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NORTH KOREA INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTATION PROJECT

E-DOSSIER #9

Zhou Enlai and China's Response to the Korean War

June 2012

NKIDP



ZHOU ENLAI AND CHINA'S RESPONSE TO THE KOREAN WAR
NKIDP E-DOSSIER

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Zhou Enlai and China's Response to the Korean War

by Charles Kraus

SINCE THE LATE 1980S AND EARLY 1990S, scholarly interest in China's involvement in the Korean War has been steady and unwavering, nurtured by a constant stream of official Chinese documentary publications.¹ The publication of the first three volumes of *Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC* in 2008, however, has opened a new chapter in the diplomatic and military history of the Korean War, as well as in the study of China's response to the outbreak of that conflict.²

The translated documents included in this collection provide new details of Chinese aid to North Korea in the summer of 1950. Prior to the entry of Chinese troops in October 1950, Zhou Enlai, for example, coordinated the supply of materials to North Korea via Andong (Dandong) and other border cities. According to Zhou's papers, North Korea even requested that it be allowed to build storehouses in China for the depositing of material aid from fraternal countries. Kim Il Sung also requested that he be allowed to temporarily stow away North Korean factory equipment inside of China so as to avoid the loss of this equipment to American bombs. These documents demonstrate that, even if China had voiced its reservations against Kim Il Sung's request to launch an invasion of South Korea, China still behaved generously and as an ally in the weeks immediately following June 25.

Acting upon North Korean requests, Zhou Enlai also oversaw the return of ethnic Koreans from China back to North Korea after June 1950. Their numbers were relatively limited in the summer and fall of 1950, but the return of ethnic Koreans was an extensive process, coordinated by all levels of the Chinese government and military. Once inside North Korea, the returnees became immediately involved in the Korean War, serving as doctors, nurses, technicians, and drivers, among other critical positions, on behalf of the North Korean government. These documents thus demonstrate that although the return of ethnic Koreans who

¹ Chen Jian, *China's Road to the Korean War: The Making of Sino-American Confrontation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994); Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Bruce Cumings, *The Origins of the Korean War, Vol. 2, The Roaring of the Cataract, 1947-1950* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 350-370; Sergei N. Goncharov, John Wilson Lewis, and Xue Litai, *Uncertain Partners: Stalin, Mao, and the Korean War* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993); Henry Kissinger, *On China* (New York: Penguin Press, 2011); Xiaobing Li, Allan R. Millet, and Bin Yu, eds., *Mao's Generals Remember Korea* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2001); Allan R. Millet, *The War for Korea, 1950-1951: They Came from the North* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2010); Shen Zhihua, "Sino-North Korean Conflict and its Resolution during the Korean War," trans. Dong Gil Kim and Jeffrey Becker, *Cold War International History Project Bulletin* 14/15 (Winter 2003-Spring 2004): 9-24; Russel Spurr, *Enter the Dragon: China at War in Korea* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1989); William Stueck, *The Korean War: An International History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995); Shu Guang Zhang, *Mao's Military Romanticism: China and the Korean War, 1950-1953* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1995); Zhang Xiaoming, *Red Wings over the Yalu: China, the Soviet Union, and the Air War in Korea*. (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2002).

² See Adam Cathcart and Charles Kraus, "The Bonds of Brotherhood: New Evidence on Sino-North Korean Exchanges, 1950-1954," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 13, no. 3 (Summer 2011): 27-51 and Shen Zhihua, "Ba duanlian de lishi liantiao lianjie qilai—Jianguo yilai zhou enlai wengao (1-3 ce) de shiliao jiazhi shicui" ("Linking up the Broken Historical Chains: An Excerpt of Valuable Historical Materials from Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC, Volumes 1-3"), *Dang de Wenxian* no. 4 (2008): 59-68.

would take part in the war effort is typically periodized as a pre-Korean War phenomenon, repatriation in fact continued well into the autumn of 1950.

The documents also underscore how China's piecemeal response to the Korean War shifted as the autumn of 1950 set upon the peninsula. Significantly, the collection includes cables in which the Chinese offered tactical advice to Kim Il Sung for conducting operations and winning a "protracted war" in September and October. Zhou Enlai's advice, however, came at a time when North Korea's military position was rapidly deteriorating, and the series of exchanges between Zhou and Ambassador Ni Zhiliang (who was responsible for conveying Zhou's remarks to Kim Il Sung) reflect China's growing uneasiness at the time. In addition to offering advice, then, Zhou began to send Chinese military observers into Korea and invited North Korean leader Pak Il-u to China to receive more detailed reports of the situation on the ground. *Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts* offer a clear window into the evolution of Chinese thinking and strategy vis-à-vis the Korean War, helping scholars to understand how and why Chinese troops were ultimately dispatched to Korea.

Of course, much of China's decision-making at this time was shaped and influenced, either directly or indirectly, by the Soviet Union. Reflecting the nature of the Sino-Soviet alliance in 1950, Zhou Enlai's manuscripts also provide new evidence on collaboration and military relations between China and the Soviet Union during the Korean War. Several letters addressed to Stalin, Nikolai Bulganin, and Wang Jiaxiang, the Chinese Ambassador to the USSR, for example, highlight that the Chinese sought both the entry of the Soviet Air Force into the Korean War as well as greater military aid and training from the Soviet Union for Chinese soldiers.

The latter half of the collection contains more than a dozen documents dating from after the entry of the Chinese People's Volunteers (CPV) into Korea in October 1950. These records include discussions about the relationship between the People's Volunteer Army and the Korean People's Army, meetings between Peng Dehuai and Kim Il Sung, the establishment of a Joint Headquarters for Chinese and North Korean troops, Sino-Soviet military and planning coordination, and Chinese negotiation strategies. These documents are of particular interest for understanding the military history of the war following the entry of the CPV and how the trilateral relations among China, North Korea, and the Soviet Union shifted as the Korean War expanded in scope and form.

While the publication of China's documentary record contributes greatly to the study of China's Cold War experience, the caveats of these collections are often just as important as their contents. Namely, only the first three volumes of *Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts* have been published, and they represent only a small fraction of documents from the years 1949 and 1950. While it is assumed that subsequent volumes will be released with more materials on the Korean War from 1951 through 1953, the publication dates for volume 4 and beyond are presently unknown. Of course, as readers, we will always be left to wonder what has not been included in these collections.

Despite these concerns, there still remains much to be uncovered about China's involvement in the Korean War and how that conflict shaped Chinese-North Korean relations.

Many of Zhou's papers related to the Korean War from *Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC*, however, have still not been translated. These documents remain useful sources for understanding the dynamics of China's response to the Korean conflict and should be consulted by interested scholars. Additionally, in 2010, official historians in the People's Republic of China once again greatly expanded the available documentation with the publication of *Mao Zedong's Military Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC*, a massive three-volume collection.³ Although featuring many reprints from earlier collections such as *Collection of Mao Zedong's Military Papers* and *Mao Zedong's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC*, the collection notably features previously unpublished documents from the Chinese Central Archives and other archives in China.⁴ In other words, though we are more than sixty-years removed from the Korean War, there is still much fodder for historians to work their way through.

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³ Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi and Zhongguo renmin jiefangjun junshi kexueyuan, eds., *Jianguo yilai Mao Zedong junshi wengao* (Mao Zedong's Military Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC), 3 vols. (Beijing: Junshi kexue chubanshe; Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2010).

⁴ Mao Zedong, *Mao Zedong junshi wenji* (Collection of Mao Zedong's Military Papers), 6 vols. (Beijing: Junshi kexue chubanshe; Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 1993); Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi, ed., *Jianguo yilai Mao Zedong wengao* (Mao Zedong's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC), 13 vols. (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 1987-1998).



DOCUMENT NO. 1

Telegram from Zhou Enlai to Bulganin, 13 April 1950

[Source: Jianguo yilai Zhou Enlai wengao (Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC), vol. 2, Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (CPC Central Historical Documents Research Office) and Zhongyang dang'anguan (Central Archives), eds., (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2008), pp.299-300. Translated by Jingxia Yang and Douglas Stiffler.]

