

# *Opinions on the Political Consensus of Developing Bilateral Relations after the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between China and France in 1964*

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**Abstract:** On January 27, 1964, China and France decided to establish diplomatic relations, and France became the first western country to establish diplomatic relations with the China. Reviewing the development of China–France relations since the founding of New China, on the one hand, it is the practical needs of China and France and the result of joint efforts. On the other hand, it will promote China–France relations to develop into a comprehensive partnership and have a significant and far-reaching impact on international relations. After 1964, the political consensus between China and France was mainly manifested in the following aspects: on the Political status of Taiwan, China adhered to the position of national reunification, and France adhered to the "one China principle"; Both countries adhere to their independent and independent diplomatic status, unwilling to be controlled or manipulated, and oppose the monopoly of international affairs by superpowers; In the face of new situations and challenges, the strategic consensus and common pursuit of the two countries have not changed, the strategic partnership has been continuously upgraded and strengthened, and communication and cooperation in global governance have been continuously strengthened.

## **1. The "One China Principle" and the Consensus on the Political status of Taiwan**

After the founding of the China in 1949, the Western countries led by the United States curbed and isolated New China. When dealing with the Political status of Taiwan in the early years of the Cold War, the Western countries should not only consider the relationship with the Taiwan authorities, but also consider the influence of the United States [1]. Most of the western countries had established diplomatic relations with the Nationalist government of Nanjing before 1949, and it was difficult to break off diplomatic relations easily. France, consistent with its leader, the United States, does not recognize the legitimacy of the new regime of the China, and continues to maintain diplomatic relations with the Kuomintang government retreating from Taiwan.

The Political status of Taiwan is a core issue of China's diplomacy during the Cold War, because it is not only related to the integrity of China's territory, but also as the legacy of China's civil war. The determination of Taiwan's political status also involves the legitimacy of Beijing and Taipei

regimes[1]. After the founding of the China, the Chinese government indicated that it would only establish diplomatic relations with countries that broke off relations with the "Kuomintang reactionaries" and expressed a friendly attitude[2]. The new Chinese government has always adhered to the "one China" principle in its diplomacy. On the Political status of Taiwan, China firmly opposes the "Two Chinas" and "one China, one Taiwan", and firmly opposes the establishment of comprehensive diplomatic relations with any country that recognizes the Taiwan Nationalist Party regime as representing China. Therefore, confronting the most sensitive Political status of Taiwan in China–France relations at that time was a necessary condition for the two countries to take steps to establish diplomatic relations.

After the Geneva Conference in 1954, various sectors of France began to try to improve their relations with China and restore contact between the two sides. Private exchanges and small-scale diplomatic contacts gradually emerged, and the relationship between the two countries gradually warmed up. However, due to the troubles of the US and Taiwan factors, from 1954 to 1958, successive French governments were unable to achieve breakthroughs on this basis. In October 1963, French President Charles de Gaulle sent former Prime Minister Edgar Fierlinger as a special envoy to visit China in his personal name, and had many conversations with Chinese leaders such as Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Chen Yi, etc. Fierlinger clearly expressed to the Chinese leaders the clear attitude that Charles de Gaulle did not support the "Two Chinas", admitted that France has not recognized China's mistakes, clarified France's confidence and determination to take the first step, and also expressed the status quo that it cannot break off relations with the Taiwan government for the time being. Prior to Fierlinger's visit to China, De Gaulle had instructed that in addition to not recognizing any prerequisites for normalization of relations, the French side had two basic positions: firstly, France would recognize the representation of the Chinese government in the United Nations (including the Security Council); Secondly, France hopes to maintain a certain degree of relationship with the government of Taiwan, such as dispatching officials with lower levels than the current officials stationed in Taiwan as agents.

Fierlinger conveyed De Gaulle's opinion to the Chinese side, while the Chinese side clearly pointed out that the establishment of diplomatic relations with China without breaking off diplomatic relations with Taiwan is the proposition of "Two Chinas", and China's position against the creation of "Two Chinas" is unswerving and will not change. Premier Zhou Enlai stated that if France feels that the time is not yet ripe and there are still difficulties, we are willing to wait. In the three talks between China and France from October 23 to 25, although China and France confirmed their willingness to establish diplomatic relations, they could not reach consensus on the Political status of Taiwan, and the negotiations reached an impasse.

