

October 24, 1964

Transcript of Conversation between Zhou Enlai and Philippine's Journalists' Delegation

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Summary:

Premier Zhou and Philippine journalists' discuss obstacles to establishing friendly Sino-Philippine relations. One obstacle is that Philippines is part of the U.S. led alliance camp in Asia. Zhou believes that despite China and Philippine being part of two different camps, this should not prevent China and the Philippines from establishing bilateral relations. The second obstacle is that the Philippines still maintains diplomatic relations with Taiwan. Zhou also says that Philippines-Taiwan relations should not prevent the Philippines from establishing relations with the mainland. Reporters ask for Zhou's perspective on U.S. military deployment in Philippines and Filipino people's fear that China might use friendly Sino-Philippines relations to incite communist revolution in their country.

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我们期待 中菲两国关系的发展*

(一九六四年十月二十四日)

周恩来总理(以下简称周):很高兴能见到你们。我们两国都是亚洲国家,都是参加一九五五年万隆会议^[103]的国家,都是在二次大战后取得独立和解放的国家。在那次会议上,我们两国代表是在取得各自独立和解放后第一次见面的。在参加万隆会议以后,我们就常想,如何促进和发展我们两国之间的关系。当然在这个问题上,我们方面没有困难,而你们方面是存在一些困难的。

有一种困难现在正在逐渐打破。我们双方都是结盟国家,而且,这种结盟有一个时期是相当对立的。我们是社会主义阵营的国家,有中苏友好同盟互助条约^[9],菲律宾参加了东南亚条约组织^[71],这个组织是在美国领导下用来敌视中国的。因此,就使中菲处在对立的地位。但

* 这是同菲律宾新闻工作者代表团的谈话节录。

是，结盟国家的情况和性质最近有变化，而且大有变化。你们诸位是新闻记者，可能很清楚。

就以东南亚条约组织来看，巴基斯坦是其成员之一，可是，巴基斯坦在很久以前承认中国后，就一直对中国表示友好，中国对巴基斯坦也一直友好相待。特别是近几年来，两国之间的友好关系有了很大的发展。我们两国并未因为参加了对立的集团而相互对立和不友好。相反，我们两国的友谊更密切了。

诸位都知道，印度是不结盟国家，中印关系开始时期很好，但是，最近几年来比较紧张。所谓关系紧张，指的是政治方面，至于边境的局势，实际上已经和缓下来，没有什么紧张。

从这两个国家的例子可以看得出，结盟和不结盟的情况已经大有变化。

从这一情况来看，中国和菲律宾的关系是可以改善的，而且应该改善，因为我们两国之间没有根本利害冲突。我们两国都分别在第二次世界大战后取得了独立和解放，现在还在为争取完全的独立而奋斗。一个国家如果经济上不能完全独立，政治上也就不能完全独立。我所说的经济上完全独立，并不排除经济往来和贸易上互通有无，这在当前的世界上是必需的，特别是我们亚非国家更应该实行经济合作，贸易往来，但是决不能侵犯任何国家的主权。我们两国虽然没有外交关系，但是并不妨

碍双方关系的发展。自从万隆会议以来，我们就有发展两国关系的愿望。我很高兴，罗慕洛^[111]先生能够出席第二次亚非会议筹备会议^[307]，他在雅加达同陈毅外长的第二次会面，提供了揭开两国关系史上新的一页的机会。接着就有两批记者先后来华访问。听说第一批菲律宾记者回国以后，对中国作了客观、友好的报道。这两批记者来华访问以及他们客观、友好的报道，为今后两国关系的发展，提供了良好的开端。

再一个困难是，菲律宾与台湾蒋介石集团还保持着外交关系。但是我们认为，这也不能阻挠两国关系的建立和发展。例如，日本与台湾蒋介石集团也保持外交关系，但是这并不妨碍它同中国建立和发展一般往来关系。近几年来，中日两国人民之间的往来更加频繁了，日本是亚洲国家中跟中国往来最频繁的国家。我们都知道，日本是一个战败国，曾经是一个帝国主义、军国主义的国家，是一个曾经对外侵略过的国家。菲律宾和中国都被日本侵略过。现在日本被美军占领，还有一部分领土被美国霸占，而且同美国签订了日美安全条约^[172]。在这种情况下，日本仍然跟我们发展友好关系，特别是民间的友好往来更是日益频繁。这一切说明，情况是复杂的，但不是无所作为的。日本在复杂的情况下，排除种种困难，发展跟中国的关系，在这方面我们是给予大力支持的。

