

Red China

TODAY IN FRANCE

A MONTHLY PUBLICATION

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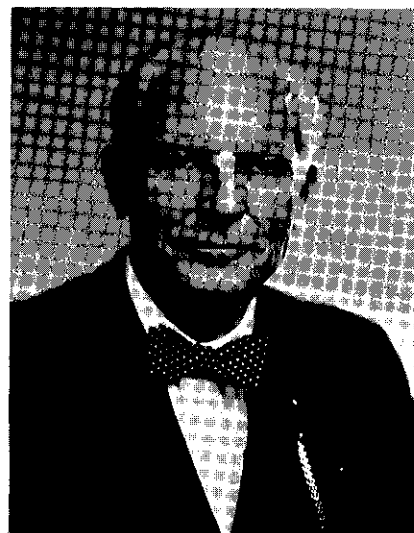
The
SOCIETY FOR FRENCH - AMERICAN AFFAIRS
and the
COMMITTEE OF ONE MILLION

have agreed to collaborate in a joint effort to alert the peoples of the free world to the dangers inherent in the reckless recognition of Red China by President Charles De Gaulle.

As a first step, we are giving the complete text of the Resolution introduced into the United States Senate by Thomas J. Dodd, Senator from Connecticut, in his own name and for thirty-two other Senators, Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives. The defense of the interests of our country and of the free world is alike to every American, no matter what may be his label.

The Resolution came too late. Frankly, it is a question whether it would have had any influence whatever on the French President's thinking or action. But the document has a definite historical value, for it tells the whole world where we Americans stand on the issue and presents in clear and unmistakable language the many valid reasons why the government of France should have continued to withhold its diplomatic acceptance of the Communist regime in Peking.

A vigorous protest denouncing the French President's action, and which is being circulated in France for signatures, is printed here with the names of the first signers; also a caustic, analytical article on De Gaulle and why he took this radically dangerous step by the man who should know him better than anybody: Jacques Soustelle.



*SEN. THOMAS J. DODD

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PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE SOCIETY FOR FRENCH-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

A NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATION FOR THE STUDY AND DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION ON RELATED FRENCH AND AMERICAN POLITICAL AFFAIRS, AND GENERALLY TO WORK TOWARD A BETTER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN AMERICANS AND FRENCHMEN.

RESOLUTION

Supporting the stand of the administration in
opposing French recognition of Red China.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JANUARY 23, 1964

Mr. DODD (for himself, Mr. ALLOTT, Mr. BAYH, Mr. BEALL, Mr. BENNETT, Mr. BYRD of Virginia, Mr. BYRD of West Virginia, Mr. CURTIS, Mr. DOMINICK, Mr. DOUGLAS, Mr. EDMONDSON, Mr. ELLENDER, Mr. HARTKE, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. KEATING, Mr. LAUSCHE, Mr. MCCLELLAN, Mr. MECHEM, Mr. MONRONEY, Mr. MUNDT, Mr. PROXMIRE, Mr. RANDOLPH, Mr. RIBICOFF, Mr. SCOTT, Mr. SIMPSON, Mr. SMATHERS, Mr. STENNIS, Mr. THURMOND, Mr. TOWER, Mr. WALTERS, Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware, Mr. YARBOROUGH, and Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

WHEREAS the relations between France and the United States have been characterized by mutual friendship and respect since the founding of our nation;

AND WHEREAS the French people and the American people have fought shoulder to shoulder in two World Wars and are again allied today against the threat of communist aggression;

AND WHEREAS the Western Alliance cannot survive without an alliance of the spirit and of understanding between France and America;

AND WHEREAS the recognition of Communist China by France would make more difficult the task of arresting the erosion of recent years in the relationship between our countries, and would thereby endanger the cause of freedom;

AND WHEREAS the Administration has let it be known that it has communicated with President DeGaulle its own firm view that the recognition of Red China at this time would be most unwise and unfortunate;

AND WHEREAS it may not yet be too late to persuade our French allies to reconsider their position;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT the Senate of the United States go on record as supporting the stand taken by the Administration on this issue;

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Senate adopt the following statement of position so that our French allies can be left in no doubt as to the broad bi-partisan support which the Administration enjoys in opposing the recognition of Red China, and so that they will have a better understanding of the reasons that motivate American opposition to the fateful step France is now preparing to take.