Moscow

Comrade Bulganin:

[We] assume you have already read the telegram of 22 March. Now, to clarify the situation regarding our past military orders and the time(s) needed, [we] wish to inform you of the following:

(1) In order to assure the normal carrying-out of educational work in the six aviation institutes of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, please do what you can to send us, during April, all the purchases on the requisition form signed by Comrade Mao Zedong on 11 February, including the parts and the back-up equipment for airplanes and engines, aviation tools, ammunition and models for making airplane wheels. Please also send the advisors that have been requested.

(2) In order for the students who were recently transferred after the expansion of all aviation institutes to be able to start classes on time (May 1, 1950), during May please send all purchases on the requisition form signed by Comrade Mao Zedong on Feb 15, including the forty-two airplanes (twenty IA18, ten R9, and twelve T2), twenty-four engines and two-hundred parachutes; plus the 100,000 rounds of ammunition that General Liu Yalou ordered from General Shtemenko. Please also send the advisors that have been requested.

(3) The People's Revolutionary Military Affairs Committee of the People's Republic of China anticipates two military campaigns in 1950: the conquest of the Danshan Islands in June and of the Jinmen Island in August. Three newly formed air force regiments will participate in these two campaigns. So, before mid-May, please send all purchases on the requisition form signed by Comrade Mao Zedong, including the 84 airplanes (24 T2 bombers and 60 R9 chasers).

(4) Besides the above-mentioned 84 airplanes, please send 312 airplanes by December 1950 (140 R9, 28 UR9, 28 IA11, 14 IA12, 64 IA12, 19 UT2 and 19 UTB) so that the aviation students who are graduating at the end of this year will be equipped when the time comes.

(5) Please send, during February, all the rest of the purchases on the 15 February 1950 requisition form: 190 airplanes (110 T2 and 80 R9) so that newly-added aviation students who are graduating next March will be equipped.

(6) Concerning the requisition form in the above-mentioned first item, see the letter Comrade Mao Zedong sent to Comrade Stalin on 11 February 1950. For the rest of the items in Nos. 2 through 5, see the Air Force part of the requisition form attached to the 15 February 1950 letter from Comrade Mao Zedong. Please consider and act in accordance with these. We look forward to receiving instructions in reply.

With sincere Bolshevik greetings!

Zhou Enlai
13 April 1950



DOCUMENT NO. 2

Telegram from Zhou Enlai to Wang Jiaxiang, 6 May 1950

[Source: Jianguo yilai Zhou Enlai wengao (Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC), vol. 2, Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (CPC Central Historical Documents Research Office) and Zhongyang dang'anguan (Central Archives), eds., (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2008), pp.375-376. Translated by Jingxia Yang and Douglas Stiffler.]

Ambassador Wang:

This is to acknowledge the receipt of telegrams from both 26 [April] and 28 [April].

(1) As discussed with the advisor, Lieutenant Kotov, the 43 advisors mentioned in the air force's new requisition form (13 April) will be needed for three air regiments, one division command organ and three technology services teams formed from the group of pilots who are graduating in May. As our military cadres have absolutely no experience in directing an air force, this group of advisors is truly needed. In addition, among the twelve advisors requested in the 11 February letter from Mao Zedong to Stalin, five are needed for the air force headquarters and seven are needed for organizing nationwide meteorological services. Moreover, among the 205 advisors requested in the 15 February requisition form from Mao Zedong to Stalin, 164 are being used for expanding aviation institutes and 41 are being used for the formation of an air force marine division. [The request for] these 205 advisors was reviewed by the Soviet Ministry of Defense and they were believed necessary. Now students for the expansion of the institutes have arrived and the armed forces for forming the air force marine division are being deployed. Therefore, [we] need to urge them to send over these 205 advisors quickly.

(2) In the requisition form attached to the 11 February letter from Mao Zedong to Stalin, [we] ordered a quantity of ammunition. This was purchased for the six aviation institutes for use in drills. At that time, we estimated that the institutes could utilize our domestically-collected American- and Japanese-style explosives. So the explosives have not been ordered for purchase, while the ammunition has to be purchased due to its different calibers. The time has come for live-fire drills at all aviation institutes, but there is still no sign of this batch of ammunition. [We] are awaiting it anxiously. So [you] should urge them to send [the ammunition] quickly, or otherwise the completion of the education plan will be delayed, and this will influence battle [plans]. In addition, the 100,000 rounds that Liu Yalou ordered in the 8 March letter to Shtemenko were bought for use by all the institutes in air defense due to the fact that, at that time, Jiang's bandits intended to bomb all big cities in China. Now it seems that this batch of ammunition may or may not be purchased. It does not hurt to buy them because shells will be needed in the future. Ammunition needed in the first part of the recently-sent requisition form is intended for use in the Dinghai campaign; ammunition needed in the second part is intended for use in the Jinmen campaign. Ammunition needed in the third part is intended for use in the Taiwan campaign. So [the requests] are not duplications.

(3) Concerning what has been decided about coastal guns in consultation with the naval advisors, please handle according to the naval order attached to the letter from Zhou to Bulganin.

Zhou Enlai
6 May [1950]

DOCUMENT NO. 3

Telegram from Zhou Enlai to Bulganin, 13 May 1950

[Source: *Jianguo yilai Zhou Enlai wengao (Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC)*, vol. 2, *Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (CPC Central Historical Documents Research Office) and Zhongyang dang'anguan (Central Archives)*, eds., (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2008), pp.303-306. Translated by Jingxia Yang and Douglas Stiffler.]

Comrade Bulganin:

(1) According to the report by our Third Field Army Vice-Commander, General Su Yu, the army's preparations for the battle to seize Zhoushan Island can be completed by mid-July. However, based on the current situation, we must have the participation of the air force and navy. And the preparation work of our air force and navy completely depends on the arrival time of the air force and naval equipment ordered from the Soviet Union.

[We] have estimated that the rainy season and typhoons usually start in August. We have also estimated that the air force and the navy will need at least one month's time for equipment testing and exercises after necessary equipment is obtained. Therefore, the campaign should begin no later than mid-July, and the equipment should be received at least one month before the campaign starts. So, please manage to accelerate the start of the shipments and the dispatch of all equipment [enumerated] in this year's 13 April letter from Comrade Mao Zedong to Comrade Stalin and the attached requisition form, with a clearly marked arrival deadline of May and July of 1950, [as well as] all advisers invited in this year's 13 April letter from Comrade Mao Zedong to Comrade Stalin and the attached personnel list, the 84 airplanes needed by the air force ordered in the requisition form signed by Comrade Mao Zedong on 15 February, 1950 and also mentioned by me in the third item of this year's 13 April letter sent to you from me, and the various kinds of equipment needed by the navy and mentioned in another letter. [Arrange to] have them arrive in the Shanghai area before the end of May.

(2)

(3) Furthermore, all the above-mentioned equipment and advisors must arrive at the same time. Otherwise, it will be impossible to begin the campaign.

With sincere Bolshevik greetings,

Zhou Enlai
13 May

DOCUMENT NO. 4

Telegram from the Party Central Committee to Gao Gang, 11 July 1950

[Source: *Jianguo yilai Zhou Enlai wengao (Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC)*, vol. 3, *Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (CPC Central Historical Documents Research Office) and Zhongyang dang'anguan (Central Archives)*, eds., (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2008), pp.31-32. Translated by Jingxia Yang and Douglas Stiffler.]