当然，日本跟中国发展关系，受到美国很大的压力。因此日本政府和中国政府一时不能发展官方的往来，但是实际上已经存在着半官方的往来。

日本如此，何况是菲律宾呢？正如刚才所谈的，我们两国都是在第二次世界大战后取得独立和解放的。中菲两国人民愿意友好往来。菲律宾的客观条件比日本要好。因此，自从万隆会议以来，我们一直期待着两国关系的发展，首先是两国人民友好往来的发展。

正是由于有了日本这个例子，我们相信，中菲两国的关系，特别是两国人民的友好关系，终有一天会得到发展。

中国记者现在还没有机会访问菲律宾，而是由你们，菲律宾记者首先来我国访问，开始了中菲友好往来，因此值得我们庆贺。同时，我也愿意通过你们向菲律宾人民致意，预祝我们两国关系发展的新时期的到来！

索利文团长（以下简称索）：我想请菲新社编辑桑托斯先生提个问题。

桑托斯：请总理阁下谈谈对美国在菲律宾设立军事基地一事有何看法。

周：当然我们对美国在菲律宾设立军事基地是不高兴的。

美国政府曾经宣布，美国在菲律宾的军事基地是针对中国的新月形包围圈的重要一环。但我们的看法不完

全如此。我们认为，美国在菲律宾设立的军事基地主要是用以对付菲律宾人民，它借口保护菲律宾，侵犯菲律宾国家的主权，加重菲律宾人民的负担，伤害菲律宾的独立和人民的自尊心。不言而喻，美国这种做法必然要影响菲律宾政策的独立性。在我们东面和西面，凡是有美国军事基地的地方，都有这种情况。美国在全世界设立军事基地的地方都同样有这种情况。

也许美国向菲律宾提出了一个设想，即新中国强大了，会威胁菲律宾。这种说法是完全没有根据的。我刚才说过，中菲两国没有根本利害冲突，中国去威胁菲律宾干什么？早在万隆会议以前，我们就宣布不同社会制度的国家根据五项原则实行和平共处。这五项原则是：互相尊重主权和领土完整、互不侵犯、互不干涉内政、平等互利、和平共处。中国已经根据这五项原则，同许多亚非国家签订了和平友好或互不侵犯条约，我们不但这样写在条约上，而且也见之于实际行动。我可以举例说明，一个是跟缅甸的关系，一个是跟尼泊尔的关系，这两个国家同我国都有领土接壤。我们不仅跟这两个国家签订了和平友好或互不侵犯条约，而且还解决了边界问题，签订了边界条约。缅甸政府的领导人，不论是过去的吴努^[136]、吴巴瑞^[313]还是现在的奈温^[314]主席，跟我们一直很友好，虽然在这个国家里还存在着内战。这就是说，政府当局和本国的共产党以及其他的武装集团是对立的。但

是，这并不妨碍我们两国的友好往来。尼泊尔国内存在着共产党，但不是执政党，处在半合法的状态。尼泊尔是国王亲自执政的，这也没有妨碍我们两国友好往来。同我们接壤的国家对我们很友好，很放心，认为我们对它们不是威胁，而同我们并不接壤的菲律宾，更可以根据同样的理由，发展我们两国的友好关系。我们没有必要对菲律宾进行威胁和侵略。因为我们是社会主义国家，我们的社会制度和我们的信仰决不允许我们威胁和侵略其他国家。

索：有一个微妙的问题，我想请总理阁下谈谈，有些菲律宾人害怕中国会利用友好往来，输出革命，支持当地的共产党？

周：革命是不能输出的，我们一贯坚持这个原则。革命要靠本国人民自己来进行。大多数人民选择什么制度，这个国家就实行什么制度。这决不能由别国人民的意志来决定。尽管各国人民都希望世界进步，但这只是一个良好的愿望，而各国人民如何实现进步，这条道路还要由各国人民自己去走。我刚才列举了缅甸和尼泊尔的例子，就能说明这个问题。

WE LOOK FORWARD TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF SINO-PHILIPPINE RELATIONS

(October 24, 1964)

Premier Zhou Enlai (hereafter shortened to Zhou): I'm delighted to meet with you. Our two countries are both Asian; we both participated in the Bandung Conference in 1955, and both our countries achieved independence and liberation after World War II. At that conference, delegations of our two countries met for the first time since independence and liberation. After participating in the Bandung Conference, we have often wondered, how can we advance and develop the relationship between our two countries. Of course, on our side there are no difficulties, but on your side there do remain some difficulties.

