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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE KINGDOM OF THAILAND AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA JULY 1, 1975 *

- 1 The government on the Kingdom of Thailand and the government of the People's Republic of China, desiring to revive and strengthen further the traditionally close and friendly relations between the peoples of the two countries and in conformity with interests and common desires of the diplomatic as from July 1, 1975.
- 2 The two governments reaffirm that only the people of each country have the right to choose their own political, economic and social systems, without outside interference. They also share the conviction that, in spite of the differences in the political, economic and social systems of the Kingdom of Thailand and the People's Republic of China, there should be no obstacle to the development of peaceful and friendly relations between the two countries and peoples in accordance with the principles of mutual respect or sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence.
- 3 The two governments agree to settle all disputes by peaceful means in accordance with the above-mentioned principles, without resorting to the use or threat of force.
- 4 The two governments agree that all foreign aggression and subversion on and all attempts by any country to control any other country or to internal affairs are impermissible and are to be condemned.
- 5 The two governments are also opposed to any attempt to any country or group of countries to establish or create spheres of influence in any part of the world.
- 6 The government of the kingdom of Thailand recognizes the government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal government of China, acknowledges the position of the Chinese government that there is but one China and that Taiwan is an integral part of Chinese territory, and decides to remove all its official representations from Taiwan within one month from the date of signature of this communiqué.
- 7 The government of the People's Republic of China recognizes the government of kingdom of Thailand and agrees to respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Thailand.
- 8 The government of the People's Republic of China takes note of the fact that for centuries Chinese residents in Thailand have lived in harmony and amity with the

* SOURCE: foreign affairs bulletin Bangkok 15 (July-September 1975): 68-70.

Thai people in conformity with the law of the land and with the customs and habits of the Thai people, the government of the People's Republic of China declares that it does not recognize dual nationality. Both governments consider anyone of Chinese nationality or origin who acquires Thai nationality as automatically forfeiting Chinese nationality. As for those Chinese residents in Thailand who elect to retain Chinese nationality of their own will, the Chinese government, acting in accordance with its consistent policy, will enjoin them to abide by the law of the kingdom of Thailand, respect the customs and habits of the Thai people and live in amity with them. Their proper rights and interests will be protected by the government of China and respected by the government of the kingdom of Thailand.

- 9 The two governments agree to pursue policies for the development of trade, economic and cultural relations between them.
- 10 The government of Kingdom of Thailand and the government of the People's Republic of China agree to exchange mutually accredited ambassadors as soon as practicable and to provide each other with all the necessary assistance for the establishment and performance of the functions of diplomatic missions in their respective capitals in accordance with international practice and on a reciprocal basis.

CHOU EN-LAI
Premier of the State Council of the
People's Republic of China

MOM RAJWONGSE KUKRIT PRAMOJ
Prime Minister of the
Kingdom of Thailand

APPENDIX II

JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE KINGDOM OF THAILAND AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (CHINESE) JULY 1, 1975

中泰关于建立外交关系的联合公报（1975年7月）

一、中华人民共和国政府和泰国政府为了恢复和进一步加强两国人民传统的亲密友好关系，并根据两国人民的利益和共同愿望，决定于一九七五年七月一日起互相承认并建立外交关系。

二、两国政府重申，只有一个国家的人民才有权选择他们自己的政治、经济和社会制度，而不应受到外来干涉，两国政府并深信，中华人民共和国和泰国政治、经济和社会制度的不同不应妨碍按照互相尊重主权和领土完整、互不侵犯、互不干涉内政、平等互利和平共处的原则发展两国和两国人民之间的和平友好关系。

三、两国政府同意依照上述原则通过和平手段解决一切争端，而不使用武力或以武力相威胁。

四、两国政府一致认为，一切外国侵略和颠覆以及任何国家控制别国或干涉别国内政的一切企图都是不许可的，都应受到谴责。

五、两国政府反对任何国家或国家集团在世界上任何地区建立霸权和势力范围的图谋。

六、泰国政府承认中华人民共和国政府为中国的唯一合法政府，承认中国政府关于只有一个中国，台湾是中国领土不可分割的一部分的立场，并决定在本公报签字之日起一个月内从台湾撤走一切官方代表机构。

七、中华人民共和国政府承认泰国政府并同意尊重泰国的独立、主权和领土完整。

八、中华人民共和国政府注意到，几个世纪以来侨居在泰国的中国人能遵循泰国的法律和泰国人民的风俗习惯，同泰国人民和谐友好相处。中华人民共和国政府宣布他们不承认双重国籍。双方政府认为任何中国籍或中国血统的人在取得泰国国籍后都自动失去了中国国籍。对自愿选择保留中国国籍的在泰国的中国侨民，中国政府按照其一贯政策要求他们遵守泰国法律，尊重泰国人民的风俗习惯，并与泰国人民友好相处。他们的正当权利和利益将得到中国政府的保护，并将受到泰国政府的尊重。

九、两国政府同意奉行发展彼此间的贸易、经济和文化关系的政策。

十、中华人民共和国政府和泰国政府同意按实际可能尽快互相委派大使，并根据国际惯例在互惠的基础上在各自首都为对方大使馆的建立和履行职务提供一切必要的协助。

中华人民共和国国务院总理
周恩来

泰国总理
蒙拉差翁·克立·巴莫

一九七五年七月一日于北京

APPENDIX III

ADDRESS BY CHOU EN-LAI REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AT BANDUNG ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

Mr. Chairman, fellow delegates:

My main speech has been mimeographed and is being distributed to you. After listening to the speeches delivered by the heads of many delegations, I would like to make some supplementary remarks.

The Chinese delegation has come here to seek unity and not to quarrel. We communists do not hide the face that we believe in communism and that we consider socialist system a good system. There is no need at this conference to publicize one's ideology and the political system of one's country, although differences do exist among us.

The Chinese delegation has come here to seek common ground not to create divergence. Is there any basis for seeking common ground among us? Yes, there is. The overwhelming majorities of the Asian and African countries and peoples have suffered and are still suffering from the calamities of colonialism. This is acknowledged by all of us. If we seek common ground in doing away with the sufferings and calamities under colonialism, it will be very easy for us to have mutual understanding and respect, mutual sympathy and support, instead of mutual suspicion and fear, mutual exclusion and antagonism. That is why we agree to the four purposes of the Asian-African conference declared by the prime ministers of the five countries at the Bogor conference and do not make any other proposal.

As for the tension created solely by the United States in the area of Taiwan, we could have submitted for deliberation by the conference an item such as the proposal made by the Soviet Union for seeking a settlement through an international conference. The will of the Chinese people to liberate their own territory Taiwan and the coastal islands is a just one. It is entirely a matter of our internal affairs and the exercise of our sovereignty. This just demand of ours has won the support of many countries. Again, we could have submitted for deliberation by the conference the question of recognizing and restoring the legitimate status of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. The Bogor conference held by the prime ministers of the five Colombo powers last year supported the restoration of the legitimate status of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. And so did other countries of Asia and Africa. Besides, we could have also made criticisms here as regards the unfair treatment of China by the United Nations. But we did not do all this, because otherwise our conference would be dragged into disputes about all these problems without any solution.

In our conference we should seek common ground among us, while keeping our differences. As to our common ground, the conference should affirm all our common

desires and demands. This is our main task here. As to our differences, none of us is asked to give up his own views, because differences hinder us from achieving agreement as far as our main task is concerned. On the basis of our common points, we should try to understand and appreciate the different views that we hold.

Now first of all I would like to talk about the question of different ideologies and social systems. We have to admit that among our Asian and African countries, we do have different ideologies and different social systems. But this does not prevent us from seeking common ground and being united. Many independent countries have appeared since the World War II. One group of them is countries led by the communist parties; another group of them are countries led by nationalists. There are not many countries in the first group. But what some people dislike is the fact that the 600 million Chinese people have chosen a political system which is socialist in nature and are no longer under the rule of the imperialists. The countries in the second group are greater in number, such as India, Burma, Indonesia and many other countries in Asia and Africa. Both of these groups of countries have become independent. Is there any reason why we cannot understand and respect each other and give support and sympathy to each other? There is every reason to make the five principles the basis for establishing friendly co-operation and good neighborly relations among us. We Asian and African countries, China included, are all backward economically and culturally in as-much as our Asian African conference does not exclude anybody, why couldn't we ourselves understand each other and enter into friendly cooperation?

Secondly, I would like to talk about the question as to whether there is freedom of religious belief. Freedom of religious belief is a principle recognized by all modern nations. We communists are atheists, but we respect all those who have religious belief. We hope that those with religious belief will also respect those without. China is a country where there is freedom of religious belief. There are, in China not only seven million communists, but also tens of millions of Moslems and Buddhists and millions of Protestants and Catholics. Here in the Chinese delegation, there is a pious Imam of the Islamic faith. Such a situation is no obstacle to the internal unity of China. Why should it be impossible in the community of Asian and African countries to unite those with religious beliefs and those who profit from instigating such strife are not those among us

Thirdly, I would like to talk about the question of the so-called subversive activities. The struggle of the Chinese people against colonialism lasted for more than a hundred years. The national and democratic revolutionary struggles led by the Chinese Communist Party finally achieved success only after a strenuous and difficult course of thirty years. It is impossible to relate all the sufferings of the Chinese people under the rule of imperialism, feudalism and Chiang Kai-shek. At last, the Chinese people have chosen their state system and the present government. It is by the efforts of the Chinese people that the Chinese revolution has won its victory. It is certainly not imported from without. This point cannot be denied even by those who do not like the victory of the Chinese revolution. As a Chinese proverb says, "we are glad against outside interference; how could we want to interfere in the internal affairs of others? Some people say: there are more than ten million overseas Chinese whose dual nationality might be taken advantage of to carry out subversion. But the problem of dual

nationality is still using some very few overseas china. Up to date, Chiang Kai-shek is still using some very few overseas Chinese to carry out subversive activities against the countries where they are residing. The people's government of new China, however, is ready to solve the problem of dual nationality of overseas Chinese with the government of the countries concerned. Some other people say that the autonomous region of Thai people in China is a threat to others. There are in China more than forty million national minorities of scores of nationalities. The Thai people and the Chuan people, who are of the same stock as the Thai people, number almost ten million. Since they do exist, we must grant them the right of autonomy. Just as there is an autonomous state for Shan people in Burma, every national minority in China has its autonomous region. The national minorities in China exercise their right of autonomy within China, how could that be said as being a threat to our neighbors? On the basis of the strict adherence to the five principles, we are prepared now to establish normal relations with all the Asian and African countries, with all the countries in the world, and that we are carrying out subversive activities against the government of other countries, but that there are who are establishing bases around China in order to carry out subversive activities against the Chinese government for instance, on the border between China and Burma, there are in fact remnant armed elements of the Chiang Kai-shek clique who are carrying out destructive activities against both China and Burma. Because we have always respected the sovereignty of Burma, we have confidence in the government of Burma for the solution of this problem.

The Chinese people have chosen and support their own government there is freedom of religious belief in china. China has no intention what-so ever to subvert the government of its neighboring countries. On the contrary, it is China that is suffering from the subversive activities which are openly carried out without any disguise by the United States of America. Those who do not believe in this may come to China or send someone there to see for themselves. We take cognizance of the fact that there are doubts in the mind of those who do not yet know the truth. There is a saying in China: "better seeing once than hearing a hundred times" we welcome the delegates of all the participating countries in this conference to visit China at any time they like. We have no bamboo curtain, but some people are spreading a smokescreen between us.

The 1,600 million people of Asia and Africa wish our conference success. All the countries and peoples of the world who desire peace are looking forward to the contribution which the conference will make towards the extension of the area of peace and the establishment of collective peace. Let us, the Asian and African countries, be united and do our utmost to make the Asian African conference a success.