Comrade Gao Gang, also to be passed on to Comrade Yu Guangsheng and Comrade Liu Yalou: The Soviet Ambassador Roshchin came in for a talk. Because of the current Korean situation, sea transportation from Vladivostok to Lüshun and Dalian is no longer suitable for

transporting military supplies. So the Soviet government requested that, besides the opening of the two lines of the Chinese Changchun Railway, i.e. via Manzhouli or the Suifen River to Haerbin, and Shenyang to Dalian and Lüshun, we also allow the Soviet side to use air transport from Voroshilov, via our Dongning, Mudan River and Shenyang, directly to Lüda. These two requests are in accord with the spirit of the Sino-Soviet treaty. Our side has agreed. As to the detailed means, after discussion with Roshchin, the following agreement was reached: concerning rail transport, no matter whether (they) enter the country from Manzhouli or the Suifen River via Haerbin, Changchun and Shenyang to Lüda, or to Andong and then to Korea, Yu Guangsheng will need to be informed in advance by either the Soviet side's Vice-Chair of the Chinese Changchun Railway's Administrative Committee or the Soviet side's Chinese Changchun Railway Bureau Director so that vehicles can be dispatched in time to avoid holding things up. Our side authorizes Yu Guangsheng to handle this and report to the Railway Department in a timely manner. Concerning the air transport question, the Soviet side has decided to utilize the Shenyang Aviation Institute to augment Soviet personnel, strengthen ground-air communications and report on Soviet planes crossing the border, to avoid any misunderstanding. On our side, the Military Commission has decided to transfer Duan Suquan to (the position) of Northeast Region Air Force Commander, and has instructed Duan Suquan to establish contact immediately with the Soviet advisor at the Shenyang Aviation Institute and to report in a timely manner to the Military Commission Air Force Headquarters.

Party Central Committee
11 July

From Zhou Enlai's original hand-written manuscript

DOCUMENT NO. 5

Telegram from the Party Central Committee to Gao Gang, 18 July 1950

[Source: Jianguo yilai Zhou Enlai wengao (Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC), vol. 3, Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (CPC Central Historical Documents Research Office) and Zhongyang dang'anguan (Central Archives), eds., (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2008), p. 60. Translated by Jingxia Yang and Douglas Stiffler.]

Comrade Gao Gang:

[Concerning] personnel of Korean nationality currently in the Northeast: besides mobilizing doctors, nurses and military personnel, all other technical personnel, such as drivers, factory and mine engineers, etc., are urgently needed in North Korea today. Please mobilize them to return to and serve their country. Inform [us] whether or not you can do this.

Party Central Committee
18 July

From Zhou Enlai's original hand-written manuscript



DOCUMENT NO. 6

Report from Zhou Enlai and Nie Rongzhen to Mao Zedong, 22 July 1950

[Source: Jianguo yilai Zhou Enlai wengao (Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC), vol. 3, Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (CPC Central Historical Documents Research Office) and Zhongyang dang'anguan (Central Archives), eds., (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2008), pp.80-81. Translated by Jingxia Yang and Douglas Stiffler.]

Chairman:

[Regarding] armies moving to the Northeast: (1) Three antiaircraft regiments from the East China region have all arrived in the Northeast. (2) Up to the present, in the south central [region], more than 10 trains have started out from Hankou. Three armies are all on the move. It is estimated that in early August they can all arrive at the appointed locations. The Soviet jet division has reached the border. The Soviets [have ordered] this whole division to arrive at the appointed location before 3 August. After these armies arrive, command and supply will become serious issues. Even if the command organization of the previous Frontier Defense Army established by the Military Commission benefits from the combat point of view, it seems currently to have difficulties: (1) Frontier Defense Army Commander Su Yu needs to recuperate [from illness]. For the time being, Vice-Commander Xiao Jingguang and Vice Political Commissar Xiao Hua still cannot leave Beijing for the north. (2) The Northeast military region commanders and others feel that there are too many [command] levels and this is to some extent inconvenient. (3) Only capable rear supply organizations are qualified to provide supplies for the Frontier Defense Army. But the south central [region] can only organize field rear supply organizations. There may be difficulties as it has just arrived in the Northeast. Considering the above circumstances, could the Chairman please now consider putting the Frontier Defense Army under the commanding of Gao Gang, Commander and Political Commissar of the Northeast Military Region and also unifying all supplies? In the future, after Su, Xiao and Xiao get there, the headquarters of the Frontier Defense Army can be established. After Li Jukui from the south central [region] arrives in the Northeast, he [may] immediately take the concurrent position of the head of the Logistics Department. His accompanying Logistics Department [can] immediately merge into the Northeast Logistics Department, because the Logistics Department of the Northeast Military Region is too weak, and thus is not able to shoulder its current heavy responsibilities. In this way, not only can the phenomenon of lack of coordination be avoided in the army command, but the problem of supply can be easily solved. Whether it's workable or not, [we] ask the Chairman to comment and instruct so that arrangements can be made as soon as possible.

With special greetings,

Zhou Enlai
Nie Rongzhen
20 July

From Zhou Enlai's original hand-written manuscript

**DOCUMENT NO. 7****Telegram from Zhou Enlai to Ni Zhiliang, 23 August 1950**

[Source: Jianguo yilai Zhou Enlai wengao (Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC), vol. 3, Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (CPC Central Historical Documents Research Office) and Zhongyang dang'anguan (Central Archives), eds., (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2008), p.188. Translated by Jingxia Yang and Douglas Stiffler.]

Ambassador Ni:

This is to acknowledge receipt of the two telegrams from 22 [August]. Concerning the two requests of Premier Kim Il Sung, here is the reply:

(1) We have decided to transfer 50 train locomotives from the railway system to meet North Korea's urgent needs. [We] only ask the North Korean side to inform [us of] what model of locomotives they need in order [that we may] allocate and transfer [them]. Also, concerning the repair of locomotives, please ask the North Korean side how these are to be sent to the Northeast so that (we can) get ready.

(2) [We] cannot help with air force pilots. Our country has very few of this type of pilot, and moreover, the current international situation does not allow for this.

Zhou Enlai
23 August

**DOCUMENT NO. 8****Letter from Zhou Enlai to Gao Gang, 3 September 1950**

[Source: Jianguo yilai Zhou Enlai wengao (Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC), vol. 3, Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (CPC Central Historical Documents Research Office) and Zhongyang dang'anguan (Central Archives), eds., (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2008), pp.252-253. Translated by Jingxia Yang and Douglas Stiffler.]

Comrade Gao Gang:

I have read both your letter and the Chairman's reply. Work for strengthening the Frontier Defense Army is being planned and carried out.

Regarding the question of moving [industrial equipment], in accordance with the Chairman's instructions, [we] have instructed Comrade Fuchun to gather related Northeast comrades who are now in Beijing and discuss a workable plan. After the Chairman's review and approval, it will be immediately given to you.

Concerning the detailed questions: 2,000 cars will be allocated to the Northeast, on a priority basis, by the General Logistics Department from the overall requisition form. The ammunition warehouse will be moved to northern Manchuria. The General Logistics Department has been instructed to assist with this. [We are considering the] the extension of the air defense plan, and jet aircraft have been ordered to add three regiments of 90 planes, but they will only be ready to be used next year. It is planned that antiaircraft equipment will be added to equip 20 regiments this year for protecting big cities and factory areas. Searchlights and radar are both included in the requisition form. The plan for building additional airports in the Northeast will be delivered in three to five days. The numbers four kinds of specialists in the army, air force, air

defense and military academies will be increased in the Northeast this year. Please prepare for this and wire back after the number of people is set.

Special notice, wishing [you] good health.

Zhou Enlai
3 September 1950

DOCUMENT NO. 9

Telegram from Zhou Enlai to Ni Zhiliang, 20 September 1950

[Source: Jianguo yilai Zhou Enlai wengao (Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC), vol. 3, Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (CPC Central Historical Documents Research Office) and Zhongyang dang'anguan (Central Archives), eds., (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2008), pp.311-312. Translated by Jingxia Yang and Douglas Stiffler.]