* * *

All men who cherish freedom have been gravely disturbed by the growing cleavage between France and America in recent years.

We recognize that the responsibility for the series of differences that have alienated our two countries probably does not lie wholly on one side.

We have all been hopeful that the differences of the past might be overcome and a new and better understanding achieved between France and America, through the processes of diplomacy.

But we fear that French recognition of Red China would gravely damage the prospect of reconciliation between our two nations. While the American people regard other differences as negotiable, the recognition of Red China in their eyes is not negotiable.

We implore our French friends not to underestimate or minimize the strength of American conviction on this issue. There is no single issue on which there has been greater unity between Democrats and Republicans and between Congress and successive Administrations. A measure of our conviction is the fact that both houses of Congress have repeatedly voted against the recognition of Red China, and that the conventions of both parties in 1956 and again in 1960 adopted platforms which specifically rejected the recognition of Red China and its admission to the United Nations.

The experience with Nazi Germany demonstrated that there are regimes which are organically aggressive, and that one cannot placate such regimes by offers of concessions or by catering to their desire for enhanced acceptability and prestige. The only result of concessions to such regimes is to increase their contempt for the democracies and to spur them to further acts of aggression.

The American people believe that no regime in history has shown itself to be so inextricably wedded to aggression as the Chinese Communist regime. In less than fifteen years in power, it has been guilty of direct military aggression in Korea and in India, it has been guilty of sponsoring and supporting the Viet Minh forces against the French, the Malayan guerrillas against the British, the Laotian Communists against the Laotian government, and the Viet Cong forces against the government of South Vietnam. Anything which enhances the prestige of this government will, we are certain, automatically enhance its power of aggression and subversion, and lead, ineluctably, to the enslavement of more millions of peoples.

Some of our French friends have made the comment that the United States, for some reason which they cannot understand, appears to be reacting much more violently to the proposed French recognition of Red China than they reacted to British recognition of Red China in 1950. There is a world of difference, however, between the recognition of such a regime at the point of inception when there was perhaps some excuse for misappraisal and wishful thinking, and the recognition of this regime in the year 1964, after its appalling and unbroken record of aggression. We are certain that, had the British postponed recognition of Red China and had they proposed to offer recognition today, the American people would react just as strongly as they are now to the proposed recognition of Red China by the government of France.

continued on page 6

by JACQUES SOUSTELLE

Why has De Gaulle decided to recognize Red China? In the whirlwind of comments and suppositions which this step has unleashed, it seems that a very simple fact has been ignored. De Gaulle has had to turn to Mao-Tze-Tung because he had nowhere else to go. Everything he has tried to do for the last five years has failed.

Just tick off his failures on your fingers:

1. - He has delivered Algeria to the racist, Marxist dictatorship of Ben Bella's gang, hoping to become the accepted leader of a pacified North Africa and Black Africa. Now Algeria, though pumping French money to the rhythm of four million dollars a day, is sinking into economic collapse and anarchy. One after the other, all the pro-French and pre-Western governments in Africa are collapsing: - Youlou at Brazzaville, Maga in Dahomey. Terrorism is rampant again in the ex-Belgian Congo, and the whole of eastern Africa is in a state of chaos after Zanzibar's Castroite and pro-Chinese coup.
2. - Last year, De Gaulle signed a treaty of cooperation with old Chancellor Adenauer. He was received officially in Germany amidst the most incredible Hitler-like propaganda hoopla. He already saw himself as the new Charlemagne, the leader of continental Europe, thanks to the support of Germany. Alas! All those dreams have "gone with the wind", and Chancellor Erhard is not likely to help revive them.
3. - On January 14, 1963, De Gaulle closed the door on England's admission to the European Common Market. He also delivered an ultimatum to France's five partners in the E.C.M. His demands on agricultural products had to be accepted by December 31, or else ... But finally the European agricultural problems were solved on a sensible basis of "give-and-take", thanks to which he barely saved face. Today, the Common Market stands strong, even stronger than ever, and not one of the European leaders, from Belgium's Spaak to Italian Segni, from Germany's Erhard to Netherland's Lunds, accepts the exclusion of Britain as final.
4. - The line De Gaulle and his propaganda system have been plugging during the last two years was: "Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals". Which meant that Europe should disentangle itself from the "Anglo-Saxon" powers, Britain and the United States, and that Soviet Russia should associate with Western Europe against both America and China. Alas once more! Krushchev has chosen to negotiate with the United States, because he is realistic enough to see strength where it is. De Gaulle and his Paris-Moscow axis have been left out in the cold.