APPENDIX IV

ADDRESS BY CHOU EN-LAI REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AT BANDUNG ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE (CHINESE)

周恩来总理在亚非会议全体会议上的发言

主席、各位代表先生：

举世瞩目的亚非会议已经开始。中华人民共和国代表团能同与会的各国代表团一起在这个会议上讨论我们亚非国家的共同问题，感到非常高兴。我们能够在这里会晤，首先要感谢缅甸、锡兰、印度、印度尼西亚和巴基斯坦五个发起国家的倡议和努力，我们还应当感谢这次会议的主人印度尼西亚共和国政府为会议作了很好的安排。

亚非两洲有这么多的国家在一起举行会议，这在历史上还是第一次。在我们亚非两洲的土地上生活着全世界半数以上的人民。亚非人民曾经创造过光辉灿烂的古代文化，对人类作出了巨大的贡献。近代以来，亚非两洲的大多数国家在不同程度上遭受了殖民主义的掠夺和压迫。以致被迫处于贫困和落后的停滞状态。我们的呼声受到抑制，我们的愿望受到摧残，我们的命运被旁人摆布，因此我们不得不起而反对殖民主义。由于同样的原因而受到的灾难和为了同样的目的而进行的斗争，使我们亚非各国人民容易互相了解，并在长期以来就深切地互相同情和关怀。

现在亚非地区的面貌已经发生了巨大的变化。越来越多的亚非国家摆脱了或正在摆脱着殖民主义的束缚。殖民国家已经不能用过去那样的方式来进行掠夺和压迫。今天的亚洲和非洲已经不是昨天的亚洲和非洲。亚非两洲的许多国家，经过长期的努力，已经把他们的命运掌握在自己手中。我们的会议反映了这一深刻的历史变化。

虽然如此，殖民主义在这个地区的统治并没有结束，而且新的殖民主义者正在谋取旧的殖民主义者的地位而代之。不少亚非人民还在过着殖民地的奴隶生活，不少亚非人民还在受着种族歧视，他们的人权遭受着摧残。

我们亚非各国人民争取自由和独立的过程是不同的；但是，我们争取和巩固各自的自由和独立的意志是一致的。不管我们每一个国家的具体情况如何不同，我们大多数国家都需要克服殖民主义统治所造成的落后状态，我们都应该在不受外来干涉的情况下按照我们各国人民的意志，使我们各自的国家获得独立的发展。

亚非人民曾经长期遭受侵略和战争的苦难。许多亚非地区的人民曾经被殖民主义者强迫充当进行侵略战争的炮灰。亚非人民不能不痛恨侵略战争。他们知道，新的战争威胁不仅危害到他们国家的独立发展，而且还要加强殖民主义的奴役。因此，我们亚非人民更加深切地感觉到世界和平和民族独立的可贵。

基于这些情况，保障世界和平、争取和维护民族独立并为此目的而促进各国间的友好合作就不能不是亚非各国人民的共同愿望。

接着朝鲜停战之后，日内瓦会议曾经在尊重民族独立的基础上，得到科伦坡五国会议的支持，达成了印度支那的停战。当时，国际的紧张局势确曾得到一定程度的缓和，给全世界人民特别是亚洲人民带来了新的希望。

但是，跟着而来的国际形势的发展却和人民的希望相反。无论在东方和西方，战争危机都在增加。朝鲜人民和德国人民要求和平统一的愿望受到阻挠。日内瓦会议关于恢复印度支那和平问题的协议有被破坏的危险。美国在台湾地区继续制造紧张局势。亚非以外国家在亚非地区建立的军事基地越来越多。他们公开鼓吹原子武器是常规武器，准备原子战争。亚洲人民不能忘记第一颗原子弹是落在亚洲的土地上，第一个死在氢弹试验下的是亚洲人。亚非各国人民和世界其他地区的人民一样，不能不关切日益增长的战争威胁。

但是进行侵略、准备战争的人究竟是极少数。世界上不论是生活在哪一种社会制度中的绝大多数人民都要求和平，反对战争。世界各国人民的和平运动有了更加广泛和深入的发展。他们要求终止扩军备战的竞赛，首先各大国应该就裁减军备达成协议。他们要求禁止原子武器和一切大规模毁灭性武器。他们要求将原子能用于和平用途，为人类创造幸福。

他们的呼声已经不能被忽视，侵略和战争的政策已经日益不得人心。战争策划者日益频繁地诉之于战争威胁，作为推行侵略政策的工具。但是，战争威胁是吓不倒任何具有抵抗决心的人的，它只能使威胁者自己陷于更加孤立和更加混乱的地位。我们相信，只要我们同世界上一切愿意和平的国家和人民一道，决心维护和平，和平是有可能维护得住的。

我们大多数亚非国家，包括中国在内，由于殖民主义的长期统治，经济上还很落后。因此，我们不仅要求政治上的独立，同时还要求经济上的独立。当然，我们要求政治独立并不是要对亚非地区以外的国家采取排斥的政策。但是，西方国家控制我们命运的时代已经过去了，亚非国家的命运应该由亚非各国人民自己掌握。我们要努力实现各国的经济独立，这也并不是要排斥同亚非地区以外的国家的经济合作。但是，我们要求改变西方殖民国家对东方落后国家的剥削状态，我们要求发展亚非各国独立自主的经济。争取完全独立是我们大多数亚非国家和人民长期奋斗的目标。

在中国，自从人民做了自己国家的主人以后，我们的一切努力就是要消除长期的半殖民地社会遗留下来的落后状态，把我们的国家建设成为一个工业化的国家。五年以来，我们恢复了遭受长期战争破坏的国民经济，并且从一九五三年起开始了经济建设的第一个五年计划。由于这些努力，我们在各个主要生产部门，例如钢铁、棉布、粮食的生产量，都已经超过了中国历史上任何一个时期的水平。但是，这些成就比之于我们的实际需要还微小得很，比之于工业高度发展的国家，我们还落后得很。正像其他的亚洲国家一样，我们迫切地需要一个和平的国际环境，来发展我国独立自主的经济。

反对殖民主义、维护民族独立的亚非国家更加珍视自己的民族权利。国家不分大小强弱，在国际关系中都应该享有平等的权利，它们的主权和领土完整都应该得到尊重，而不应受到侵犯。所有附属国人民都应该享有民族自决的权利，而不应遭受迫害和屠杀。各族人民不分种族和肤色都应该享有基本人权，而不应该受到任何虐待和歧视。但是，我们不能不注意到：对突尼斯、摩洛哥、阿尔及利亚和其他争取独立的附属国人民的暴力镇压还没有停止；在南非联邦和其他地区进行着的种族歧视和种族主义的迫害还没有制止；在巴勒斯坦的阿拉伯难民问题还没有解决。

现在，应该说，反对种族歧视、要求基本人权，反对殖民主义、要求民族独立，坚决维护自己国家的主权和领土完整，已经是觉醒了的亚非国家和人民的共同要求。埃及人民为收复苏伊士运河地区的主权和伊朗人民为收复石油主权而进行的斗争，印度对果阿和印度尼西亚对西伊里安岛恢复领土权利的要求，获得了亚非地区许多国家的同情。同样，中国解放自己领土台湾的要求也获得了亚非地区一切具有正义感的人民的支持。这证明我们亚非各国人民是互相了解、互相同情和互相关切的。

只有互相尊重主权和领土完整，和平才有保障。对于任何一个国家主权和领土的侵犯，对于任何一个国家内政的干涉，都不可避免地要危及和平。如果各国保证互不侵犯，就可以在各国的关系中创造和平共处的条件。如果各国保证互不干涉内政，各国人民就有可能按照他们自己的意志选择他们自己的政治制度和生活方式。日内瓦会议关于恢复印度支那和平的协议就是在有关各方保证尊重印度支那各国的独立、主权、统一和领土完整并对其内政不予任何干涉的基础上达成的。据此，日内瓦会议并规定，印度支那各国不参加军事同盟和建立外国军事基地。这就是为什么日内瓦会议能够为建立和平地区创造了有利的条件。但是在日内瓦会议之后，我们却看到了一种相反的情况在发展，这是不利于印度支那各国人民的利益的，也是不利于和平的。我们认为，日内瓦会议关于恢复印度支那和平的协议应该严格地和忠实地予以履行，任何方面不得加以干涉和阻挠。朝鲜的和平统一问题也应该按照同样的原则予以解决。

我们亚非国家需要在经济上和文化上合作，以便有助于消除我们在殖民主义的长期掠夺和压迫下所造成的经济上和文化上的落后状态。我们亚非国家之间的合作应该以平等互利为基础，而不应该附有任何特权条件。我们相互之间的贸易来往和经济合作应该以促进各国独立经济发展为目的，而不应该使任何一方单纯地成为原料产地和消费品的销售市场。我们相互之间的文化交流应该尊重各国民族文化的发展，而不抹煞任何一国的特长和优点，以便互相学习和观摩。

在我们亚非地区的各国人民日益掌握了自己命运的今天，即使我们在目前经济和文化合作规模还不可能很大，但是，可以肯定地说，这种建立在平等互利基础上的合作是有远大的发展前途的。我们深信，随着我们亚非国家工业化的发展和人民生活水平的提高，随着各国间贸易关系中人为的外来的障碍的消除，我们亚非各国间的贸易来往和经济合作将会日益增进，文化交流也将日益频繁。

根据互相尊重主权和领土完整，互不侵犯、互不干涉内政、平等互利的原则，社会制度不同的国家是可以实现和平共处的。在保证实施这些原则的基础上，国际间的争端没有理由不能够协商解决。

为了维护世界和平，我们处境大致相同的亚非国家首先应该友好合作，实现和平共处。过去殖民统治在亚非国家间所造成的不和谐和隔阂，不应该继续存在。我们应该互相尊重，消除互相间可能存在的疑虑和恐惧。

中华人民共和国政府完全同意南亚五国总理在茂物会议联合公报中所确定的关于亚非会议的目的。我们并认为，为了对于促进世界和平和合作作出贡献，亚非各国应该首先根据共同的利益，谋求相互间的亲善和合作，建立友好和睦邻的关系。印度、缅甸和中国曾经确定了和平共处五项原则作为指导相互关系的原则。这些原则获得了越来越多的国家的支持。本着这些原则，中国同印度尼西亚关于两国侨民国籍问题的初步谈判已经取得了良好的结果。在日内瓦会议时，中国也曾表示愿意在这五项原则的基础上同印度支那各国发展友好的关系。根据这五项原则，中国同泰国、菲律宾等邻国的关系没有

理由不能获得改善。中国愿以严格遵守这些原则作为它同亚非其他国家建立正常关系的基础，并愿促进中国和日本关系的正常化。为了增进我们亚非各国间的相互了解和合作，我们建议亚非各国的政府、国会和民间团体实行互相的友好访问。

主席、各位先生，任意摆布亚非人民命运的时代已经一去不复返了。我们相信，如果我们决心维护世界和平，就没有人能够把我们拖入战争；如果我们决心争取和维护民族独立，就没有人能够继续奴役我们；如果我们决心友好合作，就没有人能够分裂我们。

我们亚非国家所需要的是和平和独立，我们并无意于使亚非国家同其他地区的国家对立，我们同样需要同其他地区的国家建立和平合作的关系。

我们的会晤是难得的。尽管我们中间存在着许多不同意见，但是这不应该影响我们所具有的共同愿望。我们的会议应该对于我们的共同愿望有所表示，使它成为亚非历史值得珍贵的一页。同时，我们在这次会议中建立起来的接触应该继续保持，以便我们对于世界和平能够作出更大的贡献。

印度尼西亚共和国总统苏加诺阁下说得对，我们亚非人民必须团结起来。

让我们预祝会议成功。

APPENDIX V

ADDRESS BY PRINCE WAN WAITHAYAKON REPRESENTATIVE OF THE KINGDOM OF THAILAND AT BANDUNG ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

On behalf of the delegation of Thailand, I gladly associate myself with the other delegations in paying a warm tribute to the generous hospitality and cordial welcome so kindly extended to us by the government of Indonesia qualities of statesmanship which I have had occasion personally to appreciate, your wisdom, your composure, your goodwill and your gift of spreading goodwill around you.

I want to pay a warm tribute, too, to you, Mr. President to appreciate, your wisdom, your composure, your goodwill and your gift of spreading goodwill around you.

I myself am a firm believer in goodwill as a factor in bringing about good understanding and friendly relations among nations; and so I am keenly appreciative of the happy thought which you, Mr. President, together with the other four sponsors, had in arranging for this historic conference of as many as 29 independent nations of Asian and Africa representing half the population of the world.