Comrade Ni Zhiliang:

This is to acknowledge receipt of the 18 September telegram. Please tell Comrade Kim Il Sung: We think your idea of fighting a protracted war is correct. The courage of the North Korean army and masses is admirable. Enemy numbers will probably increase at Incheon [Inchon], the purpose of which is to extend their lines to the east and cut North Korea's north-south transportation lines and also press on towards the 38th Parallel. The People's Army must do all it can to hold the area north of the 38th Parallel; [only in this way] will it be possible to carry on a protracted war. Therefore, please think about the question of how to preserve [your] main forces under the general policy of persisting in relying on one's own efforts and fighting for a long period of time so that the enemy can be destroyed one by one. At present, [your] main force directly faces the enemy's positions and both sides hold their ground. This means much consumption [of resources.] And if the enemy seizes Seoul, there is the danger that the People's Army's route of retreat will be cut off. Therefore, it seems appropriate that the main force of the People's Army should concentrate [but maintain] mobility, seek the enemy's weak points and destroy the enemy part by part. In battles, [you should] concentrate military strength. In every battle, pin down large numbers of the enemy in divided branches with less military strength or firepower while using more military strength [three to five times] and firepower [at least twice] with absolute superiority to surround and annihilate fewer enemies (e.g. one regiment) that have been divided by us. In battles, division of one's forces should be avoided; most of all to be avoided is putting the enemy to flight or blocking the enemy instead of destroying the enemy's effective strength. So long as you can wipe out the enemy's effective strength, annihilating only one regiment or one battalion is still good. A big victory results from the accumulation of small victories. They will progressively weaken the enemy and are beneficial in protracted wars. If the US army's firepower and equipment is strong and it is temporarily difficult to charge in and break it up, it is suitable to consider targeting the Syngman Rhee puppet army [by] concentrating [your] main force and annihilating one or two regiments every time, [thereby] annihilating one or two divisions every few months. In half a year, the puppet army can be destroyed completely. These lackeys of American imperialism will be cut off, which will isolate the American imperialists and then [you can] annihilate them separately. Under the principles of protracted war, [one] must fully take into account the difficult side. Long term planning must be made in all aspects of mobilization and usage of manpower, material resources and financial resources and lower-level subordinates must be made to avoid the mentality of putting all one's eggs in one

basket. The enemy seeks a quick decision [in the war] and is afraid of the war becoming protracted, while our People's Army should avoid quick decisions and can only gain victory in a protracted war. As friends and comrades, we provide the above for your reference. Correct or not, [I] request [your] further consideration and reply.

Zhou Enlai
20 September

DOCUMENT NO. 10

Telegram from Zhou Enlai to Ni Zhiliang, 29 September 1950

[Source: *Jianguo yilai Zhou Enlai wengao (Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC)*, vol. 3, *Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (CPC Central Historical Documents Research Office)* and *Zhongyang dang'anguan (Central Archives)*, eds., (Beijing: *Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe*, 2008), p.345. Translated by Jingxia Yang and Douglas Stiffler.]

Ambassador Ni; also inform Chairman Gao:

We agree in principle to the requests made by Premier Kim to build warehouses in Andong and Ji'an to temporarily receive and store materials from our allies, and to build factories in Linjiang to transfer textile machines from Kaesong and Pyongyang [Pyeongyang]. For methods of carrying this out, please tell the North Korean government to send representatives in charge of this to Shenyang to discuss it with Lu Xi, director of the Foreign Affairs Department of our Northeast People's Government. After the North Korean representatives arrive, [we will] ask Chairman Gao to guide [provide instructions for] Lu Xi to conduct the discussion, [we will] draw up a proposal to help [North Korea] to the best of our ability according to North Korea's requests and our capacities and will submit this to the [Party] Central Committee. The proposal will be put into effect immediately after it is approved by the [Party] Central Committee. Andong and Linjiang are close to the Yalu River. Whether it's suitable to establish [the factories] at more-distant places like Meihekou or Benxi, ask Gao [Gang] to think this over and inform [me].

Premier Kim requested that we recruit several hundred native Korean-nationality drivers for him in the Northeast. We agreed. [We] asked Chairman Gao to immediately carry out the recruiting locally in the Northeast and in the army, and please inform [us] by telegram of the recruiting plan.

Zhou Enlai
29 September

DOCUMENT NO. 11

Telegram from Zhou Enlai to Kim Il Sung, 1 October 1950

[Source: *Jianguo yilai Zhou Enlai wengao (Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC)*, vol. 3, *Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (CPC Central Historical Documents Research Office)* and *Zhongyang dang'anguan (Central Archives)*, eds., (Beijing: *Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe*, 2008), p.378. Translated by Jingxia Yang and Douglas Stiffler.]

Comrade Ni Zhiliang, immediately convey to Comrade Kim Il Sung:

The 30 September telegram from Comrade Zhiliang has informed us of the situation. Now that the eight divisions of the First Front Army have been cut off by the enemy, please consider whether it is possible to divide these eight divisions into two parts. Have four divisions destroy

their heavy weapons and separate them into many small detachments to retreat to the north of the 38th Parallel by different paths through gaps in the enemy's lines. Disperse [the other] four divisions into many small detachments in south Korea, rely on the people and persist in guerrilla war in the enemy's rear area, which will pin down large numbers of the enemy and prevent them from moving forward. To which place have the five or six divisions led by the Second Front Army retreated? Is it possible to withdraw all of them north of the 38th Parallel in several days? In brief, your armies must retreat north rapidly, the quicker the better. If the enemy attempts to restrain or block [the retreat], [you] should destroy heavy weapons, and retreat through gaps in the enemy's lines by separate paths. Those who cannot retreat should stay in the enemy's rear area and persist in dispersed guerrilla activity. Whether the above suggestions are appropriate or not, please reply immediately. [We] wish to be informed of the situation in detail.

Zhou Enlai
Night of 1 October

DOCUMENT NO. 12

Telegram from Zhou Enlai to Ni Zhiliang, 2 October 1950

[Source: Jianguo yilai Zhou Enlai wengao (Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC), vol. 3, Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (CPC Central Historical Documents Research Office) and Zhongyang dang'anguan (Central Archives), eds., (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2008), p.380. Translated by Jingxia Yang and Douglas Stiffler.]

Ambassador Ni:

Received your telegram from the night of 1 [October]. (1) It is estimated that Comrade Zhang Yidu [Pak Il-u] [Pak Il U] can arrive at Shen[yang] on the night of 2 [October]; will send plane to take him to Beijing on 3 [October]. (2) Please inform Comrade Kim Il Sung that, besides trying his best to withdraw the troops cut off by the enemy to the north by separate paths, those troops that have no way to retreat should persist in guerrilla [actions] where they are. Be sure not to panic or lose courage. This way, there will be hope and [you] will win victory.

Zhou Enlai
2 October

DOCUMENT NO. 13

Telegram from Zhou Enlai to Gao Gang, etc., 4 October 1950

[Source: Jianguo yilai Zhou Enlai wengao (Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC), vol. 3, Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (CPC Central Historical Documents Research Office) and Zhongyang dang'anguan (Central Archives), eds., (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2008), p.381. Translated by Jingxia Yang and Douglas Stiffler.]

Gao, He, also inform Ambassador Ni:

Received the 2 October telegram. [Regarding] the issue of mobilization of drivers, try to mobilize as many Korean personnel in the Northeast as possible. The first group should be about

500 people. The Korean side is in charge of payment after confirmation, except to those who need a family allowance, which can be given by the Northeast according to the circumstances and reimbursed for the actual expenses in the future from the General Logistics Department of the Military Commission.

Zhou Enlai
4 October

DOCUMENT NO. 14

Telegram from Zhou Enlai to Ni Zhiliang, 4 October 1950

[Source: *Jianguo yilai Zhou Enlai wengao (Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC)*, vol. 3, *Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (CPC Central Historical Documents Research Office) and Zhongyang dang'anguan (Central Archives)*, eds., (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2008), p.387. Translated by Jingxia Yang and Douglas Stiffler.]

