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### THE CHARISMA OF DENG XIAOPING AS A DIPLOMAT

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## 序

在纪念党的十一届三中全会召开和中国改革开放 20周年之际,外交部和中共中央文献研究室联合编辑了这部《邓小平外交风采》画册,以表达我们对邓小平这位伟大的无产阶级革命家、政治家、军事家、外交家和中国社会主义改革开放和现代化建设总设计师的深切缅怀和崇高敬意。

邓小平的名字是和近半个世纪以来的中国外交紧密相连的。从新中国成立之初到社会主义建设的新时期,他先后参与和主持了党和国家大量的重要外事活动。他以自己深刻的外交思想、高超的外交艺术和独特的外交风格,成为享誉世界的杰出的国际战略家和外交家。

邓小平作为中国共产党第二代领导集体的核心,在社会主义建设新的历史时期,运用辩证唯物主义和历史唯物主义的观点,全面深入地观察和分析国际形势的发展变化,高屋建瓴地提出和平与发展是当代世界的两大问题,倡议在和平共处五项原则基础上建立国际政治经济新秩序,反对霸权主义和强权政治,维护世界和平,促进共同发展。他创造性地提出了"一国两制"的伟大构想,圆满解决了香港和澳门的回归,有力地促进了祖国和平统一大业的进程。八十年代末、九十年代初,国际格局发生变动,他及时提出了一系列具有重大现实意义和深远历史意义的战略方针,指导我国外交事业在国际风云变幻中以稳健的步伐继续前进,不断取得举世瞩目的新成就。他对外交工作悉心指导,亲身实践,付出了大量心血,丰富和发展了毛泽东、周恩来的外交理论、外交实践和外交风格。他的外交思想是邓小平理论的重要组成部分,是他留给中国人民的宝贵精神财富。

在把建设有中国特色的社会主义事业全面推向二十一世纪的今天,面对纷繁复杂的国际形势,我们要坚定不移地贯彻邓小平的外交思想,在以江泽民同志为核心的党中央的领导下,树立跨世纪外交意识和总体外交意识,抓住机遇,迎接挑战,开拓进取,进一步开创外交工作的新局面。

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#### **PREFACE**

On the 20th anniversary of the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the launching of reform and opening-up, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Party Literature Research Centre of the CPC Central Committee have jointly compiled this picture album entitled The Charisma of Deng Xiaoping as a Diplomat in order to show our high respect for and honour the memory of Deng Xiaoping, a great proletarian revolutionary, statesman, military strategist, diplomat and the chief architect of China's socialist reform, opening-up and modernisation drive.

The name of Deng Xiaoping is closely linked with China's diplomacy over the past 50 years. From the founding of the New China to the new period of socialist construction, he was in charge of and involved in numerous important diplomatic activities of our Party and country. With his profound thinking on diplomacy, superb diplomatic skills and unique diplomatic style, he made an outstanding international strategist and diplomat enjoying world-wide reputation.

As the core of the second generation of the collective leadership of the CPC in the new historical period of China's socialist construction, he made a comprehensive and in-depth observation and analysis of the international developments and changes from a dialectical materialist and historical materialist point of view and pointed out in a strategic perspective that peace and development were the main themes in the world of today. He advocated the establishment of a new international political and economic order on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and stood for opposition to hegemonism and power politics and for the maintenance of world peace and promotion of common development. He initiated the great concept of "one country, two systems", which led to the satisfactory settlement of the questions of Hong Kong and Macao, thus vigorously bringing forward the great cause of the motherland's peaceful reunification. At the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s when changes took place in the international arena, he promptly put forward a series of strategic policies of important, immediate and far-reaching historical significance. Under his guidance China's diplomacy continued to move forward amid the vicissitudes of the international situation and scored new achievements which attracted world attention. Through specific guidance and direct involvement, he contributed a lot to China's diplomacy and enriched and developed the diplomatic theory, practice and style of Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai. His thinking on diplomacy, an important component of Deng Xiaoping Theory, is a precious spiritual asset he left to the Chinese people.

Today as we are advancing the cause of building socialism with Chinese characteristics into the 21st century in an all-round way against the background of a complicated international situation, we should unswervingly implement Deng Xiaoping's thinking on diplomacy. Under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee with Comrade Jiang Zemin at the core, we should foster the awareness of the cross-century and total diplomacy, seize the opportunities, meet the challenges and make pioneering efforts so as to open up a new vista in our diplomatic work.