The first of the four purposes of the conference is "to promote goodwill and cooperation among the nations of Asian and Africa, to explore and advance their mutual as well as common interests and to establish and further friendliness and neighborly relations"

My government, fully conscious of the responsibilities of Thailand as an Asian nation, is in complete accord with this first purpose, and has readily accepted the invitation of the sponsors to attend the conference. My delegation has come with a genuine desire to get together with the representative of other nations of Asian and Africa in order to become better acquainted with them, to exchange views with them freely and frankly on questions of common concern, and to help bring about the greatest possible measure of agreement in the interest of world peace and of the security, freedom and economic and social well-being of the peoples of Asia and Africa.

We have come here to contribute to the success of the conference, and our contribution will constitute a modest voice of Asian which, together with other voices of Asia and Africa, will we hope, blend into a harmony which will be conducive to fruitful results.

I have just mentioned the economic and social well-being of the peoples of Asia and Africa; and indeed the second purpose of the conference is "to consider social economic and cultural problems and relations of the countries represented."

Cultural cooperation should certainly be promoted, not only because there have been age-long strong ties of traditional culture among Asian nations as among nations of south, southeast and east Asian but there have also been close culture ties with countries of Islam. It is sometime forgotten that. Out of a population of 18,000,000, Thailand has more than 3,000,000, Mohammedan nationals and that, under our constitution, the king, though a Buddhist is upholder of religion and, in fact mosques as well as temples receive royal support.

At this conference of Asian and African delegates, I need not dwell on the fundamental importance of moral and spiritual values, for that is admittedly the common characteristic of our traditional culture. The sense of moral and spiritual values in life is ingrained into our nature: it is part of ourselves, it is our essential way of life. Even people of the west admit this, for do they not say *Ex Orient Lux, Ex Occident Lex: Out of the East Light, Out of the West Law?*

For two years I had been negotiating with Japan for the settlement of an outstanding wartime debt on a legal basis with, unfortunately, no result. But before I came here I went to Tokyo for a fortnight and made a moral appeal to the Japanese government, who understood me very well and, as a result, we came to a settlement.

The sublime importance of faith or the spirit in the life of man should be cherished and upheld by Asian and Africa. Righteousness or the moral law shall prevail, because Buddhism, Islam and Christianity all teach the same lesson- the dignity and worth of man, faith in fundamental human rights, and respect for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to creed, colors or race. Racial, discrimination is inadmissible and should be eradicated; man has material needs to satisfy. I could not understand why, during the France revolution, the France people cried out for "bread and the constitution" until my own people, a few years ago, cried out for rice and the constitution. Economic well-being is the most pressing need of Asia and Africa, and there is an imperative necessity to raise the standards of life of the Asian and African peoples, if only to protect them the threat of hunger, starvation and famine

Economic cooperation, therefore, is wholeheartedly to be welcomed at this conference and closer economic ties among the nations of Asia and Africa should certainly be developed and, of course, developed on the basis of complete equality, freedom and mutual benefit, which is the right principle of economic cooperation for all the nations of the world. For it must not be forgotten that, in order to achieve economic prosperity, a nation or a group of nations cannot isolate itself from the rest of the world: interdependence is an acknowledged principle in economic relation and economic development.

Thus, while supporting the strengthening of economic cooperation among Asian and African nations, my delegation considers that it is necessary and appropriate that there should, at the same time, continue to be economic cooperation with the rest of the world whether through an international organization or individually with the nation concerned.

The reason is simple. In order to raise the living standards of the peoples of Asia and Africa, a short cut to some form of industrialization has Europe and American where industrialization has, in point of fact, been developed to an advanced stage even to a stage at which the possibility of the use of nuclear, such cooperation and assistance are subject to the principle of equality, freedom and mutual benefit.

I now come to the third purpose of the conference, namely, to consider problems of special interest to Asian and African peoples, e.g. problems affecting national sovereignty and of racialism and colonialism.

I have already stated the position of my delegation in regard to racial discrimination, to which we are resolutely opposed.

On the question of national sovereignty and of colonialism, the Thai delegation upholds the principle of self-determination and of self-government gladly signed the pacific charter, which was due to the happy initiative of President Magsaysay of the Philippines and is calculated to assure to all peoples the progressive attainment of full freedom and independence as rapidly as possible. My governments are happy that the states in Indochina have regained their independence and our best wishes go to Laos, Cambodia, and the State of Vietnam. We are glad, too, that, with the approaching elections, Malaya is well on the way to self-government, which is to be welcomed as a prelude to independence.

Finally, I come to the fourth purpose of the conference which is "to view the position of Asia and Africa and their peoples in the world of today and the contribution they can make to the promotion of world peace and cooperation"

Thailand's love of peace and freedom is well known in the history of international relations and my country has always attached fundamental value to international cooperation. In order to get rid of extraterritoriality, Thailand had recourse to diplomatic negotiations for the revision of unequal treaties which took a great deal of time and patience but the successful adoption of that peaceful method of settling the problem has definitely strengthened Thailand's international position. Thailand, therefore, is strongly in favor of the pacific settlement of disputes and of all measures for the promotion of world peace and cooperation.

What then is the attitude of Thailand towards the five principles of respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence.

These principles, except perhaps that of peaceful coexistence, are not new in international law. I would myself prefer them to be formulated in greater detail. But the principles themselves can be understood except as regards the last principle of peaceful coexistence. What exactly does this mean? Does it mean "live and also let live", which is the right principle? Does it imply the practice of tolerance as is explicitly stated in the charter of the United Nations? For the charter says: "to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors"

These doubts in my mind must first be cleared up, for it is a fact, of which in all responsibility I have to take account, that Pridi Banomyong, training of Thai-speaking Chinese and persons of Thai race in Yunnan for the purpose of infiltration into Thailand and subversion in Thailand. I have also to know for certain the attitude adopted by the People's Republic of China in regard to the so-called persons of dual nationality in Thailand or, in other words, to the Chinese community of 3,000,000 in Thailand out of a population of 18,000,000. I might also mention the presence of the Mekhong, the vast majority of who choose to be repatriated to Vietminh territory.

In view of this situation as well as of the invasion of Laos by Vietminh forces in 1953 and also in 1954, Thailand has had clearly to face a threat of infiltration and subversion, if not of aggression itself.

Truly in self-defense, therefore, and not for any aggressive or even provocative purpose whatsoever, Thailand has had to join with seven other powers in concluding a collective defense treaty under article 51 of the charter of the united nations, known as the manila pact.

The first council meeting under that pact has sent cordial greetings to this conference, while expressing the hope that out of this conference would come increased assurance that the free nations would remain free and that all peoples would come increasingly to enjoy, in peace, the blessings of liberty. The message also upholds the principle of self-determination of peoples and of self-government and independent for them. The manila pact powers entertain nothing but goodwill for this conference.

My Asian and African friends and colleagues will, no doubt, ask me how I justify the attitude of my government from the point of view of righteousness or the moral law which, as I have stated above, I hold supreme. I can only recount to them the following conversation between the Army General Sinha and Buddha:

Sinha said: "I m a soldier, O Blessed One, and am appointed by the king to wage his wars. Dose the Tathagat (Buddha) declare that it is wrong to go to war for the protection of our homes, our wives, our children, and our property? Dose the Tathagat teach the doctrine of a complete self-surrender so that I should suffer the evil-doer to do what he pleases, and yield submissively to him who threatens to take by violence what is my own? Dose the Tathagat maintain that all strife, including such warfare as is waged for a righteous cause, should be forbidden?"

Buddha replied: "the Tathagat teaches that all warfare in which man tries to slay his brother is lamentable, but he dose not teach that those who go to war in a righteous cause, after having exhausted all means to preserve the peace, are blame-worthy. He must be blamed who is the cause of war. The Tathagat teaches a complete surrender of self, but he does not teach a surrender to those powers that are evil, be they men, gods or the elements of nature. Struggle must be, or all life is a struggle of some kind. But he that struggles should look to it, lest he struggles in the interest of self against truth and righteousness....struggle then, O General, courageously, and fight your battles vigorously, but be a soldier of truth, and the Tathagat will bless you"

Thailand only seeks to protect itself against aggression and subversion and no one without aggressive design need have any fear of my country.

The tai delegation, I repeat, has come to this conference with goodwill towards all and will do all it possible can to bring about the greatest possible measure of agreement in the interest of world peace and of the security, freedom and economic and social well-being of the peoples of Asia and Africa.

APPENDIX VI

REPLY SPEECH DELIVERED BY H.E. MOM RAJWONGS KUKRIT PRAMOJ PRIME MINISTER OF THE KINGDOM OF THAILAND

Your Excellency,

Excellencies,

Ladies and gentlemen,

I feel it a high honor to have been invited to pay an official visit to the People's Republic of China by H.E. Chou En-Lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China. When I received the invitation, I felt great pleasure in having the opportunity to take part in the revival and further strengthening of the traditionally close and friendly ties that have existed for so long between the people of the Kingdom of Thailand the people of the People's Republic of China, in conformity with the interests and common desires of the two people. From the moment I arrived in China, I and my party have been received with a friendship of the utmost warmth. I should like to take this opportunity to thank our hosts and through them to express our deep appreciation to the people of china.

My visit to china is the result of the development of relations between the Kingdom of Thailand and the People's Republic of China that have progressed step by step over the e recent years. In these contacts, both sides have cooperated with sincerity in the creation of mutual understanding. In this connection, the exchange of sports teams, doctors, scientists, trade delegations and the visit by members of the national assembly have played an important role in drawing our two peoples close together.

Your Excellency,

Excellencies,

Ladies and gentlemen,

The government of the Kingdom of Thailand to which I had the honor of being appointed prime minister, is a democratic government elected by the Thai people and represents all the people of Thailand, the foreign policy objective of this government is to follow an independent course in promoting peaceful coexistence on the principle of friendship with all countries professing good intention towards Thailand, without regard to differences in political ideologies or government systems, and based on the principles of justice, equality and non-interference, in either direct or indirect forms, in the internal affairs of each other. It is for this reason, that the recognition and normalization of relations with the People's Republic of china had high priority in the conduct of the foreign policy of my government.

The government on the Kingdom of Thailand wished to reaffirm that only the people of each country have the right to choose their own political, economic and social system free from outside interference. The government of the Kingdom of Thailand is convinced that even though the Kingdom of Thailand and the People's Republic of China have differing political, economic and social systems, this should not be an obstacle to the development of peaceful and amicable relations between our two countries and peoples on the basis of the principles of Pancha Sila .

At the present time, efforts to establish hegemony and spheres of influence have not declined, and the countries of South- East Asian continue to have to oppose all manners of subversion from outside in order to preserve their right to choose their own political, economic and social systems without external interference. For this reason, five countries of the region, namely, Indonesia Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand made the "Bangkok declaration" of 1976 establishing the association of a regional organization for economic and social cooperation, has expanded its activities to cover efforts towards political solidarity too.

The worthy political intent of the ASEAN countries was again demonstrated when representatives of our five nations met in Kuala-Lumpur in November 1971 and made the "Kuala Lumpur Declaration" on south- east Asian to be a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality. The important consideration underlying the Kuala Lumpur Declaration is that the ASEAN countries wish the whole of Southeast Asian to be an area free from the rivalry and conflict of all the great powers. In other words the intent of the declaration is to bring benefits to all the countries in the region regardless of differences in political, economic or social systems. Should the creation of a balance of interests in the relation between the great power and the nation of southeast Asia were to succeed, this region might become a zone of stability, which would contribute to the reduction of tension in one area of the world and help to lessen the chance of the occurrence of another world war. This is naturally the desire of all peace-loving people. For this reason, the governments of Thailand warmly welcome the pronouncements of the government of the People's Republic of China in support of the ASEAN and the desire of ASEAN countries to see south-east Asian a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality.

In actual fact, mutual understanding and sympathy between China and the countries of Southeast Asia have existed since ancient time. In the case of Thailand and China, contacts between Thai and Chinese trace back to thousands of years. Even at the present time, it is a well known fact that in the southern-most part of China there are many Chinese nationals of the Thai race who are living in peace and happiness under the protection of the constitution of the People's Republic of China. So it is in Thailand, the Chinese in Thailand have lived for much conformity with the law of the land and with the customs and habits of the Thai people. At the risk of being unduly boastful, I feel in all sincerity that the success with which Chinese and Thai have lived together is something we should take pride in, because it is unique and this should be generally known.