Ambassador Ni:

[I] have received the telegrams from [October] 2 and [October] 3. Based on the current situation, our military officer observation group should not go south of the 38th Parallel. They should be divided into two groups: one group should examine the situation(s) near Pyongyang and the Pyongyang-Andong line and the Pyongyang-Ji'an line. The other group should examine the situation(s) along the Pyongyang-Wonsan line and the Wonsan-Cheongjin [Chongjin] line and in the northern mountain area. For the situation(s) between the Pyongyang –Wonsan line and the 38th Parallel, [you] may also examine briefly, if possible, without going deeper. Three large trucks and one medium sized truck will be allocated by the Northeast.

Zhou Enlai
4 October

DOCUMENT NO. 15

Telegram from Zhou Enlai to Ni Zhiliang, 5 October 1950

[Source: *Jianguo yilai Zhou Enlai wengao (Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC)*, vol. 3, *Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (CPC Central Historical Documents Research Office) and Zhongyang dang'anguan (Central Archives)*, eds., (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2008), p.389. Translated by Jingxia Yang and Douglas Stiffler.]

Ambassador Ni:

The October 4 telegram was received.

- (1) Please pay regular attention to the situation of the American puppet army's advance north and the People's Army's retreat to the north and activities in the enemy's rear area.
- (2) Hope that you will be able to observe closely and collect information on the combat operation situation and experience of the 12th Division's attack on and occupation of Wonju.
- (3) Pak Il-u [Pak Il U] has returned to North Korea. [We] have spoken to him face-to-

face about everything and he will pass it all on to Premier Kim.

Zhou Enlai
5 October

DOCUMENT NO. 16

Telegram from Zhou Enlai to Ni Zhiliang, 7 October 1950

[Source: Jianguo yilai Zhou Enlai wengao (Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC), vol. 3, Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (CPC Central Historical Documents Research Office) and Zhongyang dang'anguan (Central Archives), eds., (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2008), p.397. Translated by Jingxia Yang and Douglas Stiffler.]

Ambassador Ni:

Have received telegram from the night of [October] 5. The [Party] Central Committee has discussed all questions about North Korea battle operations with Pak Il-u [Pak Il U]. Your office does not need to disclose any opinion to the North Korea side again.

Zhou Enlai
7 October

DOCUMENT NO. 17

Letter from Zhou Enlai to Stalin, 14 October 1950

[Source: Jianguo yilai Zhou Enlai wengao (Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC), vol. 3, Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (CPC Central Historical Documents Research Office) and Zhongyang dang'anguan (Central Archives), eds., (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2008), pp.404-405. Translated by Jingxia Yang and Douglas Stiffler.]

Comrade Stalin:

Concerning the telegram Comrade Mao Zedong sent to me on October 13 and your reply telegram of [October] 14, I would like to ask the following questions. Please give your instructions:

(1) After the dispatch of the 16 regiments of jet planes, can the Soviet Volunteer Air Force dispatch bombers to North Korea to support the Chinese armies' military operations?

(2) Besides dispatching the Volunteer Air Force to participate in military operations in North Korea, can the Soviet government also dispatch protective air forces to be stationed near all large Chinese coastal cities?

(3) Besides the above-mentioned two items, the Chinese government still needs to order a batch of other types of planes and their associated equipment to equip our own air force. I will send the requisition list by telegram after I return to Beijing.

(4) To accelerate the building of airports where jet planes can land, the Chinese government requests the Soviet government to supply steel plates to be laid at 4 airports.

(5) Besides air planes, tanks, artillery and naval equipment, the Chinese government requests the Soviet government to grant credits for the purchase of cars, critical industrial-military engineering equipment and other types of industrial-military engineering equipment.

(6) Can the Soviet government provide us in half a year with 15,000 vehicles of all types, but, first of all, with 5,000 load-carrying vehicles?

(7) The Chinese People's Liberation Army will enter North Korea for military operations as volunteers. When it undertakes military operations in cooperation with the North Korean People's Army, how should [the question of] the mutual command relationship be decided?

(8) When the Soviet Volunteer Air Force participates in North Korean military operations, how should [the question of] the command relationship with the Chinese Volunteer Army be decided?

In addition, attached is the Chinese government's requisition list for the first batch of artillery of all types and its associated equipment from the Chinese government. Please give approval.

With special regards.

Bolshevik Greetings!
Zhou Enlai
14 October 1950

DOCUMENT NO. 18

Telegram from Zhou Enlai to Chai Junwu, 19 October 1950

[Source: *Jianguo yilai Zhou Enlai wengao (Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC)*, vol. 3, *Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (CPC Central Historical Documents Research Office) and Zhongyang dang'anguan (Central Archives)*, eds., (Beijing: *Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe*, 2008), p.410. Translated by Jingxia Yang and Douglas Stiffler.]

Chai:

[I] have received your telegram from the afternoon of [October] 17. Concerning the question of the Embassy's work in the future, the following is the reply:

(1) The focal point of the embassy's work is still keeping in contact with the North Korean government and following the North Korean government's actions. So the main force of the current personnel at Sinuiju should still be moved to Changseong [Changsong]. If there is not too much to do, one section can be withdrawn.

(2) A group of personnel can remain at Sinuiju solely for the handling of our entry and exit [document] processing.

(3) After General Peng [Dehuai's] arrival, Peng [Dehuai] and Kim [Il Sung] can set up mutual direct contact.

(4) Chai [Junwu] and Zhu [Guang] should remain at Xichuan and maintain necessary diplomatic contact with Premier Kim.

Zhou Enlai
19 October



DOCUMENT NO. 19

Letter from Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong and Liu Shaoqi, 29 October 1950

[Source: Jianguo yilai Zhou Enlai wengao (Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC), vol. 3, Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (CPC Central Historical Documents Research Office) and Zhongyang dang'anguan (Central Archives), eds., (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2008), p.427. Translated by Jingxia Yang and Douglas Stiffler.]

Chairman and Vice-Chairman Liu:

1. Today, [I] talked with Comrade Zakharov, etc. He told me that the Soviet side has agreed to dispatch Soviet pilots to fly jet planes to Andong to take charge of air defense. And [they] can go several li beyond the Chinese border, but must learn several watchwords in Chinese for liaison. Therefore, [they] can move from Shenyang to Andong around the 10th of next month.
2. This evening, see off the persons in charge of the air division that used to be in Shanghai and give them the Chairman's certificate of merit. According to him, there is no problem to move Jet [Fighter] Aviation Group One (10 people) from Shanghai. An agreement has been reached with Zakharov that only ten people will be taken from Shanghai to examine the air defenses at Andong. This is ten people fewer than originally planned.

Zhou Enlai
Night of 29 October



DOCUMENT NO. 20

Telegram from Zhou Enlai to Chai Junwu, 8 November 1950

[Source: Jianguo yilai Zhou Enlai wengao (Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC), vol. 3, Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (CPC Central Historical Documents Research Office) and Zhongyang dang'anguan (Central Archives), eds., (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2008), p.473. Translated by Jingxia Yang and Douglas Stiffler.]

Chai:

[I] have received the November 6 telegram. Please tell Premier Kim: (1) Concerning the matter of the Chinese People's Volunteer Army to Resist America, Assist North Korea, Protect Our Home and Defend Our Country (called Chinese People's Volunteer Army for short, not called the Chinese Volunteer Army), it can be announced to the public. The wording could take as a model China's All-Parties Joint Declaration or what was stated in the broadcast on the 7th and in the newspaper. Several sentences can just be given, briefly. There is no need to say too much. (2) Call on the North Korean army and people and the Chinese People's Volunteer Army to work together closely, learn from each other and also send out a call emphasizing that the North Korean Army and people should persist in unity and persist in the long-term struggle. Oppose looking at things in a gloomy manner. (3) The enemy has announced that the Chinese People's Volunteer Army has entered the war. So this publicity will not cause other issues internationally. The enemy is afraid of a long-lasting military operation in Korea, and has not prepared for a protracted war. So they are passive and apt to panic.