What, then, remained for De Gaulle to do? The French "monarch" could go back unobtrusively to the Western Alliance and give up trying to throw his weight around, or he could turn to the last and only door which could open for him: Red China. Since De Gaulle never admits he was wrong, the conclusion was foregone: it would be Mao-Tze-Tung. The recognition of Red China was implicit in France's refusal to sign the anti-atomic test treaty last July.

It is amazing, literally, to read De Gaulle's praise, after such a move, in some of the most important magazines in the USA. Nothing could be further from the feelings that Mao's recognition has evoked in France and the rest of Europe. In France, the Communist Party alone has been lavish in its praise, while all other political circles have expressed at least doubts and misgivings when it was not downright disapproval. All of France's European partners, such as P.H. Spaak and the Germans, openly disapproved. Even the Holy See's official organ, *L'Osservatore Romano*, did not hide the Catholic Church's dismay - which in turn provoked a sharp rebuke from Peking.

The only argument of any seeming value which has been produced in favor of the Paris-

Peking "rapprochement" is that "China exists", and that it is, therefor, "realistic" to extend diplomatic recognition to it. The same argument could be used with equal logic for East Germany, which no doubt also "exists". Will De Gaulle some day drop Bonn as he has dropped his "old friend" Chiang-Kai-Chek?

Moreover, did not Red China exist last year? But at that time, De Gaulle publicly described that country as backward, poverty-stricken and dangerously ambitious. He wanted to rally - around his flag, of course, - Europe and Russia against the "yellow danger". What, one may ask, has changed substantially since then? The answer is: De Gaulle's ambitious plans for European leadership have been thwarted.

To say that France will gain economically from the recognition is childish. Red China imports and exports through Hong-Kong, and a purely commercial link could be established anyhow without any political implications. The fact is that De Gaulle does not care if China buys a nickel's worth of French goods. His was and remains a purely political decision.

First of all, his recognition of Red China has what you might call a nuisance value. Since his "grand designs" do not seem to get off the ground, since Europe refuses his leadership, Moscow is not interested and Washington gives him the cold shoulder, then it is that he reacts: Let us make friends with Mao and "on verra bien.." (we'll see..)" - a favorite expression of his.

Then there is the matter of the "third world". Owing to the frightful collapse of his Algerian and African policies, De Gaulle has recently turned to Southeast Asia. He advocates the re-unification of Indo-China under the thin veil of a "neutralized" Vietnam which would hardly conceal the surrender of the whole area to Communism. He supports, politically and financially, Prince Sihanouk's anti-American, pro-communist regime in Cambodia. His aim is, clearly, to wreck all the American policy in Asia and to emerge as the one and only Western statesman with a following in that part of the world.

Chou-En-Lai's trip to Africa has shown how great is China's weight on the Black continent. More and more of the so-called independent countries are passing or will pass the line, away from the Western world into a Chinese brand of communism. De Gaulle evidently hopes to regain some influence in Africa, after the dismal failure of his "Community", through his friendship with Red China. I have no doubt that this plan will collapse like the previous ones, because China will work for itself only. Chou's speech in the former French Guinea was clear: China will stand with all her might in the way of any kind of "neo-colonialism", that is, against any influence in Africa of any white man's country. And that is that, even for De Gaulle.