# 前言

邓小平卓越的外交理论与实践,书写了中国外交史上浓墨重彩的光辉篇章。他非凡的外交风范与魅力,为全世界爱好和平的人们称颂。在纪念中国共产党十一届三中全会召开和中国改革开放二十周年的时候,我们特意编辑这部《邓小平外交风采》画册,用一幅幅生动而珍贵的历史画面,来表现邓小平为中国外交及世界和平和人类进步事业所做的伟大贡献。

新中国成立后,邓小平就参与许多重要外事活动,促进了新中国外交事业的发展。七十年代,他为排除"文化大革命"对外交工作的干扰作了不懈努力。他积极支持第三世界国家争取经济独立,巩固政治独立的斗争。他率团出席联合国第六次特别会议,发表重要讲话,阐述了中国关于三个世界划分的战略思想和支持建立国际经济新秩序的主张。他主持与日本谈判,签订《中日和平友好条约》,并访问日本,出席该条约批准书互换仪式,掀起了中日友好交往的新高潮。他主持中美建交谈判,达成中美建交协议,并出访美国,实现了中美关系正常化。

十一届三中全会以后,邓小平成为中国共产党第二代领导集体的核心。他总结历史经验,准确地分析时代特征,对国际形势作出新的科学判断,改变了过去认为战争不可避免而且迫在眉睫的估计和"一条线"战略,认为世界和平力量的增长超过了战争力量的增长,世界战争可以避免,明确提出了和平与发展是当今世界两大主题的科学论断。据此,他果断地调整中国的外交政策,强调不同任何大国结盟或建立战略关系,对一切国际事务,都从中国人民和世界人民的根本利益出发,根据事情本身的是非曲直,独立自主地作出判断,决定自己的态度和立场。他结合新时期的外交实践,创造性地继承和发展了毛泽东、周恩来的外交思想,提出了一整套外交战略,开创了中国外交新局面,并形成了邓小平外交思想。他极大地发展完善了我国独立自主的和平外交政策,为我国社会主义现代化建设创造了有利的国际环境。

邓小平超越社会制度和意识形态的异同,更加鲜明地突出和平共处五

项原则,努力改善和发展中国和世界各国的友好合作关系。在他领导下,中美就售台武器问题达成协议,1982年发表了"八·一七公报",推动中美关系稳定向前发展;1989年,他同苏联领导人戈尔巴乔夫举行了"结束过去,开辟未来"的高级会晤,中苏两党两国关系实现了正常化。他还积极奉行睦邻友好政策,推动中国同所有邻国都建立或恢复了正常关系。他一贯重视同发展中国家的合作,强调中国永远属于第三世界,永远不称霸,并把加强同发展中国家的团结作为中国外交的基本立足点,积极支援所有发展中国家争取民族独立,发展经济的斗争。

为了推进祖国统一大业,邓小平提出"一国两制"的伟大构想。根据这一构想,中国政府先后与英国和葡萄牙政府经过多次谈判,最终达成协议,中国于 1997年和 1999年分别对香港和澳门恢复行使主权。现在香港已顺利回归祖国,澳门归期指日可待。

八十年代末、九十年代初,国际风云剧变,两级格局终结,世界进入新旧格局交替的过渡时期。邓小平纵观全局,以无产阶级革命家、外交家的远见卓识,及时提出了要把国家的主权和安全始终放在第一位等一系列战略方针,维护了国家主权和尊严;同时他积极倡导并推动以和平共处五项原则为准则,建立国际政治经济新秩序。

在邓小平的外交思想指导下,在以江泽民为核心的党中央领导下,中国的外交工作不断取得新的成就。目前,世界上有一百六十二个国家与中国建交,同中国进行经济和文化交流的国家和地区多达二百二十余个。中国在和平共处五项原则的基础上开展同世界各大国的关系;坚持睦邻友好,发展同周边国家的关系;加强与发展中国家的团结合作,积极参与多边外交活动。中国外交呈现出全面发展的新局面。

这本画册能够帮助读者更加形象、更加深刻地了解作为国际战略家和外交家的邓小平。

### **FOREWORD**

Deng Xiaoping's outstanding diplomatic theory and practice add a splendid chapter to the history of China's foreign affairs. He is extolled by the peace-loving people across the world for his extraordinary diplomatic style and charisma. In commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and of China's reform and opening-up, we have compiled this picture album, The Charisma of Deng Xiaoping as a Diplomat, which, with all its vivid and precious historical photos, illustrates his great contributions to China's diplomacy and the cause of world peace and human progress.

After the founding of the People's Republic, Deng Xiaoping, involved in many important diplomatic activities, contributed to the promotion of the diplomatic cause of New China. In the 1970s, he worked tirelessly to ward off the interference in diplomatic work from the "Cultural Revolution". He vigorously supported the third world countries in their struggle to win economic independence and consolidate political independence. As the head of the Chinese delegation to the Sixth Special Session of the United Nations, he delivered an important speech, expounding China's strategic "three-world theory" and its support for establishing a new international economic order. He was in charge of the negotiations with Japan, which led to the signing of the China-Japan Treaty of Peace and Friendship, and attended the ceremony for the exchange of instruments of its ratification during his visit to Japan, setting off a new upsurge of China-Japan friendly exchanges. He directed China's negotiations with the United States on the establishment of diplomatic relations. Following the conclusion of the agreement thereon, he visited the United States, and China-US relations were normalized.