Zhou Enlai

8 November

DOCUMENT NO. 21**Telegram from Zhou Enlai to Chai Junwu, etc., 8 November 1950**

[Source: Jianguo yilai Zhou Enlai wengao (Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC), vol. 3, Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (CPC Central Historical Documents Research Office) and Zhongyang dang'anguan (Central Archives), eds., (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2008), pp.475-476. Translated by Jingxia Yang and Douglas Stiffler.]

Chai; also inform Peng [Dehuai] and Gao [Gang]:

At this time there is a pause between battles. Chairman Mao advises that Premier Kim [be asked] whether he can go to Comrade Peng Dehuai's place around the 10th of this month to meet the two comrades Gao Gang and Peng Dehuai to discuss military operations and supplies in North Korea, the training and arrangement of the North Korea People's Army and organs after they enter the Northeast, and other questions. [We] do not know Premier Kim's thinking on these [questions]. Please ask [him] and inform [me] as soon as possible so that Comrade Gao Gang can be notified to go [there] quickly.

Zhou Enlai
8 November

DOCUMENT NO. 22**Telegram from Zhou Enlai to Chai Junwu, 12 November 1950**

[Source: Jianguo yilai Zhou Enlai wengao (Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC), vol. 3, Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (CPC Central Historical Documents Research Office) and Zhongyang dang'anguan (Central Archives), eds., (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2008), p.491. Translated by Jingxia Yang and Douglas Stiffler.]

Chai, also inform Peng, Gao:

Your several telegrams of the 11th have been received.

- (1) At the soon-to-be-held meeting of the Central Committee of the Motherland's United Front, Premier Kim plans to issue a statement jointly in response to the statement of all of our parties, pointing out the Chinese People's Volunteer Army's participation in the war. The intention is very good. [We] wish that you will convey to Premier Kim to please change the wording to "the Chinese People's Volunteer Army's participation in the war under the command of the general headquarters of the North Korean People's Army."
- (2) Please ask Premier Kim if you can go to Commander-in-Chief Peng's location with him. If approval is given, (you) may go; otherwise, do not go.

Zhou Enlai
12 November

DOCUMENT NO. 23

Letter from Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong and Others, 15 November 1950

[Source: Jianguo yilai Zhou Enlai wengao (Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC), vol. 3, Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (CPC Central Historical Documents Research Office) and Zhongyang dang'anguan (Central Archives), eds., (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2008), p.498. Translated by Jingxia Yang and Douglas Stiffler.]

Chairman [Mao Zedong] and Liu [Shaoqi], Zhu [De], Nie [Rongzhen]:

Zakharov just told [us] that Filippov sent a telegram, suggesting that, in order to enhance the Soviet Air Force's [ability] to do battle with the American Air Force in our military's rear areas, [they] plan to send 120 more M-15 jet planes and add, in two batches, to the organizations of the Belov Air Division, and also set up an Air Force organization to command them. Zakharov's opinion is that, besides using the airports in Andong, Anshan, Liaoyang and Shenyang, one more airport must be built rapidly near Andong. Yesterday [we] discussed this and decided on the location as Gushan, west of Dadonggou. Filippov sent the telegram, and is waiting for the Chairman's answer. Now a telegram draft has been drawn up, so please give permission to send it out.

It is believed that the proposal of adding more planes was put forward by Zakharov because of the Soviet planes' military exploits in the Northeast (shot down 23 American planes in 12 days). Meanwhile, the Soviet planes' strengthening of backup for the Chinese armies is a show of force to the Americans. This is presumably the main reason why Filippov decided to strengthen the Soviet air force.

Zhou Enlai
Night of 15 November

DOCUMENT NO. 24

Telegram from Mao Zedong to Stalin, 15 November 1950

[Source: Jianguo yilai Zhou Enlai wengao (Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC), vol. 3, Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (CPC Central Historical Documents Research Office) and Zhongyang dang'anguan (Central Archives), eds., (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2008), p.500. Translated by Jingxia Yang and Douglas Stiffler.]

Comrade Filippov,

Completely agree with the proposal to add 120 M-15 planes to the Belov Air Division, to send them to China in two batches and to prepare to form an Air Force command organization. Concerning the Andong Airport and the enhancement of air defense deployments, [we] will discuss this with Comrade Zakharov and carry it out.

Thanks to the courage and efforts of the Soviet air force men in battle, in the past 12 days 23 invading American planes have been shot down. This is worth reporting to you and extending our congratulations.

Mao Zedong
15 November 1950

From Zhou Enlai's original hand-written manuscript

DOCUMENT NO. 25**Telegram from Mao Zedong to Peng Dehuai, 17 November 1950**

[Source: Jianguo yilai Zhou Enlai wengao (Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC), vol. 3, Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (CPC Central Historical Documents Research Office) and Zhongyang dang'anguan (Central Archives), eds., (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2008), p.515. Translated by Jingxia Yang and Douglas Stiffler.]

Peng [and] Gao:

While you were meeting, I sent a telegram to Filippov with the comments on the North Korea situation and suggestions that were stated in [your] Peng's telegram and my observations on the war situation. Yesterday, [I] received a telegram in reply. [He] completely approves of a single central command led by Chinese comrades, and has informed Kim Il Sung and Shtykov of this by telegram. Now [I am] passing these two telegrams to you and [we will] see how Kim will respond. Zakharov has already expressed approval of a single central command.

Mao Zedong
17 November

From Zhou Enlai's original hand-written manuscript

DOCUMENT NO. 26**Telegram from Zhou Enlai to Wu Xiuquan and Qiao Guanhua, 3 December 1950**

[Source: Jianguo yilai Zhou Enlai wengao (Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC), vol. 3, Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (CPC Central Historical Documents Research Office) and Zhongyang dang'anguan (Central Archives), eds., (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2008), pp.575-576. Translated by Jingxia Yang and Douglas Stiffler.]

Wu [Xiuquan] and Qiao [Guanhua]:

[I] received and read [your] December 1 telegram. When you see Rau tonight, tell him only that the outline of his suggestion has been conveyed to Beijing. Do not reply further. Besides contact those on our side and attending Rau and Trygve Lie's banquet, you should concentrate on preparing for the political committee speech so that [we can] give the American imperialist representatives a counter-strike this week. America is suffering a disastrous defeat on both its eastern and western lines and is retreating towards Pyongyang, Seishin [Cheongjin] and Wonsan. The UK and France are very afraid of getting involved in a war with China, so are anxious. America wants to fool [us] into an armistice so as to stabilize the front and augment its military strength in order to attack again. Now they are worried, but we are not. You should take the offensive. Whenever you meet people who say North Korea should sheath the sword, do not refuse negotiations. You can respond that, as soon as the American armies withdraw from Korea, the Korean War will cease by itself. [You can also say] you are willing to report their opinions to Beijing. To all who say that the Taiwan issue cannot be solved now, you should concentrate on this [point] to prove that the American imperialists' invading North Korea and invading Taiwan are one and the same thing, and ask in reply: if the American imperialists can invade Taiwan

while invading North Korea, why can't the Chinese people assist North Korea while resisting America's invasion of Taiwan? In a word, you should not separate the invasion of Taiwan from the invasion of North Korea; you should not accuse [the US] of the invasion of Taiwan only while avoiding a direct answer on the North Korea [issue], should not always declare that your main task is to accuse [the US] of the invasion of Taiwan, and (should not) be afraid that talking about the North Korea issue will force us into the defendant's position. It should not be like this. You should talk about the North Korea issue and the Taiwan issue with great confidence, proving at every opportunity that the American imperialists are invading North Korea and Taiwan; the UN resolution is illegal, and not allowing us to participate in the UN is disregarding 475 million Chinese people. You should not avoid an oppositional stance in negotiations. On the contrary, we should declare at every opportunity that no issue related to China can be solved without the Chinese joining the discussion and without the approval of Chinese representatives, therefore, any resolution [passed] or measure taken [without China's involvement] is invalid and illegal.