I would like to conclude with a word to the wise. May I remind my American readers that everything I have foreseen and foretold in the last two or three years concerning De Gaulle's policies invariably came true? Well, now I believe that his next line of attack will be Latin-America. His next official trip will be to Mexico and Brazil. I would have the surprise of my life if those visits were not devoted, both by means of public statements and quiet talks and suggestions, to weaken the position of the United States south of the Rio Grande. The Chinese brand of Communism and the Castro-ite form of regime will be the only ones to gain from De Gaulle's intrusion into Latin-American affairs.

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JACQUES SOUSTELLE

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We believe that in the light of the British experience, there is less reason, not more reason, for recognizing Red China today than there was when Britain took the fateful step in 1950.

British recognition has brought Britain no advantages.

It has in no way served to moderate Red China's behavior vis-a-vis her neighbors.

It has diminished rather than augmented the security of the area.

And it has demonstrated how terribly difficult it is to undo such an action, once it has been taken, even when the course of history has established its futility.

France under President De Gaulle has always stood against appeasement and against compromise with tyranny. President De Gaulle has played an historic role both in the defeat of Nazism and in the promotion of a united Europe.

We pray that the lessons of recent decades in Europe will not be forgotten in Asia.

We pray that even at this late hour our French allies will take the time to consider our plea that France and America stand united today, as they have in the past, in their opposition to the menacing tide of Communist imperialism both in Europe and in Asia.

And we pray that the confirmation of our unity of interest and purpose on this issue will pave the way to a broader unity between our two great nations.

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DIRECT REPORT FROM PARIS

At the moment when the recognition of Red China raises the question of its timeliness, many Americans in Paris were profoundly shocked by a television broadcast, "Seven Days of the World", which commented on conditions in China and Venezuela.

That the French government should seek to justify its policies is well within its rights, even if it does not convince everybody. Ex-President Pinay has said of the recognition of China: "It may have been inevitable, but it was not that urgent".

This telecast drew particular attention because of the advance publicity it was given. In a panegyric without any subtlety, we were told that the Chinese people are the happiest on earth and benefit from an unrivaled prosperity. One could see the Chinese housewife bending under the

weight of consumer goods, and we were told that the new regime had transformed the country into a Paradise.

There followed a report on Venezuela. We were told of the misery of this people which has not had the opportunity of being ruled by a Communist government. On the next day, we learned through the indiscretion of one of our newspapers, that the telecast had been prepared by a Communist deputy. He had, of course, neglected to say that the Venezuelan government had the support of a wide national majority, and that living conditions in that country were at least honorable.

These two telecasts struck our American friends forcefully. They have asked themselves if French television, whose objectivity has often been questioned, has not simply become a propaganda machine for

AGAINST THE RECOGNITION OF COMMUNIST CHINA

The undersigned protest against the recognition which the French government is getting ready to accord to Communist China under the pretext of "realism". In a regime as hermetically sealed as the totalitarianism recently called "detestable" by General de Gaulle, nothing is more unreal than the "presence" conferred by a simple Embassy. The French, like the English, Embassy, will have no access to the Chinese people; but, in return, it will legitimate the dictatorship of Mao. What nonsense to say that we ignore 600 million Chinese robbed of free elections, and who proclaim their servitude by fleeing by the millions through the cracks in the Bamboo Curtain.

Is an Embassy necessary for business ? Certainly not since, without keeping up diplomatic relations with the Peking government, Germany and Japan have more trade with it than does England, which recognizes it.

Thus, a French Embassy in Peking will bring nothing tangible to France. On the other hand, it will undermine the moral in all of South-Asia which is resisting Peking's imperialism. It will stab in the back the haven of Formosa which incarnates the independence of the real China; just as a certain haven of the London suburbs incarnated French independence during the dark years. The Chinese Embassies which are going to be opened up in Francophone Africa will constitute there formidable subversive and guerrilla hotbeds. And the poisonous precedent will have been established that, faced with Communism, each member of the Atlantic Alliance authorizes himself to act as he pleases, without the slightest worry about maintaining a common Front.

We call on all of the French people to condemn the recognition of the Peking dictatorship which the Chinese people themselves do not recognize.

