

ZHOU ENLAI: A CHARISMATIC DIPLOMAT

周恩来外交风采

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周恩來外交風采



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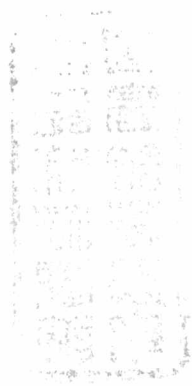
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Zhou Enlai: A Charismatic Diplomat



An image of grace and kindness,

The forerunner of New China's diplomacy

Dedicated to *Zhou Enlai : A Charismatic Diplomat*

Li Peng

August 1995

亲切感人的形象
新中国外交的先驱

为《周恩来外交风采》题
李鹏 一九九五年八月

序 PREFACE

钱其琛

Qian Qichen

敬爱的周恩来同志离开我们已经整整 20 年了。在全国人民深切缅怀这位伟人丰功伟绩的时刻,由外交部档案馆编、浙江摄影出版社出版的《周恩来外交风采》大型画册同读者见面,是非常有意义的。

周恩来同志是伟大的无产阶级革命家,是我们党和国家的重要领导人,同时也是杰出的外交家。在新中国成立后,他亲自兼任外交部长,直接指挥新中国外交工作达 10 年之久。之后,他作为党和国家的主要领导人,始终关心外交工作,亲自奔走,去世界各国首都访问,赢得了国际上的高度赞扬。他以博大的胸怀、卓越的才能、非凡的精力,呕心沥血,鞠躬尽瘁,为结束旧中国 100 多年的屈辱外交,创立新中国独立自主的新型外交,作出了不可磨灭的贡献。他那敏锐的洞察力和高度的预见性,实事求是的作风和高超的外交艺术,为国人崇敬,世界称颂。他的外交思想和业绩,是留给后人的宝贵财富。

在邓小平同志建设有中国特色社会主义理论指引下,在以江泽民同志为核心的党中央领导下,中国的外交事业在新时期蓬勃发展,欣欣向荣。目前,与我国建立外交关系的国家已达 159 个,我国的国际地位日益提高,我国在世界事务中的影响举足轻重,我们的朋友遍天下。抚今追昔,更激起我们对周恩来同志的怀念。我相信,画册的出版发行,必将对继承和发扬周恩来同志开创的外交工作的优良传统,加强爱国主义、社会主义教育,产生积极的作用。

Twenty years have elapsed since the passing away of our esteemed and beloved Comrade Zhou Enlai. As the whole nation cherishes the profound memory of this great man, the Foreign Ministry Archives and Zhejiang Photographic Press have done a very meaningful job by giving us this picture album, *Zhou Enlai: A Charismatic Diplomat*.

Zhou Enlai was an outstanding diplomat as well as a great revolutionary and a key member of our Party and state leadership. Following the founding of the People's Republic, he served concurrently as Foreign Minister, personally steering China's diplomatic work for ten years. As a leader, he attended to the country's external relations and took upon himself the task of calling on the world's capitals, earning him great international acclaim. With his big heart, extraordinary talent and miraculous vigor, as well as his utmost dedication, he made an indelible contribution to ending old China's century of diplomatic humiliation and ushering in the new diplomacy of an independent New China. His keen insight, outstanding ability to forecast, down-to-earth working style and superb diplomatic skills won him esteem from his countrymen and praises around the world. His diplomatic thoughts and achievements are valuable assets for later generations.

Guided by Comrade Deng Xiaoping's theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics and led by the Party Central Committee with Comrade Jiang Zemin at the core, China's diplomacy in the new era is flourishing. With diplomatic ties established with 159 countries, China's international standing keeps rising. China is exerting a crucial influence in global affairs and has friends all over the world. Thinking of the origin of our present success, we cannot but cherish all the more dearly the memory of Comrade Zhou Enlai. I am convinced that the picture album will help us carry forward the fine diplomatic traditions pioneered by Zhou Enlai and strengthen our education in patriotism and socialism.

前 言

在伟大的无产阶级革命家和外交家周恩来同志逝世 20 周年之际,我们谨以外交部档案馆馆藏照片为主体,编成这部《周恩来外交风采》画册,以表达从事外交工作的同志们对周恩来同志的深切思念。

周恩来同志是中国卓越的党和国家领导人,对中国人民的解放和社会主义建设事业作出了不可磨灭的贡献。同时,他也是当代中国与世界伟大的外交家。新中国成立后,他以总理身份兼任外交部长近 10 年,主管外交工作达 26 年之久,为开创和建立新中国的外交事业作出了历史性的巨大贡献,谱写了中国和世界外交的光辉篇章。