Deng Xiaoping became the core of the second generation of the CPC leaders after the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh CPC Central Committee. With a review of the past experience and an accurate analysis of the features of the times, he made a new and scientific assessment of the international situation, changing the previous view that war was both inevitable and imminent and the "strategy of forming an alliance against a common opponent". He believed that the force for peace in the world outgrew the force for war and that a world war could be avoided. He came to a clear scientific conclusion that peace and development were the two major themes in the world of today. On that basis, he decisively adjusted China's foreign policy, stressing that China would not enter into alliance or strategic relations with any big power, and that proceeding from the fundamental interests of the people of China and the world, it would make independent judgment and determine its attitude and position all international affairs on the merits of each case. In the light of the diplomatic practice in the new era, he creatively inherited and developed Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai's thinking on foreign affairs and worked out a complete set of diplomatic strategies, opening up a new dimension in China's foreign affairs and leading to the birth of Deng Xiaoping's thinking on diplomacy. He greatly developed and improved China's independent foreign policy of peace and helped create a favourable international environment for China's socialist modernization drive.

Going beyond the differences in social system and ideology, Deng Xiaoping highlighted all the more the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and worked hard to improve and foster the friendly relations and cooperation between China and other countries. Under his leadership, China reached the agreement with the United States on US arms sales to Taiwan, to be followed by the Sino-US Joint Communique of 17 August 1982, thus promoting a steady development of the bilateral relations. In 1989, he held a summit meeting with Soviet leader Gorbachev to "end the past and open up the future", bringing about normalized party and state relations between China and the Soviet Union. He also vigorously pursued the policy of good-neighbourliness and friendship, and promoted the establishment or resumption of normal relations between China and all its neighbours. He always attached importance to cooperation with other developing countries and stressed that China would forever remain a member of the third world and never seek hegemony. He also made it a fundamental principle underlying China's foreign affairs to strengthen the solidarity with other developing countries and actively supported all the developing countries in their struggle for national independence and economic development.

To advance the great cause of the national reunification, Comrade Deng Xiaoping put forth the great concept of "one country, two systems". Under this concept, the Chinese Government held many rounds of negotiations with the UK and Portuguese governments respectively and they finally reached the agreements providing for China's resumption of the exercise of sovereignty over Hong Kong and Macao in 1997 and in 1999 respectively. With the smooth return of Hong Kong to the motherland, the return of Macao is just round the corner.

Towards the end of the 1980s and at the beginning of the 1990s, drastic changes took place on the global scene, and the bipolar structure came to an end. The world entered a period of transition from an old to a new pattern. With a broad overview of the global situation and the farsightedness of a proletarian revolutionary and diplomat, Deng Xiaoping proposed promptly that state sovereignty and national security must always be put in the first place, and set forth a series of other strategic principles, thus helping safeguard the state sovereignty and dignity. At the same time, he vigorously advocated and promoted the establishment of a new international political and economic order, with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence as the guideline.

Guided by Deng Xiaoping's thinking on diplomacy and under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee with Comrade Jiang Zemin at the core, China continues to score new achievements in its foreign affairs. At present, China has diplomatic ties with 162 countries and economic and cultural exchanges with more than 220 countries and regions. On the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, China is developing relations with the major countries in the world, expanding its relations with the neighbouring countries in a spirit of good-neighbourliness and friendship, strengthening and developing solidarity and cooperation with other developing countries and actively participating in multilateral diplomatic activities. China's diplomatic front is now a thriving scene of all-round development.

This picture album will help viewers get a more vivid and deeper understanding of Deng Xiaoping as an international strategist and a master of diplomacy. .

第一部分 PART I 1952—1966



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第二部分 PART II

1973 - 1976



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第三部分 PART Ⅲ

1977 - 1982



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第四部分 PART IV

1982 - 1990



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第一部分 PART I 1952—1966

建国初期至六十年代中期,邓小平任政府副总理、代总理,中共中央总书记,分管过党的外事工作,参与了大量外交活动,与许多国家的领导人以及各阶层人士都有接触,为增进中国与这些国家政府和人民之间的了解与友谊做出了重要贡献。

From the early days after the founding of the P.R.C. to the mid-1960s, Deng Xiaoping served successively as Vice Premier and acting Premier of the State Council and General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee. Being in charge of the Party's foreign affairs for some time, he was very much involved in diplomatic activities and had contacts with leaders and personages from various sectors of many countries. He made important contributions to the promotion of understanding and friendship between the Government and people of China and those of other countries.