China is a great country. Throughout the long history of Thai-Chinese relations, the Thai people have looked upon China as one of the countries which is a model of

culture of things that there should have been a moment of some estrangement to the extent that it gave rise to mutual misapprehension and mistrust in time. Now within the last three years, Thai people have been able to once again to come and visit china and to see the marvels of the new China. On this point, may I mention a few examples. The progress in medicine and science in china that seeks to teach doctors and scientists to serve the people and the training of "barefoot doctors" to provide health care for all the people in the rural areas. Then there is the progress achieved in the field of agriculture that has brought about equality and justice in the countryside together with the development of the efficiency of agricultural production units so as to enable them to meet fully the needs of the people. These lessons are extreme useful to take back for adaptation in Thailand.

Nevertheless, the historical evolution of each country is by nature different. A glorious revolution, full of fervor and exciting events, gave birth to the people's republic of china. The success of the Chinese revolution is continually lauded. But, for the kingdom of Thailand, our revolution was inspired from above under the leadership of our kings who always understood the need for administrative and social reforms to keep up with the prevailing circumstances. The successes of this wise royal policy accrued to the benefit of each and every Thai. Therefore, it can be seen that although the historical evolution of each country might be different, the end result, which is desired by all, is the same, that is, the creation of equality and justice in society and the attainment of parity in the standard of living among the people of Thailand and I am fully aware that it is also the policy of the government of the People's Republic of China.

Your Excellency,

Excellencies,

Ladies and gentlemen,

I would like to express my earnest hope that the relations between our two countries and peoples, which is being revived, on the basis of sincerity, mutual trust and mutual respect, will draw us close together and yield benefits to both sides in conformity with the hopes of the peoples of both countries in the times to come.

Finally, I invite you to drink to the health of:

- H.E. Mao Ze-Dong
Chairman of the communist party of china
- H.E. Chu De
Chairman of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China
- H.E. Chou En-Lai
Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China

and to the progress and prosperity of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people and to the friendship between the People's Republic of China and Thailand.

APPENDIX VII

PRIME MINISTERS OF THAILAND (1932 – to present)

1. Phraya Manopakorn Nititada, (10 December 1932 - 24 June 1933)
2. General Phraya Phahol Pholphayuhasena, (24 June 1933 - 26 December 1938)
3. Field Marshal Plaek Phibunsongkhram, (26 December 1938 - 1 August 1944) (1st time)
4. Major Khuang Abhaiwongse, (1 August 1944 - 17 July 1945) (1st time)
5. Tawee Boonyaket, (31 August - 17 September 1945)
6. Seni Pramoj, (17 September 1945 - 13 January 1946) (1st time)
7. Major Khuang Abhaiwongse, (13 January - 18 March 1946) (2nd time)
8. Luang Pridi Banomyong, (24 March - 21 August 1946)
9. Rear Admiral Thawal Thamrong Navaswadhi, (26 August 1946 - 8 November 1947)
10. Major Khuang Abhaiwongse, (12 November 1947 - 8 April 1948) (3rd time; acting)
11. Field Marshal Plaek Phibunsongkhram, (8 April 1948 - 17 September 1957) (2nd time)
12. Pote Sarasin, (21 September - 24 December 1957)
13. Field Marshal Thanom Kittikachorn, (1 January - 20 October 1958) (1st time)
14. Field Marshal Sarit Dhanarajata, (20 October 1958 - 8 December 1963) (acting to 10 February 1959)
15. Field Marshal Thanom Kittikachorn, (9 December 1963 - 14 October 1973) (2nd time)
16. Sanya Dharmasakti, (14 October 1973 - 26 February 1975)
17. Seni Pramoj, (26 February - 14 March 1975) (2nd time)
18. Kukrit Pramoj, (14 March 1975 - 20 April 1976)
19. Seni Pramoj, (20 April - 6 October 1976) (3rd time)
20. Tanin Kraivixien, (8 October 1976 - 20 October 1977)
21. General Kriangsak Chomanan, (12 November 1977 - 3 March 1980)
22. General Prem Tinsulanonda, (3 March 1980 - 4 August 1988)
23. General Chatichai Choonhavan, (4 August 1988 - 23 February 1991)
24. Anand Panyarachun, (7 March 1991 - 7 April 1992) (1st time)
25. General Suchinda Kraprayoon, (7 April - 24 May 1992)

26. Meechai Ruchuphan, 24 May 1992 - 10 June 1992 (acting)
27. Anand Panyarachun, (10 June - 23 September 1992) (2nd time)
28. Chuan Leekpai, (23 September 1992 - 13 July 1995) (1st time)
29. Banharn Silpa-Archa, (13 July 1995 - 1 December 1996)
30. General Chavalit Yongchaiyudh, (1 December 1996 - 9 November 1997)
31. Chuan Leekpai, (9 November 1997 - 9 February 2001) (2nd time)
32. Thaksin Shinawatra, (9 February 2001 - 19 September 2006)
33. Chitchai Wannasathit, 5 April - 23 May 2006 (acting for Thaksin)
34. General Surayud Chulanont, 1 October 2006 - Present

APPENDIX VIII

SIGNATURE OF SINO-THAI JOINT STATEMENT AT RANGOON IN 1955

แถลงการณ์ร่วมที่ลงนาม ณ นครย่างกุ้ง ฉบับภาษาอังกฤษ

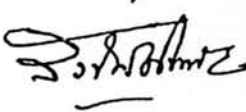
Mr. Yao Zhong-ming Representative of the People's Republic of China, and Mr. Dian Phosuwan Mr. Sang Phathanothai Representatives of Thailand, exchanged views on the relationship between China and Thailand in Rangoon on the 16th and 17th of December 1955. The talks were held in an atmosphere of friendship and sincerity. Both parties considered that these talks are helpful to the mutual understanding and promotion of friendly relations between the two countries and have come to unanimous views on the following points:

1. There has been deep friendship long in history between China and Thailand. The two countries are willing to develop the friendly relations between them on the five principles of mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence.

2. China sympathizes with Thailand in her present difficulties and is willing to consider the development of economic contacts between the two countries on the principles of equality and mutual benefit so as to help Thailand out of her difficulties, which will coincide with not only the interest of the two peoples but also the noble cause of maintaining peace in Asia.

3. The two countries are willing to adopt, timely and gradually, suitable measures to increase mutual ex-change and establish contacts in the spheres of trade and culture in order to normalize their relations in the long run.

4. For the purpose of exchange of views and negotiation on problems between the two countries, both parties are willing to maintain regular contacts between them.

1955.12.17

 Sang Phathanothai
 1955.12.17

APPENDIX IX

THE INVITATION FOR M.R. KUKRIT PRAMOJ'S STATE VISITING TO
THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA FROM ZHOU EN LAI

หนังสือเชิญ มรว. คึกฤทธิ์ ปราโมช เยือนจีนจากโจวเินไหล

泰王国总理克立·巴莫亲王阁下

阁下：

我诚挚地邀请阁下于本月底对中华人民共和国进行正式访问。

我相信，阁下的访问将为增进中泰两国人民的传统友谊和发展两国的友好关系，作出重要贡献。

中华人民共和国国务院总理

一九七五年六月二十日

วันที่ ๒๐ มิถุนายน ค.ศ. ๑๙๗๕

พลฯ ท่านนายกรัฐมนตรีแห่งราชอาณาจักรไทย มรว. คึกฤทธิ์ ปราโมช

ข้าพเจ้ามีความยินดีอย่างจริงใจที่จะขอเชิญ พลฯ ท่านมาเยือนสาธารณรัฐประชาชนจีนอย่างเป็นทางการในปลายเดือนนี้

ข้าพเจ้าเชื่อว่า การมาเยือนของ พลฯ ท่าน จะเป็นการสร้างคุณูปการอันใหญ่หลวงแก่การส่งเสริมมิตรภาพที่สืบทอดกันมาแต่โบราณระหว่างประชาชนจีนกับประชาชนไทย และแก่การพัฒนาความสัมพันธ์ฉันมิตรระหว่างเราสองประเทศด้วย

โจวเินไหล

นายกรัฐมนตรีของคณะรัฐมนตรีแห่งสาธารณรัฐประชาชนจีน

APPENDIX X

THE COMMON PROGRAM OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE, 1949

(Adopted by the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's PCC on September 29th, 1949 in Peking)

PREAMBLE

The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, representing the will of the people of the whole country, proclaims the establishment of the People's Republic of China and is organizing the people's own central government. The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference unanimously agrees that New Democracy, or the People's Democracy, shall be the political foundation for the national construction of the People's Republic of China. It has also adopted the following Common Program which should be jointly observed by all units participating in the Conference, by the people's government of all levels, and by the people of the whole country.

Article 1. The People's Republic of China is a New Democratic or a People's Democratic state. It carries out the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class, based on the alliance of workers and peasants, and uniting all democratic classes and all nationalities in China. It opposes imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism and strives for independence, democracy, peace, unity, prosperity and strength of China.

Article 2. The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China must undertake to wage the people's war of liberation to the very end, to liberate all the territory of China, and to achieve the unification of China.

Article 3. The People's Republic of China must abolish all the prerogatives of imperialist countries in China. It must confiscate bureaucratic capital and put it into the possession of the people's state. It must systematically transform the feudal and semi-feudal land ownership system into a system of peasant land ownership; it must protect the public property of the state and of the cooperatives and must protect the economic interests and private property of workers, peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. It must develop the people's economy of New Democracy and steadily transform the country from an agricultural into an industrial one.

Article 4. The people of the People's Republic of China shall have the right to elect and to be elected according to law.

Article 5. The people of the People's Republic of China shall have freedom of thought, speech, publication, assembly, association, correspondence, person, domicile, change of domicile, religious belief and the freedom of holding processions and demonstrations.

Article 6. The People's Republic of China shall abolish the feudal system which holds women in bondage. Women shall enjoy equal rights with men in political, economic, cultural, educational and social life. Freedom of marriage for men and women shall be put into effect.

Article 7. The People's Republic of China shall suppress all counter-revolutionary activities, severely punish all Kuomintang counter-revolutionary war criminals and other leading incorrigible counter-revolutionary elements who collaborate with imperialism, commit treason against the fatherland and oppose the cause of people's democracy. Feudal landlords, bureaucratic capitalists and reactionary elements in general, after they have been disarmed and have had their special powers abolished, shall, in addition, be deprived of their political rights in accordance with law for a necessary period. But, at the same time, they shall be given some means of livelihood and shall be compelled to reform themselves through labour so as to become new men. If they continue their counter-revolutionary activities, they will be severely punished.

Article 8. It is the duty of every national of the People's Republic of China to defend the fatherland, to abide by the law, to observe labour discipline, to protect public property, to perform public and military service, and to pay taxes.

Article 9. All nationalities in the People's Republic of China shall have equal rights and duties.

Article 10. The armed forces of the People's Republic of China, namely, the People's Liberation Army, the people's public security forces and the people's police belong to the people. It is the task of these armed forces to defend the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of China, and to defend the revolutionary gains and all legitimate rights and interests of the Chinese people. The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China shall endeavour to consolidate and strengthen the people's armed forces, so as to enable them to accomplish their tasks effectively.

Article 11. The People's Republic of China shall unite with all peace-loving and freedom-loving countries and peoples throughout the world, first of all, with the USSR, all Peoples' Democracies and all oppressed nations. It shall take its stand in the camp of international peace and democracy, to oppose imperialist aggression to defend lasting world peace.

.....

Article 27. Agrarian reform is the necessary condition for the development of the nation's productive power and for its industrialization. In all areas where agrarian reform has been carried out, the ownership of the land acquired by the peasants shall be protected. In areas where agrarian reform has not been carried out, the peasant masses must be set in motion to establish peasant organisations and to put into effect the policy of "land to the tiller" through such measures as the elimination of local bandits and despots, the reduction of rent and interest and the distribution of land.

Article 28. State-owned economy is of a Socialist nature. All enterprises relating to the economic life of the country and exercising a dominant influence over the people's livelihood shall be under the unified operation of the state. All state-owned resources and enterprises are the public property of all the people and are the main material basis on which the People's Republic will develop production and bring about a prosperous economy. They are the leading force of the entire social economy.

Article 29. Co-operative economy is of a semi-Socialist nature and is an important component of the people's economy as a whole. The People's Government shall foster its development and accord it preferential treatment.