The written document of Premier Zhou Enlai's Key Points of Conversation recorded three "tacit understandings" in the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France: First, the Government of the French Republic only recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the only legitimate government representing the Chinese people, which automatically includes that this qualification no longer belongs to the so-called "Government of the Republic of China" in Taiwan; 2) France supports the legitimate rights and status of the China in the United Nations and no longer supports the so-called "Republic of China"'s representation in the United Nations; 3) After the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France, when the so-called "Government of the Republic of China" in Taiwan withdrew its "diplomatic representatives" in France and its institutions, France also withdrew its representatives and institutions in Taiwan accordingly[3]. In the Sino French Bern negotiations, China did not raise the issue of France China relations and China's representation in the United Nations again. The main issue in dispute between the two sides turned to whether France publicly recognized the Chinese government as "the only legitimate government representing the entire Chinese people"

when it announced the establishment of diplomatic relations, and took opposing "Two Chinas" and "Taiwan is an inalienable territory of China" as the core propositions.

On January 27, 1964, China and France issued a joint communique in accordance with the agreement, announcing the establishment of diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level. On January 29th, the People's Daily published a statement under orders regarding the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France. The statement states: "The Government of the Government of China, as the only legitimate government representing the entire Chinese people, negotiated with the Government of the French Republic and reached an agreement on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. In accordance with international practice, recognition of a new government of a country automatically means that the old ruling group overthrown by the people of the country will no longer be recognized. Therefore, representatives of the old ruling group of the country cannot continue to be regarded as representatives of the country. Representatives of the new government of this country exist in the same country, or in the same international organization... Taiwan is China's territory, and any attempt to separate Taiwan from China's territory or to create "Two Chinas" is absolutely unacceptable to the Chinese government and the Chinese people [4]."

## **2. The independent and independent development consciousness of the two countries during the Cold War**

Independence is the foundation of Mao Zedong, the founder of the China, and Charles de Gaulle, the founder of the French Fifth Republic. It is also the yardstick of China France foreign policy so far[5].

Western European countries belong to the capitalist system, and they are ideologically anti Communist and anti-Soviet, with almost instinctive skepticism, wait-and-see, and even hostile attitudes towards New China. In addition, after World War II, France, as an important member of the Western camp, was constrained by the Cold War situation of the US Soviet confrontation and its dependence on the United States, and could only keep up with the United States. After returning to power in 1958, Charles de Gaulle, who pursued an independent and independent policy, was determined to no longer play the role of a servant of the United States. Leveraging China's resistance against the United States and the Soviet Union to enhance France's international status became one of France's new diplomatic strategies. Since the mid-1950s, the alliance between China and the Soviet Union has continued to cool down until it broke down. China's diplomacy has gradually broken away from the "one-sided" policy and proposed the "middle zone" theory. As a country with significant influence in the West, establishing diplomatic relations between China and France not only helps alleviate China's isolation on the world stage, but also helps to counter the hegemonic actions of the United States and the Soviet Union.

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Therefore, in the 1950s and 1960s, China and France each proposed independence as the basic national policy of the two countries, striving to break away from a certain "subordinate position" in different camps and resist the hegemonic actions of the United States and the Soviet Union and attempts to dominate the world. For China, independence and self-reliance have always been the fundamental foothold of our country. Based on the principle of independent and peaceful diplomacy, China actively develops global partnerships, adheres to building a framework for overall stability and balanced development of major country relations, actively participates in global governance, and actively participates in the struggle against hegemonism and maintaining world peace. France's concept of independent diplomacy and checks and balances has formed a strategic consensus with China's foreign policy of independence and opposition to hegemony. The diplomatic and security strategy of the French Fifth Republic is based on three basic principles: sovereignty, independence and global role. The principles of sovereignty and independence emphasize "strategic autonomy", unwilling to be controlled and manipulated by major powers, and opposing the monopoly of international affairs by superpowers; The principle of global role emphasizes that as a nuclear power and a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, France must maintain its status and greatness in the world, and maintain its influence in world affairs[6].