周恩来同志是新中国外交事业的创始人和奠基者之一,又是具体实施的指挥者和实践家。新中国建立前后,他与毛泽东同志殚精竭虑,致力于新中国外交政策的制定。由周恩来同志主持起草的《中国人民政治协商会议共同纲领》,首次以法律的形式规定了我国外交的基本原则和一些重大政策。在他的直接领导下,新中国迅速废除了帝国主义在华特权,同一批国家建立了新型外交关系,使诞生不久的中华人民共和国从一开始就以独立自主、热爱和平的崭新风貌屹立在世界的东方。

当时,新中国所有重大对外行动,都是周恩来同志参与实践或直接指挥的。无论是去苏联谈判,缔结中苏友好同盟互助条约,还是在抗美援朝中的外交斗争和其后的停战谈判,在联合

国控诉美国武装侵略我国领土台湾等重大外交斗争中,都由于他驾驭局势,指挥有方,取得了伟大胜利。

周恩来同志创造性地提出了指导国家关系的和平共处五项原则,还同印度、缅甸两国总理共同倡议,把它作为指导国际关系的普遍准则。和平共处五项原则作为以往国际关系中强权政治的对立物,反映了世界各国,特别是中、小国家的普遍愿望,显示出强大的生命力。

周恩来同志率领中国代表团参加在日内瓦举行的讨论朝鲜问题和印度支那问题的国际会议,为争取朝鲜问题的解决尽了最大努力,也为恢复印度支那和平作出了巨大贡献。他率领代表团参加在万隆举行的亚非会议,提出并坚持求同存异的方针,使会议取得圆满成功。他出席这两次重要的国际会议,使新中国扩大了影响,登上了更加广阔的国际舞台。

1956年底至1964年初,周恩来同志三度出访亚非二十八国,支持这些国家争取与维护政治、经济独立的斗争,建立与发展同这些国家的友好合作关系,宣布了我国对外援助的八项原则,产生了深远的影响。与此同时,周恩来同志积极寻求同发达的资本主义国家发展关系的途径。他提出对日本采取“民间先行,以民促官”的方针,展开了声势浩大的国民外交。在他的主持下,我国同英国达成了建立代办级的半建交关系,并在60年代实现了中法建交,打开了我国同西方大国建交的突破口。

为打开中美关系的大门,从中美大使级会谈到“乒乓外交”,从基辛格秘密访华到同尼克松跨越时代的握手,周恩来同志都是决策的主要参与者和实践者。以中美关系的改善为契机,世界上掀起了同中国建交的新高潮。到周恩来同志逝世时,同中国建交的国家猛增到107个,联合国也恢复了中国的合法席位,我国的国际地位和影响有了很大的提高。

周恩来同志在长期的外交实践中,形成了举世公认的、独具特色的外交风格。中外人士感受最深的首先是他的实事求是精神。他之所以能较准确地分析判断形势,外交实践能够取得成功,就是因为他一贯坚持实事求是。其次,是摆事实,讲道理,以理服人,而从不强加于人。这种态度为新中国和他本人赢得了各方面普遍的尊敬与友谊。第三,落落大方,不卑不亢。他在外交场合,无论待人接物还是言谈举止,都被誉为“没有大国架子的大国风度”。第四,遵守守信,说话算数。做不到的事他决不说,说过的话一定要做到。他曾特意为日本田中首相题辞:“言必行,行必果。”美国前国务卿基辛格以其亲身体验在回忆录中说:“中国外交家证明是完全可靠的”,“他们信守协议的意义和精神”。第五,以诚交友,肝胆相照。他设身处地为别人着想,谅解朋友的困难。周恩来的外交风格就是他的思想、品德和作风在实践中的形象体现,完美地反映了中华人民共和国的精神风貌。

周恩来的名字与日月同辉,永放光芒!

FOREWORD

On the 20th anniversary of the passing away of Comrade Zhou Enlai, a great proletarian revolutionary and diplomat, we have compiled this album, *Zhou Enlai: A Charismatic Diplomat*, using mainly the photo collection of the Foreign Ministry Archives, as a way to express his profound memory cherished by us and many more working on the diplomatic front.

As an outstanding leader of the Chinese Communist Party and the state, Comrade Zhou Enlai made an indelible contribution to the liberation of the Chinese people and China's socialist reconstruction. He was also a great diplomat in contemporary China and world. He served as Premier and concurrently Foreign Minister of the People's Republic for nearly ten years and oversaw its external relations for twenty-six years. Premier Zhou's monumental contribution to the founding and development of New China's diplomacy has added a lustrous chapter to the diplomatic history of China and that of the world.

Comrade Zhou Enlai was not only one of the founders but also a director and practitioner of New China's diplomacy. Before and immediately after the founding of the People's Republic, he worked tirelessly with Comrade Mao Zedong to formulate the foreign policy of New China. He organized the drafting of the Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, which laid down for the first time jurisprudentially the basic principles and key components of China's foreign policy. Under his personal leadership, New China quickly eliminated the privileges of imperialist powers in China and established relations of a new type with a number of countries, thus enabling the newborn Republic to stand rock firm in the East as an independent and peace-loving country.