Zhou Enlai
Seven o'clock, 3 December



DOCUMENT NO. 27

Draft Agreement by the Party Central Committee on Establishing a Sino-North Korea Joint Headquarters, 8 December 1950

[Source: Jianguo yilai Zhou Enlai wengao (Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC), vol. 3, Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (CPC Central Historical Documents Research Office) and Zhongyang dang'anguan (Central Archives), eds., (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2008), pp.611-612. Translated by Jingxia Yang and Douglas Stiffler.]

Ask Comrade Kim Il Sung for his opinion on the following documents. If agreement is reached or certain modifications are made, let us know by telegram. Once we agree, [the agreement] can then be finalized and put into effect.

“Agreement of the Chinese and North Korean sides on establishing a Sino-North Korean Joint Headquarters:

1. In order to wage war against the common enemy more effectively, the Chinese and North Korean sides agree to establish a Joint Headquarters immediately to centrally command all military operations and other related matters within the boundaries of Korea.

2. The Chinese and North Korean sides have mutually agreed to choose Peng Dehuai as the concurrent Joint Headquarters Commander and Political Commissar; Kim Eung [Kim Ung] as the Vice-Commander of the Joint Headquarters and Pak Il-u [Pak Il U] as the Vice Political Commissar of the Joint Headquarters.

3. The North Korean People's Army, all guerrilla forces and the Chinese People's Volunteer Army are all under the central command of the Joint Headquarters. All orders given by the Joint Headquarters will go through both the general headquarters of the North Korean People's Army and the headquarters of the Chinese People's Volunteer Army in a unified manner.

4. The Joint Headquarters is empowered to direct all matters concerning communications and transportation in military operations (roads, railroads, harbors, airports, electrical and wireless phones and telegrams, etc.), the collection of army provisions, mobilization of manpower and

material resources. Concerning all these types of orders, the Joint Headquarters will inspect their jurisdictional relationship and pass them respectively through the General Headquarters of the North Korean People's Army and the Headquarters of the Chinese People's Volunteer Army to be assigned.

5. For all work in North Korean rear areas, such as mobilization for support of the front, supplemental training and reestablishment of local administration, and other [related matters], the Joint Headquarters will make reports and suggestions to the North Korean government according to the actual situations and war needs.

6. For all news reporting related to military operations, organizations reporting to the Joint Headquarters will be in charge of reading and editing it, and then delivering [the reports] to North Korean news organizations. They will be released in the name of these news organizations and the general headquarters of North Korea People's Army in a unified fashion.

(Note) For the purpose of maintaining confidentiality, orders signed by Peng Dehuai, Kim Eung and Pak Il-u are limited to distribution to the General Headquarters of the North Korea People's Army and the Headquarters of Chinese People's Volunteer Army. [The orders] transmitted to lower levels merely transmit the Joint Headquarters' orders without mentioning the names of these three."

[Party] Central Committee
8 December

From Zhou Enlai's original hand-written manuscript

DOCUMENT NO. 28

Letter from Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong, 8 December 1950

[Source: Jianguo yilai Zhou Enlai wengao (Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC), vol. 3, Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (CPC Central Historical Documents Research Office) and Zhongyang dang'anguan (Central Archives), eds., (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2008), p.606. Translated by Jingxia Yang and Douglas Stiffler.]

Chairman [Mao Zedong] and Liu [Shaoqi], Zhu [De], Chen [Yun]:

Last night, in accordance with instructions, I gave Roshchin [a telegram] of five articles. He has just replied with a telegram. Filippov's telegram agrees with the Chairman's thinking: delaying without laying [our] cards on the table is the best plan. Fortunately, the Chairman stopped yesterday's telegram from being sent out. Now today's telegram is drafted as a new document, please check/approve and send.

Returned, Zhou Enlai
Six o'clock, 8 December



DOCUMENT NO. 29

Telegram from [Party] Central Committee to Wu Xiuquan and Qiao Guanhua, 8 December 1950

[Source: Jianguo yilai Zhou Enlai wengao (Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC), vol. 3, Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (CPC Central Historical Documents Research Office) and Zhongyang dang'anguan (Central Archives), eds., (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2008), pp.607-608. Translated by Jingxia Yang and Douglas Stiffler.]

Wu [Xiuquan] [and] Qiao [Guanhua]:

Regarding negotiations, you should still take the approach of “he is in a hurry but I am not”; do not give them chances to reconnoiter. Do not lay our cards on the table for them too early. When representatives of India, UK, and Sweden and Lie come to urge the Chinese government to reply, you can tell them: (1) The PRC Central People's Government is just like you gentlemen from the UK, India and Sweden in that we welcome a prompt cessation of the Korean war. The Chinese government is willing to do its best so as to rapidly end the military action, into which it was forced, of the armies of the North Korea Democratic Republic and the Chinese People's Volunteer Army.

(2) Therefore, we are eager to know the UN and USA's positions on the conditions for an armistice.

(3) As for you, according to our understanding, [you] gentlemen are not accredited by either the UN or the USA to negotiate with anybody about the conditions of armistice. Furthermore, the UK representative together with representatives from America, France, Norway, Ecuador, Cuba, etc. have put forward a proposal to the UN General Assembly to condemn China, but this proposal is solely for the purpose of obstructing a solution to the North Korea issue.

[Party] Central Committee

8 December

From Zhou Enlai's original hand-written manuscript



DOCUMENT NO. 30

Letter from Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong, 9 December 1950

[Source: Jianguo yilai Zhou Enlai wengao (Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC), vol. 3, Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (CPC Central Historical Documents Research Office) and Zhongyang dang'anguan (Central Archives), eds., (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2008), p.613. Translated by Jingxia Yang and Douglas Stiffler.]

Chairman:

Zakharov came for a talk. He was worried about the danger that the enemy may attack Wonsan Harbor to obstruct the rear lines of our advance to the south. I told him of our strategic intentions and our campaign's tentative plans to cross the 38th Parallel. (I) also explained that the operations of Song [Shilun]'s Army in this campaign to include liberation all the way to Seishin [Cheongjin] and Wonsan. If Song's Army continues to advance south after its rest and reorganization, the 19th Army will move to Seishin, Wonsan and Pyongyang in mid-January for garrison duty. After Zakharov listened to this, he still suggested that one army (he mentioned the

66th Army) should be moved to the Wonsan area for operations to cover our southward-advancing flank. I said that this would disperse the main force. Furthermore, currently the enemy is withdrawing its Wonsan armies to Seishin. If [we] wait for Song's army for a week, [I am] afraid [the enemy] will then press on towards Seishin. When that time comes, our 13th Army will attack towards the south. It will be fine to have one division cover the flank if there are enemies at Wonsan. He still would not agree. It was not until I consented to report it to the Chairman that he was satisfied and departed.

Zhou Enlai
Night of 9 December

DOCUMENT NO. 31

Letter from Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong, 9 December 1950

[Source: Jianguo yilai Zhou Enlai wengao (Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC), vol. 3, Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (CPC Central Historical Documents Research Office) and Zhongyang dang'anguan (Central Archives), eds., (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2008), pp.615-617. Translated by Jingxia Yang and Douglas Stiffler.]

Chairman:

Please consider the combination of strategic intentions and battle plans. Concerning the second situation, must [we] postpone the attack on Seoul until early March? If [we] decide to postpone, 70,000 new soldiers could be sent to the army in two groups in early January and late January. Artillery and tanks will be in time to be used. Most important, however, is air force and railway transportation. When the time comes, the Air Force can dispatch four jet-fighter divisions, two air-attack divisions, and three bomber divisions, for a total of 270 planes. Railroads and bridges can be repaired and open to the 38th Parallel after the materials (for repairing them) arrive. The work with the most decisive significance is the building of the airports at Pyongyang etc. and moving the Soviet air force that is in charge of defense to [areas down to the] north of Pyongyang. If the decision is still to attack Seoul in January, then only the first group of 30,000 to 35,000 people can be assembled, and only two air divisions of 60 planes can be dispatched. There is not enough time to dispatch tanks although part of the artillery can be dispatched. Rush repairs can be done down to Pyongyang at the most. But whether there are enough materials for Cheongcheon [Chongchon] Bridge, [we] still do not know; [we] are investigating.