□

One sort of difficulty is now gradually being overcome. Both sides are members of alliances, however, alliances that were, at a certain time, quite definitely opposed to each other. Our country is a member of the socialist camp, with a treaty of mutual alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union; the Philippines is a member of the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO), which is an organization led by the United States and hostile towards China. Because of this, China and the Philippines stand on opposite sides. But most recently, the circumstances and nature of these allied countries have changed, and in fact there are some big changes. You all are journalists, so you are probably clear about this.

□

Take SEATO, for instance. Pakistan is one of its members. However, ever since Pakistan recognized China a long time ago, it has always been friendly to China, and China has always treated Pakistan in a friendly manner. Especially in recent years, the friendship between the two countries has developed significantly. Despite being members of two mutually opposed alliances, our two countries have not been opposed to each other and unfriendly. On the contrary, the friendship between the two countries has become even closer.

□

As each one of you know, India is a non-aligned nation; Sino-Indian relations initially were very good, but in recent years they have become relatively tense. By tense relations I mean the political aspects. As for the situation on the border, it in fact has already eased, so there's no tension there.

□

From the examples of these two countries you can see, the situation regarding alliance memberships has already changed tremendously.

From what I just mentioned, it's not only possible to improve Sino-Philippine relations, but they must be improved, because there is basically no conflict of interest between our two countries. Both our countries have separately achieved independence and liberation following the Second World War, and now are still fighting to achieve complete independence. If a country cannot be fully independent economically, it cannot be fully independent politically. What I mean by fully independent economically does not exclude economic exchanges and trade relations, which are necessary in the world today, and Afro-Asian countries like us in particular should be carrying out economic cooperation and trade relations, just as long no one infringes on any other country's sovereignty. Even though our two countries have no diplomatic relations, that ought not prevent the development of bilateral relations. Ever since the Bandung conference, we have wished for the development of the relations between our two countries. We are very happy that Mr. [Carlos] Romulo could attend the Preparatory Conference for the Second Afro-Asian Conference, and the second meeting he had with [Foreign Minister] Chen Yi in Jakarta provided an opportunity to turn a new page in the history of the two countries' relationship. Since then, two delegations of journalists have visited China one after another. From what I've heard, after the first group of Philippine journalists returned to their country, they wrote objective and friendly reports about China. The visits to China of these two

groups of journalists, and their objective and friendly reporting, have provided a favorable beginning to the development of bilateral relations going forward.

□

Another difficulty is that the Philippines continues to maintain diplomatic relations with the Chiang Kai-shek [Jiang Jieshi] clique on Taiwan. However, we believe this shouldn't hinder the establishment and development of our bilateral relations. For example, Japan also maintains diplomatic relations with the Chiang Kai-shek clique on Taiwan, but that has not prevented it from establishing and developing general reciprocal relations with China. In recent years, Sino-Japanese people-to-people exchanges have increased in frequency. Among Asian countries, Japan is the one with the most frequent contacts with China. We all know that Japan is a defeated nation, and in the past was an imperialist, militarist nation, a nation that had invaded other foreign countries. Both the Philippines and China were invaded by Japan. Now Japan is occupied by the U.S. military, and some of its territory has been taken over by the U.S., and it has also signed the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty. Under such circumstances, Japan is nevertheless still able to develop friendly relations with us, in particular ever-increasing friendly people-to-people exchanges. This is to say, despite the complicated circumstances, there are still things that can be done. Japan, with its complicated circumstances, has been able to overcome a great deal of difficulties in order to develop relations with China. This is something we are fully in support of.

□

Of course, Japan has been under enormous pressure from the United States regarding its development of relations with China. Because of this, for now the Japanese government and Chinese government cannot develop official contacts, but in practice there are already semi-official contacts.