Article 30. The People's Government shall encourage the active operation of all private economic enterprises beneficial to the national welfare and to the people's livelihood and shall assist in their development.

Article 31. The economy- jointly operated by, state and private capital is of a state-capitalist nature. Whenever necessary and possible, private capital shall be encouraged to develop in the direction of state-capitalism, in such ways as processing for state-owned enterprises and exploiting state-owned resources in the form of concessions.

Article 32. The system of worker's participation in the administration of production shall, for the present period, be established in state-owned enterprises. This means that factory administrative committees shall be set up under the leadership of the factory managers. In privately-owned enterprises, in order to carry out the principle of benefiting both labour and capital, collective contracts shall be signed by the trade union, representing the workers and employees, and the employer. For the present period, an eight to ten-hour day should in general be enforced in publicly and privately operated enterprises, but under special circumstances this matter may be dealt with at discretion. The people's governments shall fix minimum wages according to the conditions prevailing in various localities and trades. Labour insurance shall be gradually established. The special interests of juvenile and women workers shall be safeguarded. Inspection of industries and mines shall be carried out in order to improve their safety devices and sanitary facilities.

.....

Article 37. Commerce: All legitimate public and private trade shall be protected. Control shall be exercised over foreign trade and the policy of protecting trade shall be adopted. Freedom of domestic trade shall be established under a unified economic state plan, but commercial speculation disturbing the market shall be strictly prohibited. State-owned trading organizations shall assume the responsibility of adjusting supply and demand, stabilizing commodity prices and assisting the people's co-operatives. The people's government shall adopt the measures necessary to encourage the people in saving, to facilitate remittances from overseas Chinese, and to channel into industry and other productive enterprises, all socially idle capital and commercial capital which is riot beneficial to the national welfare and/or to the people's livelihood.

Article 38. Co-operatives: The broad masses of working people shall be encouraged and assisted to develop co-operatives according to the principle of willingness. Supply and marketing co-operatives, as well as consumers', credit, producers', and transport co-operatives shall be organized in towns and villages. Consumers' co-operatives shall first be organised in factories, institutions and schools.

.....

Article 41. The culture and education of the People's Republic of China shall be New Democratic-national, scientific and popular. The main tasks of the People's Government in cultural and educational work shall be the raising of the cultural level of the people, the training of personnel for national construction work, the eradicating of feudal, comprador [note: A comprador - the word is Portuguese, was a Chinese agent of a foreign business in China] and fascist ideology and the developing of the ideology of service to the people.

.....

Article 49. Freedom of reporting truthful news shall be safeguarded. The utilization of the press for slander, for undermining the interests of the state and the people and for provoking world war shall be prohibited. The people's radio and publication work shall be developed. Attention shall be paid to publishing popular books and journals beneficial to the people.

Article 50. All nationalities within the boundaries of the People's Republic of China are equal. They shall establish unity and mutual aid among themselves, and shall oppose imperialism and their own public enemies, so that the People's Republic of China will become a big fraternal and co-operative family composed of all its nationalities. Greater Nationalism and chauvinism shall be opposed. Acts involving discrimination, oppression and splitting of the unity of the various nationalities shall be prohibited.

Article 51. Regional autonomy shall be exercised in areas where national minorities are concentrated and various kinds of autonomy organizations of the different nationalities shall be set up according to the size of the respective populations and regions. In places where different nationalities live together and in the autonomous areas of the national minorities, the different nationalities shall each have an appropriate number of representatives in the local organs of political power.

Article 53. All national minorities shall have freedom to develop their dialects and languages, to preserve or reform their traditions, customs and religious beliefs. The People's Government shall assist the masses of the people of all national minorities to develop their political, economic, cultural and educational construction work.

Article 54. The principle of the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China is protection of the independence, freedom, integrity of territory and sovereignty of the country, upholding of lasting international peace and friendly co-operation between the peoples of all countries, and opposition to the imperialist policy of aggression and war.

Article 55. The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China shall examine the treaties and agreements concluded between the Kuomintang and foreign governments, and shall recognize, abrogate, revise, or re-negotiate them according to their respective contents.

Article 56. The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China may, on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for territory and sovereignty, negotiate with foreign governments which have severed relations with the Kuomintang reactionary clique and which adopt a friendly attitude towards the People's Republic of China, and may establish diplomatic relations with them.

Article 57. The People's Republic of China may restore and develop commercial relations with foreign governments and peoples on a basis of equality and mutual benefit.

Article 58. The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China shall do its utmost to protect the proper rights and interests of Chinese residing abroad.

Article 59. The People's Government of the People's Republic of China protects law-abiding foreign nationals in China.

Article 60. The People's Republic of China shall accord the right of asylum to foreign nationals who seek refuge in China because they have been oppressed by their own governments for supporting the people's interests and taking part in the struggle for peace and democracy.

APPENDIX XI

THE COMMON PROGRAM OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE, 1949 (CHINESE)

中国人民政治协商会议共同纲领

(一九四九年九月二十九日中国人民政治协商会议第一届全体会议通过)

序言

中国人民解放战争和人民革命的伟大胜利，已使帝国主义、封建主义和官僚资本主义在中国的统治时代宣告结束。中国人民由被压迫的地位变成新社会新国家的主人，而以人民民主专政的共和国代替那封建买办法西斯专政的国民党反动统治，中国人民民主专政是中国工人阶级、农民阶级、小资产阶级、民族资产阶级及其他爱国民主分子的人民民主统一战线的政权，而以工农联盟为基础，以工人阶级为领导。由中国共产党、各民主党派、各人民团体、各地区、人民解放军、各少数民族、国外华侨及其他爱国民主分子的代表们所组成的中国人民政治协商会议，就是人民民主统一战线的组织形式。中国人民政治协商会议代表全国人民的意志，宣告中华人民共和国的成立，组织人民自己的中央政府。中国人民政治协商会议一致同意以新民主主义即人民民主主义为中华人民共和国建国的政治基础，并制定以下的共同纲领，凡参加人民政治协商会议的各单位、各级人民政府和全国人民均应共同遵守。

第一章 总纲

第一条 中华人民共和国为新民主主义即人民民主主义的国家，实行工人阶级领导的、以工农联盟为基础的、团结各民主阶级和国内各民族的人民民主专政，反对帝国主义、封建主义和官僚资本主义，为中国的独立、民主、和平、统一和富强而奋斗。

第二条 中华人民共和国中央人民政府必须负责将人民解放战争进行到底，解放中国全部领土，完成统一中国的事业。

第三条 中华人民共和国必须取消帝国主义国家在中国的一切特权，没收官僚资本归人民的国家所有，有步骤地将封建半封建的土地所有制改变为农民的土地所有制，保护国家的公共财产和合作社的财产，保护工人、农民、小资产阶级和民族资产阶级的经济利益及其私有财产，发展新民主主义的人民经济，稳步地变农业国为工业国。

第四条 中华人民共和国人民依法有选举权和被选举权。

第五条 中华人民共和国人民有思想、言论、出版、集会、结社、通讯、人身、居住、迁徙、宗教信仰及示威游行的自由权。

第六条 中华人民共和国废除束缚妇女的封建制度。妇女在政治的、经济的、文化教育的、社会的生活各方面，均有与男子平等的权利，实行男女婚姻自由。

第七条 中华人民共和国必须镇压一切反革命活动，严厉惩罚一切勾结帝国主义、背叛祖国、反对人民民主事业的国民党反革命战争罪犯和其他怙恶不悛的反革命首要分

子。对于一般的反动分子、封建地主、官僚资本家，在解除其武装、消灭其特殊势力后，仍须依法在必要时期内剥夺他们的政治权利，但同时给以生活出路，并强迫他们在劳动中改造自己，成为新人。假如他们继续进行反革命活动，必须予以严厉的制裁。

第八条 中华人民共和国国民均有保卫祖国、遵守法律，遵守劳动纪律、爱护公共财产、应征公役兵役和缴纳赋税的义务。

第九条 中华人民共和国境内各民族，均有平等的权利和义务。

第十条 中华人民共和国的武装力量，即人民解放军、人民公安部队和人民警察，是属于人民的武力。其任务为保卫中国的独立和领土主权的完整，保卫中国人民的革命成果和一切合法权益。中华人民共和国中央人民政府应努力巩固和加强人民武装力量，使其能够有效地执行自己的任务。

第十一条 中华人民共和国联合世界上一切爱好和平、自由的国家和人民，首先是联合苏联、各人民民主国家和各被压迫民族，站在国际和平民主阵营方面，共同反对帝国主义侵略，以保障世界的持久和平。

第二章 政权机关

第十二条 中华人民共和国的国家政权属于人民。人民行使国家政权的机关为各级人民代表大会和各级人民政府。各级人民代表大会由人民用普选方法产生之。各级人民代表大会选举各级人民政府。各级人民代表大会闭会期间，各级人民政府为行使各级政权的机关。国家最高政权机关为全国人民代表大会。全国人民代表大会闭会期间，中央人民政府为行使国家政权的最高机关。

第十三条 中国人民政治协商会议为人民民主统一战线的组织形式。其组织成分，应包含有工人阶级、农民阶级、革命军人、知识分子、小资产阶级、民族资产阶级、少数民族、国外华侨及其他爱国民主分子的代表。在普选的全国人民代表大会召开以前，由中国人民政治协商会议的全体会议执行全国人民代表大会的职权，制定中华人民共和国中央人民政府组织法，选举中华人民共和国中央人民政府委员会，并付之以行使国家权力的职权。在普选的全国人民代表大会召开以后，中国人民政治协商会议得就有关国家建设事业的根本大计及其他重要措施，向全国人民代表大会或中央人民政府提出建议案。

第十四条 凡人民解放军初解放的地方，应一律实施军事管制，取消国民党反动政权机关，由中央人民政府或前线军政机关委任人员组织军事管制委员会和地方人民政府，领导人民建立革命秩序，镇压反革命活动，并在条件许可时召集各界人民代表会议。在普选的地方人民代表大会召开以前，由地方各界人民代表会议逐步地代行人民代表大会的职权。

军事管制时间的长短，由中央人民政府依据各地的军事政治情况决定之。凡在军事行动已经完全结束、土地改革已经澈底实现、各界人民已有充分组织的地方，即应实行普选，召开地方的人民代表大会。

第十五条 各级政权机关一律实行民主集中制。其主要原则为：人民代表大会向人民负责并报告工作。人民政府委员会向人民代表大会负责并报告工作。在人民代表大会和

人民政府委员会内，实行少数服从多数的制度。各下级人民政府均由上级人民政府加委并服从上级人民政府。全国各地地方人民政府均服从中央人民政府。

第十六条 中央人民政府与地方人民政府间职权的划分，应按照各项事务的性质，由中央人民政府委员会以法令加以规定，使之既利于国家统一，又利于因地制宜。

第十七条 废除国民党反动政府一切压迫人民的法律、法令和司法制度，制定保护人民的法律、法令，建立人民司法制度。

第十八条 中华人民共和国的一切国家机关，必须厉行廉洁的、朴素的、为人民服务的革命工作作风，严惩贪污，禁止浪费，反对脱离人民群众的官僚主义作风。

第十九条 在县市以上的各级人民政府内，设人民监察机关，以监督各级国家机关和各种公务人员是否履行其职责，并纠举其中之违法失职的机关和人员。人民和人民团体有权向人民监察机关或人民司法机关控告任何国家机关和任何公务人员的违法失职行为。

第三章 军事制度

第二十条 中华人民共和国建立统一的军队，即人民解放军和人民公安部队，受中央人民政府人民革命军事委员会统率，实行统一的指挥，统一的制度，统一的编制，统一的纪律。

第二十一条 人民解放军和人民公安部队根据官兵一致、军民一致的原则，建立政治工作制度，以革命精神积爱国精神教育部队的指挥员和战斗员。

第二十二条 中华人民共和国应加强现代化的陆军，并建设空军和海军，以巩固国防。

第二十三条 中华人民共和国实行民兵制度，保卫地方秩序，建立国家动员基础，并准备在适当时机实行义务兵役制。

第二十四条 中华人民共和国的军队在和平时期，在不妨碍军事任务的条件下，应有计划地参加农业和工业的生产，帮助国家的建设工作。

第二十五条 革命烈士和革命军人的家属，其生活困难者应如国家和社会的优待。参加革命战争的残废军人和退伍军人，应由人民政府给以适当安置，使能谋生立业。

第四章 经济政策

第二十六条 中华人民共和国经济建设的根本方针，是以公私兼顾、劳资两利、城乡互助、内外交流的政策，达到发展生产、繁荣经济之目的。国家应在经营范围、原料供给、销售市场、劳动条件、技术设备、财政政策、金融政策等方面，调剂国营经济、合作社经济、农民和手工业者的个体经济、私人资本主义经济和国家资本主义经济，使各种社会经济成分在国营经济领导之下，分工合作，各得其所，以促进整个社会经济的发展。

