with the people of every country in the world, where all the nationalities are equal, and the people enjoy democracy cannot possibly give rise to an ideology of colonialism and aggression, because it is restricted by its system and policies. Our friends still might think, it's this way now, you are not yet powerful, but can you ensure that your system will be the same once you are powerful? The Chinese people understand, not only must there be the current system, but this system must be continually improved, in order to prevent that sort of danger. We not only have our domestic system, but also advocate constructing an international system in which every country peacefully coexists and mutually supervises, in which all international disputes are resolved through peaceful negotiation and not through military force. Internationally, we advocate a policy of peace and friendship, in which each country mutually binds itself to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence or the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference Resolution. This is a sort of international guarantee that all countries, whether big or small, will be able to peacefully coexist, helping each other develop without attaching any conditions whatsoever. We want to bury that colonialist principle which enriches itself while impoverishing others. This policy does not exclude any country whatsoever, including the U.S. and other western countries, everybody treating each other as equals.

There are two types of restraints in international [relations]; legal restraints are one type. Besides the United Nations' Charter, countries may sign mutual non-aggression treaties with each other, or they may expand this into a collective peace pact, for

instance the countries of the Asia-Pacific region could sign a collective peace pact. The objective of this kind of pact is not to establish a military collective, but rather for collective peace, not excluding others, and not opposing any [particular] country. Each country may use the form of a treaty to guarantee long term peaceful coexistence among themselves, whether based on the Five Principles [of Peaceful Coexistence] or the Ten Principles [of the Bandung Conference Resolution] to set this guarantee. Furthermore, there are also moral restraints; each country, through contacts with each other, can issue statements, sign agreements, make speeches, emphasizing their opposition to aggression and their opposition to colonialism. Doing these things not only can form international moral restraints, they can also serve as educational content for the domestic population. We don't just want to guarantee that no war or aggression occurs in this generation, we also want to influence the next generation, so that later successive generations follow the principles we currently espouse. This way, people can peacefully coexist, and develop together. Our generation is one that has experienced important changes, and if we do our work properly, it can be of great use to later generations. We often say to our foreign friends, China's leaders have already publicly stated that they will not allow our descendants to take the road of colonialism. After China has become powerful, we will still want to peacefully coexist with each and every country, helping each other. If our descendants make mistakes in this area, our foreign friends may accuse them of doing what their ancestors did not want to do.

Suhrawardy: That will be too late.

Zhou: You don't understand the basis of our thinking [literally: our essence]. We must use all sorts of methods, legal and moral methods, to guarantee [this outcome].

Suhrawardy: I don't see it that way.

Zhou: On this point there exists between us an ideological difference.

Suhrawardy: No, we both want peace.

Zhou: So why do you doubt that our descendants will be able to guarantee it?

Suhrawardy: According to my way of thinking, it's because of human nature. This is philosophy.

Zhou: In international relations, there are legal constraints, and there are also moral constraints. People cannot live alone, and countries cannot be without friends. The issue of mutual respect is already included in the Five Principles and the Ten Principles, so I have not raised this issue again, but since you have raised it, let me explain. The first of the Five Principles is mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty: regardless of the size or strength of the country, they all must respect each other. This is completely correct and completely necessary. Mutual respect first of all requires that one not infringe other's sovereignty, no occupation of other's territory, no interference in other's internal affairs, and not committing aggression against others. We must treat each other equally, in all areas including political, economic and cultural, and shouldn't seek special privileges. When carrying out trade and economic cooperation there must be mutual benefit; the profit shouldn't all be on one side. Mutual respect cannot be interpreted as allowing one side to do whatever it wants and expecting others to respect that, because that would be a hindrance to the other side.