During the Cold War, both the United States and the Soviet Union used nuclear weapons as an important support for leading the world situation, gradually moving towards a path of nuclear confrontation between the two camps. In the early 1960s, the United States and the Soviet Union engaged in a game of nuclear interests and began to establish a nuclear order dominated by the US Soviet nuclear monopoly. In 1963, the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty was introduced, and the United States and the Soviet Union reached a substantive arms control agreement for the first time to maintain the nuclear monopoly and deprive other countries of the right to conduct nuclear tests. While China is facing the nuclear threat and pressure from the United States and the Soviet Union, France is also facing nuclear discrimination and exclusion from the United States and the Soviet Union. Faced with the nuclear monopoly and threat from the United States and the Soviet Union, developing nuclear weapons is an important measure to safeguard national security and development interests. Developing independent nuclear forces has become a common political pursuit of China and France. In August 1963, the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom reached the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in Moscow. China and France did not exchange views in advance, but coincidentally, neither of them signed the treaty. The willingness of

China and France to maintain independence and sovereignty and not be subject to any foreign interference or infringement is consistent.

### **3. The Strategic Pursuit of Building a New Type of Great Power Relationship after the End of the Cold War**

After the end of the Cold War, the United States' "one superpower" status has become increasingly prominent. Unilateralism diplomacy has become rampant, promoting the multipolarization of the international pattern, opposing the establishment of a unipolar world pattern, and establishing a fair and reasonable new international political and economic order have become the new cooperation goals of China and France. Both China and France regard each other as a major country in the world today, and attach importance to each other's important balancing role in the current world pattern.

In the process of establishing a comprehensive strategic partnership between China and France, both sides have closely cooperated and supported each other, expanding a series of new political consensus, such as promoting multipolarity and respecting diversity; Replacing confrontation with dialogue in the field of human rights; Resolve international disputes through negotiation; Promote regional cooperation and integration, and leverage the role of Europe (EU) in a multipolar pattern. As both permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, China and France oppose hegemonism and a unipolar world, actively defending international political multipolarity and economic globalization. In addition, there is also great room for cooperation between China and France in addressing global challenges such as terrorism, environmental degradation, and international crime. In terms of economy, both sides agree to strengthen ties with relevant multilateral economic consultation mechanisms. Both sides stated that they will maintain regular consultations and work together to resolve international crises, and reiterated the need to work towards establishing an international order of sustainable development, peace and stability, and economic growth [7].

The unprecedented upheaval in a century has brought enormous challenges to the existing international relations and order, and also provided new development opportunities for the transformation of international relations and the adjustment of the international order. In the face of the great changes that have not happened in a century, although France and China have different development models, they both respect each other, have frank exchanges, and are mutually beneficial. They both advocate promoting the reform of international relations and international order, actively cooperate to address the global challenges facing the world today, and promote the construction of a new balanced major country relationship and a new type of win-win cooperation international relationship in the spirit of innovation, responsibility, and win-win cooperation, Promote the supply of global governance and a new international system, and promote the construction of new civilized relations and conceptual innovation. With the Community of Common Destiny at its core, China's vision of international order advocates building a world of lasting peace, universal security, common prosperity, openness, inclusiveness, cleanness and beauty, and building a new type of international relations with mutual respect, fairness and justice, and win-win cooperation as the core principles; In the face of the "unprecedented, comprehensive and profound changes" in the international pattern, France has proposed a diplomatic strategy with the "balanced big country" as the core to promote the construction of a balanced, stable, safe and prosperous world in the spirit of innovation, progress and Humanism[8].

Macron stated that the French side adheres to independent and independent diplomacy, advocates for European strategic autonomy, opposes opposition and division, and opposes camp confrontation. France will not choose sides to stand in line, but advocates unity and cooperation, and maintains

stability in major country relations. The French side is willing to maintain frank and in-depth communication with the Chinese side, enhance mutual trust, seek common ground while reserving differences, and open up cooperation.

The political systems of China and France are different. One is an old capitalist power, and the other is an emerging socialist power. However, the differences in systems have not hindered the convergence of political values between the two countries. In terms of strategic consensus, both sides have a common language that corresponds and echoes with each other. In the face of changes in the times, both sides continue to strengthen practical cooperation on the basis of mutual benefit and win-win results. Trade exchanges continue to increase, cultural and cultural exchanges gradually enrich, scientific and technological development cooperates, environmental protection works together to further deepen understanding and trust, and move towards building a more solid new type of major country relationship.

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