If Japan can do this, then how about the Philippines? As I just said, we are both countries who obtained their independence and liberation after the Second World War. The Philippine and Chinese people both want friendly exchanges. The Philippines' objective conditions are better than Japan's. Therefore, ever since the Bandung Conference, we have been anticipating the development of our bilateral relations, starting with the development of friendly bilateral people-to-people exchanges.

Precisely because of an example such as Japan, we believe that Sino-Philippine relations, especially friendly bilateral people-to-people relations, will ultimately develop successfully.

□

Chinese journalists have not, as yet, had the opportunity to visit the Philippines, however, Philippine journalists like you are visiting our country first, initiating friendly exchanges between our countries. This is something worth celebrating. At the same time, I would like you to convey our best regards to the Philippine people, wishing in advance for the arrival of a new era in the development of our bilateral relations.

□

Delegation leader [Max] Soliven*[1] (hereafter shortened to Soliven): I'd like to invite Mr. Santos, editor at the Philippine News Agency, to ask a question.

Santos: I'd like to ask the Premier to tell us what he thinks about the establishment of U.S. military bases in the Philippines.

Zhou: Of course we are not happy about the military bases that the United States has established in the Philippines.

□

The U.S. government has declared that its military bases in the Philippines are a crucial part of the encirclement strategy directed at China. But we don't see it quite like that. We believe that the American military bases in the Philippines were primarily established to use against the Philippine people; under the pretense of

protecting the Philippines, they are an invasion of the sovereignty of the Philippines, increasing the burden on the Philippine people, wounding the independence of the Philippines and the self-esteem of its people. It goes without saying that these actions of the United States will surely have an effect on the independence of Philippine policy. From our east to our west, everywhere there are places with American bases, they are all in the same situation. Everywhere in the entire world where the U.S. has established military bases likewise has the same situation.

□

Maybe the U.S. has given the Philippines the idea that once China has become powerful it will be a threat to the Philippines. There is absolutely no basis for such a claim. As I have just said, there is no fundamental conflict of interests between China and the Philippines, so why would China be a threat to the Philippines? Even before the Bandung Conference we had announced that countries with different social systems could peacefully coexist on the basis of the Five Principles [of Peaceful Coexistence]. These Five Principles are: mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence. China has already made treaties of mutual friendship and non-aggression based on these five principles with many Afro-Asian countries; these principles are not merely written words in the text of the treaty, but are evident in our actual behavior. I can give you examples to illustrate this, one being our relations with Burma, another is our relations with Nepal. Both of these countries share a border with us. We not only signed treaties of mutual friendship and non-aggression with these two countries, we also resolved our border issues, and signed border [delimiting] agreements. Burmese government leaders, from past ones like U Nu and U Barui to the current President Ne Win, all have always had good relations with us despite the fact there is an ongoing civil war in that country. That is to say, the governing authorities are opposed to its own country's Communist Party, along with other armed groups. But this has never prevented us from having friendly bilateral exchanges. The Communist Party in Nepal isn't the governing party, and exists in a semi-legal status. The King personally has governing authority in Nepal, but this has not prevented us from having friendly bilateral exchanges. Countries with which we share borders are friendly towards us, have no concerns, since they don't consider us to be a threat. So, countries like the Philippines, with which we don't have a common border, can, for the same reasons, develop bilateral friendly relations. We have no need to threaten or invade the Philippines. Because we are a socialist country, our social system and our faith would never permit us to threaten or invade other countries.

Soliven: There is a delicate question, which I'd like to ask the Premier to address; there are some Filipinos who fear that China could use friendly exchanges to export revolution, supporting the local Communist Party?

Zhou: Revolution cannot be exported: we have always held firmly to this principle. Making revolution must rely on the country's people themselves. Whatever system the majority of people choose will be implemented in that country. This cannot be decided by the will of the people from another country. Although people from every country desire progress in the world, but that is only a nice wish, and the way the people of each country will carry out progress is something that these very people must choose themselves. The examples I have just given, of Burma and Nepal, should be sufficient to explain this issue.

* Max Soliven (1929-2006), Philippine journalist and newspaper publisher. NFI on Santos.