第二十七条 土地改革为发展生产力和国家工业化的必要条件。凡已实行土地改革的地区，必须保护农民已得土地的所有权。凡尚未实行土地改革的地区，必须发动农民群众，建立农民团体，经过清除土匪恶霸、减租减息和分配土地等项步骤，实现耕者有其田。

第二十八条 国营经济为社会主义性质的经济。凡属有关国家经济命脉和足以操纵国民生计的事业，均应由国家统一经营。凡属国有的资源和企业，均为全体人民的公共财产，为人民共和国发展生产、繁荣经济的主要物质基础和整个社会经济的领导力量。

第二十九条 合作社经济为半社会主义性质的经济，为整个人民经济的一个重要组成部分。人民政府应扶助其发展，并给以优待。

第三十条 凡有利于国计民生的私营经济事业，人民政府应鼓励其经营的积极性，并扶助其发展。

第三十一条 国家资本与私人资本合作的经济为国家资本主义性质的经济。在必要和可能的条件下，应鼓励私人资本向国家资本主义方向发展，例如为国家企业加工，或与国家合营，或用租借形式经营国家的企业，开发国家的富源等。

第三十二条 在国家经营的企业中，目前时期应实行工人参加生产管理的制度，即建九在厂长领导之下的工厂管理委员会。私人经营的企业，为实现劳资两利的原则，应由工会代表工人职员与资方订立集体合同。公私企业目前一般应实行八小时至十小时的工作制，特殊情况得斟酌办理。人民政府应按照各地各业情况规定最低工资。逐步实行劳动保险制度。保护青工女工的特殊利益。实行工矿检查制度，以改进工矿的安全和卫生设备。

第三十三条 中央人民政府应争取早日制定恢复和发展全国公私经济各主要部门的总计划，规定中央和地方在经济建设上分工合作的范围，统一调剂中央各经济部门和地方各经济部门的相互联系。中央各经济部门和地方各经济部门在中央人民政府统一领导之下各自发挥其创造性和积极性。

第三十四条 关于农林渔牧业：在一切已澈底实现土地改革的地区，人民政府应组织农民及一切可以从事农业的劳动力以发展农业生产及其副业为中心任务，并应引导农民逐步地按照自愿和互利的原则，组织各种形式的劳动互助和生产合作。在新解放区，土地改革工作的每一步骤均应与恢复和发展农业生产相结合。人民政府应根据国家计划和人民生活的需要，争取于短时期内恢复并超过战前粮食、工业原料和外销物资的生产水平，应注意兴修水利，防洪防旱，恢复和发展畜力，增加肥料，改良农具和种子，防止病虫害，救济灾荒，并有计划地移民开垦。保护森林，并有计划地发展林业。保护沿海渔场，发展水产业。保护和发展畜牧业，防止兽疫。

第三十五条 关于工业：应以有计划有步骤地恢复和发展重工业为重点，例如矿业、钢铁业、动力工业、机器制造业、电器工业和主要化学工业等，以创立国家工业化的基础。同时，应恢复和增加纺织业及其他有利于国计民生的轻工业的生产，以供应人民日常消费的需要。

第三十六条 关于交通：必须迅速恢复并逐步增建铁路和公路，疏浚河流，推广水运，改善并发展邮政和电信事业，有计划有步骤地建造各种交通工具和创办民用航空。

第三十七条 关于商业：保护一切合法的公私贸易。实行对外贸易的管制，并采用保护贸易政策。在国家统一的经济计划内实行国内贸易的自由，但对于扰乱市场的投机商业必须严格取缔。国营贸易机关应负调剂供求、稳定物价和扶助人民合作事业的责任。人民政府应采取必要的办法，鼓励人民储蓄，便利侨汇，引导社会游资及无益于国计民生的商业资本投入工业及其他生产事业。

第三十八条 关于合作社：鼓励和扶助广大劳动人民根据自愿原则，发展合作事业。在城镇中和乡村中组织供销合作社、消费合作社、信用合作社、主产合作社和运输合作社，在工厂、机关和学校中应尽先组织消费合作社。

第三十九条 关于金融：金融事业应受国家严格管理。货币发行权属于国家。禁止外币在国内流通。外汇、外币和金银的买卖，应由国家银行经理。依法营业的私人金融事业，应受国家的监督和指导。凡进行金融投机、破坏国家金融事业者，应受严厉制裁。

第四十条 关于财政：建立国家预算决算制度，划分中央和地方的财政范围，厉行精简节约，逐步平衡引政收支，积累国家生产资金。国家的税收政策，应以保障革命战争的供给、照顾生产的恢复和发展及国家建设的需要为原则，简化税制，实行合理负担。

第五章 文化教育政策

第四十一条 中华人民共和国的文化教育为新民主主义的，即民族的、科学的、大众的文化教育。人民政府的文化教育工作，应以提高人民文化水平、培养国家建设人才、肃清封建的、买办的、法西斯主义的思想、发展为人民服务的思想为主要任务。

第四十二条 提倡爱祖国、爱人民、爱劳动、爱科学、爱护公共财物为中华人民共和国全体国民的公德。

第四十三条 努力发展自然科学，以服务于工业农业和国防的建设。奖励科学的发现和发明，普及科学知识。

第四十四条 提倡用科学的历史观点，研究和解释历史、经济、政治、文化及国际事务。奖励优秀的社会科学著作。

第四十五条 提倡文学艺术为人民服务，启发人民的政治觉悟，鼓励人民的劳动热情。奖励优秀的文学艺术作品。发展人民的戏剧电影事业。

第四十六条 中华人民共和国的教育方法为理论与实际一致。人民政府应有计划有步骤地改革旧的教育制度、教育内容和教学法。

第四十七条 有计划有步骤地实行普及教育，加强中等教育和高等教育，注重技术教育，加强劳动者的业余教育和在职干部教育，给青年知识分子和旧知识分子以革命的政治教育，以应革命工作和国家建设工作的广泛需要。

第四十八条 提倡国民体育。推广卫生医药事业，并注意保护母亲、婴儿和儿童的健康。

第四十九条 保护报道真实新闻的自由。禁止利用新闻以进行诽谤，破坏国家人民的利益和煽动世界战争。发展人民广播事业。发展人民出版事业，并注重出版有益于人民的通俗书报。

第六章 民族政策

第五十条 中华人民共和国地内各民族一律平等，实行团结互助，反对帝国主义和各民族内部的人民公敌，使中华人民共和国成为各民族友爱合作的大家庭。反对大民族主义和狭隘民族主义，禁止民族间的歧视、压迫和分裂各民族团结的行为。

第五十一条 各少数民族聚居的地区，应实行民族的区域自治，按照民族聚居的人口多少和区域大小，分别建立各种民族自治机关。凡各民族杂居的地方及民族自治区内，各民族在当地政权机关中均应有相当名额的代表。

第五十二条 中华人民共和国境内各少数民族，均有按照统一的国家军事制度，参加人民解放军及组织地方人民公安部队的权利。

第五十三条 各少数民族均有发展其语言文字、保持或改革其风俗习惯及宗教信仰的自由。人民政府应帮助各少数民族的人民大众发展其政治、经济、文化、教育的建设事业。

第六章 外交政策

第五十四条 中华人民共和国外交政策的原则，为保障本国独立、自由和领土主权的完整，拥护国际的持久和平和各国人民间的友好合作，反对帝国主义的侵略政策和战争政策。

第五十五条 对于国民党政府与外国政府所订立的各项条约和协定，中华人民共和国中央人民政府应加以审查，按其内容，分别予以承认，或废除，或修改，或重订。

第五十六条 凡与国民党反动派断绝关系、并对中华人民共和国采取友好态度的外国政府，中华人民共和国中央人民政府可在平等、互利及互相尊重领土主权的基础上，与之谈判，建立外交关系。

第五十七条 中华人民共和国可在平等和互利的基础上，与各外国的政府和人民恢复并发展通商贸易关系。

第五十八条 中华人民共和国中央人民政府应尽力保护国外华侨的正当权益。

第五十九条 中华人民共和国人民政府保护守法的外国侨民。

第六十条 中华人民共和国对于外国人民因拥护人民利益参加和平民主斗争受其本国政府压迫而避难于中国境内者，应予以居留权。

APPENDIX XII

FINAL COMMUNIQUÉ OF THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

Bandung, 24 April 1955

The Asian-African Conference, convened upon the invitation of the Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan, met in Bandung from the 18th to the 24th April, 1955. In addition to the sponsoring countries the following 24 countries participated in the Conference:

1. Afghanistan
2. Cambodia
3. People's Republic of China
4. Egypt
5. Ethiopia
6. Gold Coast
7. Iran
8. Iraq
9. Japan
10. Jordan
11. Laos
12. Lebanon
13. Liberia
14. Libya
15. Nepal
16. Philippines
17. Saudi Arabia
18. Sudan
19. Syria
20. Thailand
21. Turkey
22. Democratic Republic of Vietnam
23. State of Vietnam
24. Yemen

The Asian-African Conference considered problems of common interest and concern to countries of Asia and Africa and discussed ways and means by which their people could achieve fuller economic, cultural and political co-operation.

A. ECONOMIC COOPERATION

1. The Asian African Conference recognized the urgency of promoting economic development in the Asian-African region. There was general desire for economic cooperation among the participating countries on the basis of mutual interest and respect for national sovereignty. The proposals with regard to economic cooperation within the participating countries do not preclude either the desirability or the need for

cooperation with countries outside the region, including the investment of foreign capital. It was further recognized that the assistance being received by certain participating countries from outside the region, through international or under bilateral arrangements, had made a valuable contribution to the implementation of their development programmes.

2. The participating countries agreed to provide technical assistance to one another, to the maximum extent practicable, in the form of: experts, trainees, pilot projects and equipment for demonstration purposes; exchange of know-how and establishment of national, and where possible, regional training and research institutes for imparting technical knowledge and skills in cooperation with the existing international agencies.

3. The Asian-African Conference recommended: the early establishment of the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development; the allocation by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development of a greater part of its resources to Asian-African countries; the early establishment of the International Finance Cooperation which should include in its activities the undertaking of equity investment; and encouragement to the promotion of joint ventures among Asian-African countries in so far as this will promote their common interest.

4. The Asian-African Conference recognized the vital need for stabilizing commodity trade in the region. The principle of enlarging the scope of multilateral trade and payments was accepted.

However, it was recognized that some countries would have to take recourse to bilateral trade arrangements in view of their prevailing economic conditions.

5. The Asian-African Conference recommended that collective action be taken by participating countries for stabilizing the international prices of and demand for primary commodities through bilateral and multilateral arrangements and that as far as practicable and desirable they should adopt a unified approach on the subject in the United Nations Permanent Advisory Commission on International Commodity Trade and other international forums.

6. The Asian-African Conference further recommended that: Asian-African countries should diversify their export trade by processing their raw material, wherever economically feasible, before export; intra-regional trade fairs should be promoted and encouragement given to the exchange of trade delegations and groups of businessmen; exchange of information and of samples should be encouraged with a view to promoting intra-regional trade; and normal facilities should be provided for transit trade of land-locked countries.

7. The Asian-African Conference attached considerable importance to Shipping and expressed concern that shipping lines reviewed from time to time their freight rates, often to the detriment of participating countries. It recommended a study of this problem, and collective action thereafter, to induce the shipping lines to adopt a more reasonable attitude. It was suggested that a study of railway freight of transit trade might be made.

8. The Asian-African Conference agreed that encouragement should be given to the establishment of national and regional banks and insurance companies.

9. The Asian-African Conference felt that exchange of information on matters relating to oil, such as remittance of profits and taxation, might eventually lead to the formulation of common policies.