Mmes	E. Delamare	journalist	A. Clarté ,	journalist
	S. Labin ,	Writer, Freedom Prize	J. CASTET ,	journalist
MM	Henri Barré,	former Senator	M. de Villaines,	Counsellor, jurist
	G. Baume,	Officer Legion Honor	A. Grandjean,	Secretary General of
	J. Boutard,	Representative	the Friends of Yugoslavia	
	L. Boutbien,	former Representative	G. de Bonneville,	Professor "Agrégé"
			Colonel G. Merz ,	journalist
	R. Bruyneel ,	Senator	Cl. Marcilly	
	H. Coston,	Journalist	G. Lamousse ,	Senator
	A. Cuveillier,	Professor "Agrégé"	Prince Cyrille Makinsky	
	R. Dejean,	Representative	R. Regaudie ,	Representative
	E. Frédéric-Dupont,	former President, Town Council	G. Vinatrel, Sec/ Far-East	
			Questions.	

.....
international Communism. The misery in Red China is an undeniable truth, confirmed by every traveler who has returned from that country. To show us Venezuela through the eyes of a Castro or Communist "maquis", who represent at the most only a tiny minority, is not only stupid but intellectually dishonest. HEA
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We had announced two articles for this month's issue of Today in France:

Jacques Soustelle on: No One-Party State and the final instalment of: The Opposition Seeks a Common Ground.

Both will appear in the March issue.

The speculation whether Communist China will or will not accept, openly or tacitly, a "two-China" policy, whether De Gaulle will or will not dump his "old friend", Chiang-Kai-Chek, is on the part of the American press an admission of abysmal ignorance of the question, and in France it is part of the French government's propaganda to prepare the French and world opinion for the break with Taiwan.

Of course, De Gaulle will break with Nationalist China. Not only because he is obliged to do so, like it or not, but also because it was quite evidently agreed upon in the discussions that his emissary, Edgar Faure, had with the Red Chinese leaders in Peking. What else could the three months delay in naming ambassadors signify?

Hypothetically, there were three situations that could develop as a result of De Gaulle's recognition of the Communist regime in Peking:

1. - Taipei breaks diplomatic ties immediately with Paris, which is what De Gaulle hoped for and which would have solved that knotty problem for him, but Chiang refused him that satisfaction;
2. - Peking accepts that France should continue some kind of diplomatic relation with the Nationalists, and so tacitly would countenance a "two-China" policy, but which Mao-Tze-Tung could not and would not do;
3. - De Gaulle must break diplomatic relations with Taiwan and close down the Nationalist Chinese embassy in Paris, continuing however a "de facto" recognition of Chiang's control of the island of Formosa, in the same sense that we recognize the fact that the Communists control the mainland of China.

The New York Times, in a recent editorial, stated that De Gaulle now has the "choice between failure and open admission of deceit". That is not to know the French dictator. The choice in favor of Red China was made months ago, and the deceit was wilful, to make the choice more palatable to people such as those who write editorials for the New York Times.
.....

A BAS DE GAULLE, l'aspirant-dictateur. VIVE LA RÉPUBLIQUE !

The "sticker" shown above is one of the many thousands that were pasted on walls and fences all over France in the years following World War II, to express the French people's opposition to the high-handed methods of General De Gaulle.

He is no longer just an aspirant to the role of dictator.

History has a way of repeating itself. Will we be seeing soon a new rash of stickers in France?
.....

"While American forces are fighting and dying to save South Vietnam ... an Ally now proposes its "neutralization" through unification with North Vietnam; the surest road to an all-communist Southeast Asia." - A.N. Spanel

We couldn't agree more with Mr Spanel's conclusion. But who is this "Ally" that Mr Spanel criticizes without naming? Is his discretion inspired by the Legion of Honor decoration General De Gaulle bestowed on him?
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Next month, space allowing, we shall discourse on the many voices in the French government, and the harmony behind this apparent discord.
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Students from Red China have been admitted into French nuclear research institutes which, like all other educational bodies, are government-directed.
...