All the major diplomatic initiatives taken by New China at the time were either carried out or personally directed by Comrade Zhou Enlai. Be it negotiations with the USSR and the subsequent signing of Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance, or diplomatic maneuvering during the War of Resistance Against US Aggression and Aiding Korea and the ensuing armistice talks, or China's denunciation of American invasion of China's Taiwan Province at the United Nations, all ended in resounding victories thanks to his skillful command and mastery of the overall situation.

Comrade Zhou Enlai creatively put forward the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence as a guide for state-to-state relations and, together with the prime ministers of India and Burma, recommended that they serve as a universal norm governing international relations. As an antithesis of power politics in the erstwhile international relations, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence reflected the common aspirations of all countries, the small and medium-sized ones in particular, and demonstrated an inexhaustible vitality.

Comrade Zhou Enlai participated at the head of the Chinese delegation in the International Conference on the Questions of Korea and Indochina held in Geneva. There he exerted his utmost for the settlement of the Korean question and contributed significantly to restoring peace in Indochina. At the Asian-African Conference in Bandung, which he attended at the head of the Chinese delegation, Comrade Zhou Enlai set forth and persisted in the principle of seeking common ground while putting aside differences, thus ensuring the Conference a crowning success. His presence at these two important international gatherings extended New China's influence and gave it an elevated stature on international stage.

Between the end of 1956 and early 1964, Comrade Zhou Enlai visited 28 Asian and African nations on three occasions. During these visits, Comrade Zhou Enlai expressed support for their struggles to gain and maintain political and economic independence, endeavored to establish and develop friendly relations and cooperation with them and announced the eight principles for China's foreign aid. All this had a far-reaching impact. At the same time, he sought ways to develop relations with the developed capitalist countries. With regard to Japan, he put forward the guideline of "promoting governmental relations by conducting non-governmental exchanges first", thus paving the way for a dynamic upsurge of people-to-people diplomacy between the two countries. Under his guidance, China reached an agreement with Britain for the establishment of semi-diplomatic relations at the level of *chargé d'affaires*. In the 1960s, with the establishment of diplomatic relations with France, he struck a breakthrough in the exchanges of diplomatic recognition between China and major Western countries.

Comrade Zhou Enlai was a principal decision-maker and

practitioner of China's initiative to open Sino-American relations, from ambassadorial talks to "Ping-Pong Diplomacy", from Henry Kissinger's secret visit to the handshake with President Nixon that ushered in a new era. Galvanized by improved Sino-American relations, a new tide of establishing diplomatic ties with China swept across the world. By the time of Zhou Enlai's passing, the number of countries having diplomatic relations with China had risen to 107 and China's lawful seat in the UN had been duly restored, all testimony to the spectacular rise in China's international standing and prestige.

Comrade Zhou Enlai's diplomacy, through long years of practice, acquired a distinctive style admired throughout the world. What impressed his Chinese colleagues and foreign guests first and foremost was his spirit of seeking truth from facts. He owed his accurate analysis and judgment of events and his successful diplomatic activities to his consistent adherence to such spirit. Secondly, he tried to bring people around with persuasion and reasoning and never imposed himself on others. This helped win China and himself extensive respect and friendship from all quarters. Thirdly, he was natural, graceful, unpretentious. On diplomatic occasions, he carried himself in such a manner that was characteristic of the leader of a big country yet without the airs associated with the post. Fourthly, he honoured agreement and kept his words. He never made empty promises. A word, once said, must count. He wrote an inscription for Japanese Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka, the English equivalent of which goes, "Word is credible when it is honoured, action is credible when it produces a result." Former US Secretary of State Kissinger wrote of his own experience in his memoir, "Chinese diplomats ... proved meticulously reliable" and "they stuck to the meaning and the spirit of their undertakings". Fifthly, Zhou Enlai was sincere and loyal to his friends. He was considerate and always ready to accommodate his friends in difficulties. Zhou Enlai's diplomacy was a vivid reflection of his thoughts, virtues and style of work in practice and a perfect embodiment of the spirit of the People's Republic of China.

May the name Zhou Enlai shine forever like the sun and the moon.

谨以此书纪念敬爱的周恩来同志
逝世 20 周年

**Dedicated to Our Beloved Comrade
Zhou Enlai Who Passed
Away Twenty Years Ago**



As the first foreign minister of the People's Republic of China, Zhou Enlai was one of the founders of New China's diplomacy. Under his direct leadership, China quickly lifted itself from its century-old diplomatic humiliation and established relations of a new type with a number of countries based on equality, thereby safeguarding the independence, sovereignty, security and dignity of the newborn Republic and enabling it to stand rock firm in the East as an independent nation that loves peace and defies brute force.