10. The Asian-African Conference emphasized the particular significance of the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, for the Asian-African countries. The Conference welcomed the initiative of the Powers principally concerned in offering to make available information regarding the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes; urged the speedy establishment of the International Atomic Energy Agency which should provide for adequate representation of the Asian-African countries on the executive authority of the Agency; and recommended to the Asian and African Governments to take full advantage of the training and other facilities in the peaceful uses of atomic energy offered by the countries sponsoring such programmes.

11. The Asian-African Conference agreed to the appointment of Liaison Officers in participating countries, to be nominated by their respective national Governments, for the exchange of information and ideas on matters of mutual interest. It recommended that fuller use should be made of the existing international organizations, and participating countries that were not members of such international organizations, but were eligible, should secure membership.

12. The Asian-African Conference recommended that there should be prior consultation of participating countries in international forums with a view, as far as possible, to furthering their mutual economic interest. It is, however, not intended to form a regional bloc.

B. CULTURAL COOPERATION

1. The Asian-African Conference was convinced that among the most powerful means of promoting understanding among nations is the development of cultural cooperation. Asia and Africa have been the cradle of great religions and civilizations, which have enriched other cultures, and civilizations while themselves being enriched in the process. Thus the cultures of Asia and Africa are based on spiritual and universal foundations. Unfortunately contacts among Asian and African countries were interrupted during the past centuries. The peoples of Asia and Africa are now animated by a keen and sincere desire to renew their old cultural contacts and develop new ones in the context of the modern world. All participating Governments at the Conference reiterated their determination to work for closer cultural cooperation.

2. The Asian-African Conference took note of the fact that the existence of colonialism in many parts of Asia and Africa, in whatever form it may be, not only prevents cultural cooperation but also suppresses the national cultures of the people. Some colonial powers have denied to their dependent people's basic rights in the sphere of education and culture, which hampers the development of their personality and also

prevents cultural intercourse with other Asian and African peoples. This is particularly true in the case of Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, where the basic right of the people to study their own language and culture has been suppressed. Similar discrimination has been practiced against African and coloured people in some parts of the Continent of Africa. The Conference felt that these policies amount to a denial of the fundamental rights of man, impede cultural advancement in this region and also hamper cultural cooperation on the wider international plane. The Conference condemned such a denial of fundamental rights in the sphere of education and culture in some parts of Asia and Africa by this and other forms of cultural suppression. In particular, the Conference condemned racialism as a means of cultural suppression.

3. It was not from any sense of exclusiveness or rivalry with other groups of nations and other civilizations and cultures that the Conference viewed the development of cultural cooperation among Asian and African countries. True to the age-old tradition of tolerance and universality, the Conference believed that Asian and African cultural cooperation should be developed in the larger context of world cooperation.

Side by side with the development of Asian-African cultural cooperation the countries of Asia and Africa desire to develop cultural contacts with others. This would enrich their own culture and would also help in the promotion of world peace and understanding.

4. There are many countries in Asia and Africa, which have not yet been able to develop their educational, scientific and technical institutions. The Conference recommended that countries in Asia and Africa, which are more fortunately placed in this respect, should give facilities for the admission of students and trainees from such countries to their institutions. Such facilities should also be made available to the Asian and African people in Africa to whom opportunities for acquiring higher education are at present denied.

5. The Asian-African Conference felt that the promotion of cultural cooperation among countries of Asia and Africa should be directed towards:

- a. The acquisition of knowledge of each other's country;
- b. Mutual cultural exchange, and
- c. Exchange of information.

6. The Asian-African Conference was of the opinion that at this stage the best results in cultural cooperation would be achieved by pursuing bilateral arrangements to implement its recommendations and by each country taking action on its own, wherever possible and feasible.

C. HUMAN RIGHTS AND SELF-DETERMINATION

1. The Asian-African Conference declared its full support of the fundamental principles of Human Rights as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and took note of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations. The Conference declared its full support of the principle of self-determination of peoples and nations as set forth in the Charter of the United

Nations and took note of the United Nations resolutions on the rights of peoples and nations to self-determination, which is a pre-requisite of the full enjoyment of all fundamental Human Rights.

2. The Asian-African Conference deplored the policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination, which form the basis of government and human relations in large regions of Africa and in other parts of the world. Such conduct is not only a gross violation of human rights, but also a denial of the dignity of man. The Conference extended its warm sympathy and support for the courageous stand taken by the victims of racial discrimination, especially by the peoples of African and Indian and Pakistani origin in South Africa; applauded all those who sustain their cause; reaffirmed the determination of Asian-African peoples to eradicate every trace of racialism that might exist in their own countries; and pledged to use its full moral influence to guard against the danger of failing victims the same evil in their struggle to eradicate it.

D. PROBLEMS OF DEPENDENT PEOPLES

1. The Asian-African Conference discussed the problems of dependent peoples and colonialism and the evils arising from the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation and exploitation. The Conference is agreed:

a. In declaring that colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end

b. In affirming that the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co operation;

c. In declaring its support of the cause of freedom and independence for all such peoples, and

d. In calling upon the powers concerned to grant freedom and independence to such peoples.

2. In view of the unsettled situation in North Africa and of the persisting denial to the peoples of North Africa of their right to self-determination, the Asian-African Conference declared its support of the rights of the people of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia to self-determination and independence and urged the French Government to bring about a peaceful settlement of the issue without delay.

E. OTHER PROBLEMS

1. In view of the existing tension in the Middle East, caused by the situation in Palestine and of the danger of that tension to world peace, the Asian-African Conference declared its support of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine and called for the implementation of the United Nations Resolutions on Palestine and the achievement of the peaceful settlement of the Palestine question.

2. The Asian-African Conference, in the context of its expressed attitude on the

abolition of colonialism, supported the position of Indonesia in the case of West Irian based on the relevant agreements between Indonesia and the Netherlands.

3. The Asian-African Conference urged the Netherlands Government to reopen negotiations as soon as possible, to implement their obligations under the above-mentioned agreements and expressed the earnest hope that the United Nations would assist the parties concerned in finding a peaceful solution to the dispute.

4. The Asian-African Conference supported the position of Yemen in the case of Aden and the Southern parts of Yemen known as the Protectorates and urged the parties concerned to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the dispute.

F. PROMOTION OF WORLD PEACE AND COOPERATION

1. The Asian-African Conference, taking note of the fact that several States have still not been admitted to the United Nations, considered that for effective cooperation for world peace, membership in the United Nations should be universal, called on the Security Council to support the admission of all those States, which are qualified for membership in terms of the Charter. In the opinion of the Asian-African Conference, the following among participating countries: Cambodia, Ceylon, Japan, Jordan, Libya, Nepal, a unified Vietnam were so qualified.

The Conference considered that the representation of the countries of the Asian-African region on the Security Council, in relation to the principle of equitable geographical distribution, was inadequate. It expressed the view that as regards the distribution of the non-permanent seats, the Asian-African countries which, under the arrangement arrived at in London in 1946, are precluded from being elected, should be enabled to serve on the Security Council, so that they might make a more effective contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security.

2. The Asian-African Conference having considered the dangerous situation of international tension existing and the risks confronting the whole human race from the outbreak of global war in which the destructive power of all types of armaments, including nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons, would be employed, invited the attention of all nations to the terrible consequences that would follow if such a war were to break out.

The Conference considered that disarmament and the prohibition of the production, experimentation and use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons of war imperative to save mankind and civilization from the fear and prospect of wholesale destruction. It considered that the nations of Asia and Africa assembled here have a duty towards humanity and civilization to proclaim their support for disarmament and for the prohibition of these weapons and to appeal to nations principally concerned and to world opinion, to bring about such disarmament and prohibition.

The Conference considered that effective international control should be established and maintained to implement such disarmament and prohibition and those speedy and determined efforts should be made to this end.

Pending the total prohibition of the manufacture of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons, this Conference appealed to all the powers concerned to reach agreement to suspend experiments with such weapons.

The Conference declared universal disarmament is an absolute necessity for the preservation of peace and requested the United Nations to continue its efforts and appealed to all concerned speedily to bring about the regulation, limitation, control and reduction of all armed forces and armaments, including the prohibition of the production, experimentation and use of all weapons of mass destruction, and to establish effective international control to this end.

G. DECLARATION ON THE PROMOTION OF WORLD PEACE AND COOPERATION

The Asian-African Conference gave anxious thought to the question of world peace and cooperation. It viewed with deep concern the present state of international tension with its danger of an atomic world war. The problem of peace is correlative with the problem of international security. In this connection, all States should cooperate, especially through the United Nations, in bringing about the reduction, of armaments and the elimination of nuclear weapons under effective international control. In this way, international peace can be promoted and nuclear energy may be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. This would help answer the needs particularly of Asia and Africa, for what they urgently require are social progress and better standards of life in large freedom.

Freedom and peace are interdependent. The right of self-determination must be enjoyed by all peoples, and freedom and independence must be granted, with the least possible delay, to those who are still dependent peoples. Indeed, all nations should have the right freely to choose their own political and economic systems and their own way of life, in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

Free from mistrust and fear, and with confidence and goodwill towards each other, nations should practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors and develop friendly cooperation on the basis of the following principles:

1. RESPECT FOR FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS AND FOR THE PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS.
2. RESPECT FOR THE SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF ALL NATIONS.
3. RECOGNITION OF THE EQUALITY OF ALL RACES AND OF THE EQUALITY OF ALL NATIONS LARGE AND SMALL.
4. ABSTENTION FROM INTERVENTION OR INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ANOTHER COUNTRY.
5. RESPECT FOR THE RIGHT OF EACH NATION TO DEFEND ITSELF SINGLY OR COLLECTIVELY, IN CONFORMITY WITH THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

6. (A) ABSTENTION FROM THE USE OF ARRANGEMENTS OF COLLECTIVE DEFENCE TO SERVE ANY PARTICULAR INTERESTS OF THE BIG POWERS.

(B) ABSTENTION BY ANY COUNTRY FROM EXERTING PRESSURES ON OTHER COUNTRIES.

7. REFRAINING FROM ACTS OR THREATS OF AGGRESSION OR THE USE OF FORCE AGAINST THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OR POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANY COUNTRY.

8. SETTLEMENT OF ALL INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES BY PEACEFUL MEANS, SUCH AS NEGOTIATION, CONCILIATION, ARBITRATION OR JUDICIAL SETTLEMENT AS WELL AS OTHER PEACEFUL MEANS OF THE PARTIES OWN CHOICE, IN CONFORMITY WITH THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

9. PROMOTION OF MUTUAL INTERESTS AND COOPERATION.

10. RESPECT FOR JUSTICE AND INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS.

The Asian and African Conference declares its conviction that friendly cooperation in accordance with these principles would effectively contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security, while cooperation in the economic, social and cultural fields would help bring about the common prosperity and well-being of all. The Asian-African Conference recommended that the Five Sponsoring Countries consider the convening of the next meeting of the Conference, in consultation with the participating countries.

Bandung, 24 April, 1955

APPENDIX XIII

FINAL COMMUNIQUÉ OF THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE (CHINESE)

亚非会议最后公报（万隆，1955年4月24日）

在缅甸、锡兰、印度、印度尼西亚和巴基斯坦总理邀请下召开的亚非会议于1955年4月18日至24日在万隆举行了会议。除了5个发起国之外，参加会议的有下列24个国家：

1. 阿富汗
2. 柬埔寨
3. 中华人民共和国
4. 埃及
5. 埃塞俄比亚
6. 黄金海岸
7. 伊朗
8. 伊拉克
9. 日本
10. 约旦
11. 老挝
12. 黎巴嫩
13. 利比里亚
14. 利比亚
15. 尼泊尔
16. 菲律宾
17. 沙特阿拉伯
18. 苏丹
19. 叙利亚
20. 泰国
21. 土耳其
22. 越南民主共和国
23. 南越
24. 也门

亚非会议考虑了亚洲和非洲国家有共同利害关系和共同关心的问题，并且讨论了它们各国人民可以用来实现更充分的经济、文化和政治合作的办法。

甲、经济合作

一、亚洲会议认识到促进亚非区域的经济发展的迫切性。在与会国中存有在互利和互相尊重国家主权的基础上实行经济合作的普遍愿望。关于与会国之间的经济合作的建议，并不排除同这个区域以外的国家合作的适宜性和必要性，这种合作包括外国投资在内。此外还认识到，某些与会国通过国际安排或双边安排，从这个区域以外获得的援助，对实行它们的发展计划作出了有价值的贡献。

二、与会国同意在实际可行的最大程度上互相提供技术援助，方式是：专家，受训人员，供示范用的试验工程和装备，交换技术知识，在现有的国际机构的合作下，设立国家和在可能的情况下设立区域的训练和研究机构，以便教授技术知识和技能。

三、亚非会议建议：早日设立联合国经济发展特别基金；由国际复兴开发银行拨出更大一部分的资力给亚非国家；早日设立国际金融公司，其活动应当包括进行股权投资；鼓励促进亚非国家之间的联合企业，如果这样做能促进它们的共同利益的话。

四、亚非会议认识到稳定本区域商品贸易的重大需要。会议接受了扩大多边贸易和支付的范围的原则。但是会议认识到，有些国家鉴于它们目前的经济情况，将必须采用双边贸易安排。

五、亚非会议建议：与会国采取集体行动，通过双边安排和多边安排来稳定原料商品的国际价格和需要；并建议它们在切实可行和适当的范围内，在联合国国际商品贸易常设顾问委员会和其他国际机构中对这个问题采取一致的态度。

六、亚非会议并建议：亚非国家只要在经济上可行时就把它们的原料在出口前加工，以便使它们的出口贸易具有多样性；举办区域内的贸易博览会，并鼓励互派贸易代表团和商人团体；鼓励交换情报和样品，以促进区域内的贸易；并为内陆国家的过境贸易提供正常的便利。

七、亚非会议十分重视航运，并且对航运公司常在有损于与会国的情况下时时修订它们的运费率表示不安。会议建议对这个问题进行研究，并在此后采取集体行动劝导航运公司采取一种较为合理的态度。会议认为，可以对过境贸易的铁路货运进行研究。

八、亚非会议同意，应该鼓励建立国家的和区域的银行和保险公司。

九、亚非会议认为，在有关石油的问题上交换情报，例如利润的汇兑和税收等，最后可能导向共同政策的制订。

十、亚非会议强调指出，发展原子能的和平用途对亚非国家特别有意义。会议欢迎主要有关国家表示愿意提供关于把原子能用于和平目的的情报的倡议；要求迅速成立国际原子能机构，这个机构应当规定亚非国家在这个机构的执行机关中的充分代表权；并建议亚非国家政府在原子能的和平利用方面充分利用发起这种计划的国家所提供的训练方面和其他方面的便利。

十一、亚非会议同意在与会国中指派联络官，其人选由他们本国的政府提名，以便就有共同利害关系的问题交换情报和意见。会议建议更充分地利用现有的国际组织，并建议凡不是这种国际组织的成员但是有资格作为成员的与会国取得成员地位。

十二、亚非会议建议与会国在国际会谈中事先进行磋商，以便尽可能促进它们共同的经济利益。但是这并不是要成立一个区域性集团。

乙、文化合作

一、亚非会议深信，发展文化合作是促进各国之间的了解的最有力的方法之一。亚洲和非洲是伟大宗教和文明的摇篮，这种宗教和文明丰富了其他的文化和文明，同时自己也在在这个过程中得到丰富。因此，亚洲和非洲的文化是建立在精神的和普遍性的基础

上的。不幸，在过去若干世纪中，亚洲和非洲国家之间的文化接触中断了。亚非各国人民现在都怀着一种热诚真挚的愿望，在现代世界的范围内恢复他们旧有的文化接触和发展新的文化接触。各与会国政府重申它们要为更密切的文化合作而努力的决心。

二、亚非会议注意到：殖民主义在亚洲和非洲许多地区的存在，无论它具有什么形式，都不仅妨碍文化合作，而且压制人民的民族文化。某些殖民国家拒绝给予它们的属地人民以教育和文化方面的基本权利，从而妨碍他们的个性的发展，并且阻止他们同其他亚非人民的文化交流。突尼斯、阿尔及利亚和摩洛哥的情况尤其是这样，在那里，人民研究他们自己的语言和文化的基本权利受到了压制。对非洲某些地区的非洲人和有色人民也一直在实行着类似的歧视。会议认为：这些政策等于否定基本人权，这些政策妨碍本地区的文化进步，并阻碍更广泛的国际范围内的文化合作。会议谴责在亚洲和非洲某些地区以这种或别种形式的文化压制来这样否定教育和文化方面的基本权利的现象。会议特别谴责种族主义，认为这是一种压制文化的工具。

三、会议在看待亚洲和非洲国家之间的文化合作的发展时，不是抱着任何排外或者同其他国家集团以及其他文明和文化相敌对观念。会议忠于宽容和协和的悠久传统，认为亚洲和非洲的文化合作应当在更大的世界合作的范围内发展。

亚洲和非洲国家希望在发展亚非文化合作的同时，同其他国家发展文化接触。这会丰富它们自己的文化，并且还会有助于促进世界和平和了解。

四、亚洲和非洲有许多国家现在还没有能够发展它们自己的教育、科学和技术机构。会议建议亚洲和非洲在这方面处境比较幸运的国家在接受上述这种国家的学生和受训人员进入它们机构方面给予便利。这种便利也应当提供给目前得不到受高等教育的机会的居住在非洲的亚洲人和非洲人。

五、亚非会议认为，促进亚非国家文化合作的努力应当导向：

- (一) 取得对于彼此国家的知识；
- (二) 彼此文化交流；
- (三) 交换情报。

六、亚非会议认为，在目前阶段，在一切可能和可行的情况下进行双边安排和由每一国家自行采取行动来实施会议的建议，将会在文化合作方面取得最好的结果。

丙、人权和自决

一、亚非会议宣布它完全支持联合国宪章中所提出的人权的基本原则，并且注意到作为所有人民和所有国家努力实现的世界人权宣言。会议宣布它完全支持联合国宪章中所提出的人民和民族自决的原则，并注意到联合国关于人民和民族自决权利的各项决议，自决是充分享受一切基本人权的先决条件。

二、亚非会议对于成为非洲广大区域和世界其他地方的政府和人的关系的基础的种族隔离和歧视的政策和实践感到遗憾。这种行为不仅是对人权的粗暴的侵犯，而且是对文明的基本价值和人类尊严的否定。会议热烈同情和支持种族歧视的受害者，特别是南非境内非洲、印度和巴基斯坦血统的人民所采取的勇敢立场；赞扬所有支持他们的事业的人们；重申亚非各国人民决心根除可能存在于他们本国的种族主义的一切痕迹；保证运用它的全部道义影响，谨防在进行根除这一祸害的斗争时也陷入同样祸害的危险。

丁、附属地人民问题

一、亚非会议讨论了附属地人民和殖民主义问题和由于人民遭受外国的征服、统治和剥削而造成的祸害。

会议协议：

- (一) 宣布殖民主义在其一切表现中都是一种应当迅速予以根除的祸害；
- (二) 确认人民遭受外国的征服、统治和剥削是对基本人权的否定，是对联合国宪章的违反，是对于促进世界和平和合作的一种障碍；
- (三) 宣布会议支持所有这种人民的自由和独立的事业；并
- (四) 要求有关国家给予这种人民以自由和独立。

二、鉴于北非不安定的局面，鉴于北非各国人民的自决权利继续被固执地否定，亚非会议宣布支持阿尔及利亚、摩洛哥和突尼斯人民的自决和独立权利，并要求法国政府不迟延地促成这一问题的和平解决。

戊、其他问题

一、鉴于由巴勒斯坦局势所引起的中东现存的紧张局势和这种紧张局势对世界和平的危险，亚非会议宣布它支持巴勒斯坦的阿拉伯人民的权利，并要求实施联合国关于巴勒斯坦的各项决议和实现巴勒斯坦问题的和平解决。

二、亚非会议按照它对废除殖民主义所表明态度，支持印度尼西亚在西伊里安问题上根据印度尼西亚和荷兰的有关协定而采取的立场。

亚非会议要求荷兰政府尽快恢复谈判，以履行它依据上述协定而承担的义务；并表示热切希望联合国将协助有关方面来寻求这一争端的和平解决。

三、亚非会议支持也门在亚丁和被称为保护国的也门南部地区问题上的立场，并要求有关方面获致这一争端的和平解决。

己、促进世界和平和合作

一、亚非会议注意到若干国家仍然没有被接纳进入联合国这一事实，认为为了进行有效的合作以促进世界和平起见，联合国的会员应当具有普遍性，要求安全理事会支持接纳所有按照宪章具备会员国条件的国家。亚非会议认为，与会国中下列国家具备这样的条件，即：柬埔寨、锡兰、日本、约旦、老挝、利比亚、尼泊尔、一个统一的越南。

会议认为，根据公平的地理分配的原则，亚非地区国家在安全理事会中的代表权是不充分的。会议认为，关于非常任理事席位的分配，应该使根据 1946 年在伦敦达成的安排而不得当选的亚非国家能够参加安全理事会，以便它们可能对维护国际和平和安全作出更有效的贡献。

二、亚非会议考虑了目前国际紧张局势的危险情势和整个人类面临的爆发世界大战的危险——在这种战争中将会使用包括核子武器和热核子武器的所有种类的军备的毁灭性力量——，兹促请所有国家注意这样一种战争如果爆发所带来的可怕后果。

会议认为裁减军备和禁止生产、试验和使用核子和热核子作战武器，对于拯救人类和文明免受大规模毁灭的恐惧和前景是紧迫需要的。它认为，在这里开会的亚非国家，

为了人类和文明，有责任宣布它们支持裁军和禁止这些武器并呼吁主要有关国家和世界舆论来促进裁军和禁止这些武器。

会议认为应当建立和维持有效的国际监督来实施裁军和禁止这些武器，并且应当作出迅速的和坚决的努力以达到这个目的。

在完全禁止制造核子武器和热核子武器之前，本会议呼吁所有有关国家达成协议停止试验这种武器。

会议宣布普遍裁军是维护和平所绝对必需的，要求联合国继续它的努力并呼吁一切有关方面迅速促成一切武装力量和军备的管制、限制、监督和裁减，包括禁止一切大规模毁灭性武器的生产、试验和使用，并为此目的建立有效的国际监督。

庚、关于促进世界和平和合作的宣言

亚非会议焦虑地考虑了世界和平和合作问题。会议对具有可能发生一场原子世界战争的危险的目前国际紧张局势，表示深切的关怀。和平问题同国际安全问题是互相关联的。在这方面，一切国家都应当合作，特别是通过联合国，以促成在有效的国际监督下裁减军备和消除核子武器。这样，国际和平就可以促进，核子能就可以完全用于和平的目的。这将有助于满足特别是亚洲和非洲的需要，因为他们迫切的要求是社会进步和在更大的自由条件下提高生活水平。

自由和和平是相互依靠的，自决的权利必须为一切人民所享有，自由和独立必须尽可能不延迟地给予现在仍旧是附属地人民的人们。的确，一切国家都应当有权按照联合国宪章的宗旨和原则，自由选择它们自己的政治和经济制度和它们自己的生活方式。

各国应当在消除不信任和恐惧、彼此以信任和善意相待的情况下，在下列原则的基础上，作为和睦的邻邦彼此实行宽容，和平相处，并发展友好合作：

- 一、尊重基本人权、尊重联合国宪章的宗旨和原则。
- 二、尊重一切国家的主权和领土完整。
- 三、承认一切种族的平等、承认一切大小国家的平等。
- 四、不干预或干涉他国内政。
- 五、尊重每一国家按照联合国宪章单独地或集体地进行自卫的权利；
- 六、（一）不使用集体防御的安排来为任何一个大国的特殊利益服务。
（二）任何国家不对其他国家施加压力。
- 七、不以侵略行为或侵略威胁，或使用武力来侵犯任何国家的领土完整或政治独立。
- 八、按照联合国宪章，通过如谈判、调停、仲裁或司法解决等和平方法以及有关方面自己选择的任何其他和平方法来解决一切国际争端。

九、促进相互的利益和合作。

十、尊重正义和国际义务。

亚非会议宣布它确信按照这些原则的友好合作对于维持和促进国际和平和安全将会做出有效的贡献，而在经济、社会和文化方面的合作将有助于促进大家的共同繁荣和福利。亚非会议建议五个发起国在同与会国协商之下，考虑召开亚非会议下届会议的问题。

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