What is your opinion on this? Please instruct [so that we may] prepare.

Zhou Enlai
Night of 9 December

DOCUMENT NO. 32

Report from Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong, 12 December 1950

[Source: Jianguo yilai Zhou Enlai wengao (Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC), vol. 3, Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (CPC Central Historical Documents

Research Office) and Zhongyang dang'anguan (Central Archives), eds., (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2008), pp.625-628. Translated by Jingxia Yang and Douglas Stiffler.]

Chairman [Mao Zedong]:

Concerning all the questions raised by Peng [Dehuai] at 18:00 on [December] 8, and according to the results of two days of discussions, the following is the detailed report:

(1) New recruits, 110,000 people in the Northeast have been concentrated. Based on tonight's phone call with Gao [Gang], he thinks that [if they are] trained by mid-January, 65,000 people can be supplied to the front. I told [him] to prepare 70,000 people. In accordance with the Chairman's instructions over the phone tonight, if [we] can search and annihilate several sections of the enemy in areas not far from Seoul, then [we] should carry on fighting this campaign. Otherwise, regardless of whether the enemy tenaciously defends Seoul or gives it up, our army should rest and regroup for a period of time. So when the new recruits are moved to the front in mid-January, it is precisely the opportune moment. The method of distribution should be according to Peng's telegram: add 45,000 people to the west line, add 20,000 people to the east line, in addition, add 5,000 people to the 19th Army. It will be better if cadres can be sent to the rear areas to strengthen management and training work after the end of the next campaign.

2. The completion of replenishment of all military supplies needed by the 28th Army and other army organizations (including bedding, clothing, shoes and hats, army provisions and ammunition, plus improved light cannons) is guaranteed by the end of December. If the Soviet rifles, light and heavy machine guns and tommy guns can be rushed over in time, the 19th Army can change uniforms as they pass through the Northeast in mid-January, and then can depart for the front.

3. It will be mid-February until Liu [Bocheng]'s and Deng [Xiaoping]'s three armies arrive in the Hebei area. It will be late February by the time [they] finish replenishing their equipment. It will be after January when [we] make a final decision about whether this part of the armed forces will be used in North Korea. So [we] intend to wait until the end of the next campaign to decide whether the Soviet-style infantry weapons from the Soviets (for 36 divisions) should be supplied to these three armies or to the Volunteer armies at the front, besides being given to the 19th Army.

4. Concerning the repair of railways and transportation, Lü Zhengcao, Liu Juying and Yu Guangsheng came to an agreement that it could be guaranteed that, by December 20th, the Ji'an-Qiuchang-Suncheon [Sunchon]-Pyongyang line will be repaired; due to the lack of bridge-building materials for two rail bridges, the Andong-Dingzhou-Sinuiju--Pyongyang line cannot be repaired fully until the goods come from Soviet Union in January or February. The Pyongyang to Seoul line and Suncheon to Wonsan line both cross the Daedong [Taedong] River. [We] do not know the condition of the bridges and are now in the process of sending out personnel for reconnaissance. Today, two bridge [repair] groups were sent out from inside the Shanhaiguan pass to the Northeast, for transfer to North Korea. All transferrable domestic repair equipment will be supplied on an expedited basis to the front. It has been decided through consultation that tractors for clearing away blocked tunnels and cranes will be arranged by the Northeast. Based on this situation, the Chian to Pyongyang line can act as the main supply line, but the amount that can be transported is smaller than that of the Sinuiju--Pyongyang line. The two lines from Sinuiju- to the north of the Sinuiju Bridge and to Kuandian, through Suju to Tinju, currently can only be supplementary supply lines. After [things] arrive at Sinuiju-, [they] will be taken over and transported forward by cars. [The areas] east of Suncheon and south of Pyongyang are also

like this. After the bridge groups arrive at North Korea, if they can manage to build temporary bridges at the Cheongcheon [Chongchon] River and the Daedong [Taedong] River, the difficulties can be reduced and vehicles can then move forward. Another difficulty is that the enemy planes drop delayed-fuse bombs along the railways, which obstructs us from rush repairs and rush transportation at night. For this, the railway engineering corps is studying methods to remove the bombs.

5. The air force is sending people to North Korea to investigate the condition of airports. If there is no jet-aircraft landing field in Pyongyang and other places, or there are damaged ones, [we] will have to wait for the [outcome of the] investigation before we know whether this kind of airport can be rush-repaired this winter. If there is no such airport, [we] will have to wait for the [outcome of the] investigation before we know whether this kind of airport can be rush-built this winter. If there is no such airport, neither our air force nor the Soviet air force will be able to take off from Pyongyang. [The air forces] can only be at Andong, covering the transportation to Pyongyang and nearby areas to the south. If too far [to the south], the return trip will take close to one hour, which will leave no extra time for fighting. In January and February, we can dispatch four regiments of 120 jet chasers to provide air cover for transportation. When the time comes, [we will] also need two Soviet regiments of chasers to coordinate the operations in order to feel confident of success. Whether this can be done or not, is still dependent on negotiations. By mid-April, our air force will have five regiments of jet chasers, one regiment of R11 chasers, two regiments of attack planes and four regiments of bombers, for a total of twelve regiments of 360 planes that can undertake operations. But the decisive condition is that North Korea must have enough airports for chasers to take off and land. By the end of next year, we can have a maximum of twenty-five regiments of jet chasers, three regiments of R9 and R11 chasers, four regiments of attack planes, seven regiments of bombers and four regiments of transport planes, for a total of forty-three regiments of 1290 planes. Based on this estimate, simply staying within the country without fighting, airports with a value of 2,000 million *jin* of rice must be built and 180,000 tons of aviation fuel and kerosene must be consumed. Not even factoring in other expenditures, this has already reached the maximum of what we can allocate for the development of the air force and for railway transportation and oil storage for the air force. Therefore, considering [our] current material base, air force numbers can only reach this level next year and the speed can only be like this.

6. In mid-February, the artillery can send 37 mm. antiaircraft gun battalions (one battalion for every division) to the front. The two artillery divisions that have been at the front can be strengthened. Other artillery units cannot be used until March or April. Detailed plans are still being worked out.

7. [Concerning] tank units, four regiments can be dispatched in mid-March, four regiments can be dispatched in mid-April and every regiment [will have] 40 heavy and medium-sized tanks.

8. After investigation of the airport situation, the headquarters of the air force can station its command post towards the front. Some of the personnel from the current frontline artillery headquarters can be left for the special forces to set up a command post at the front.

Zhou Enlai
Night of 12 December

DOCUMENT NO. 33

Telegram from Zhou Enlai to Wu Xiuquan and Qiao Guanhua, 13 December 1950

[Source: Jianguo yilai Zhou Enlai wengao (Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC), vol. 3, Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (CPC Central Historical Documents Research Office) and Zhongyang dang'anguan (Central Archives), eds., (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2008), pp.635-636. Translated by Jingxia Yang and Douglas Stiffler.]

Wu [Xiuquan] [and] Qiao [Guanhua]:

Have received your telegram from 16:00, [December] 11. It is right for you to postpone your meeting with the Indian representative. But when Rau asks to meet again, [you] should still see him once. Yesterday I received [Kavalam Madhava] Panikkar in Beijing and told him that we always insist on solving the North Korea issue peacefully and now are more willing to make great efforts to quickly end the military operations the Chinese People's Volunteer Army and the North Korea People's Army were compelled to take to resist the American invasion. It is good that the Indian government is making great efforts for peace; however, it has not been entrusted [to do so] by either America or the UN. Now what counts the most to end the war quickly is the USA. We are eager to know the whole opinion of the USA and the UN regarding conditions for an armistice. The Indian ambassador can make great efforts in this regard. As to the 38th Parallel issue, it has long since been violated by the American invading armies and MacArthur, and is no longer in existence. Panikkar expressed agreement to this fact right away. I also pointed out that, at that time, many of the thirteen countries followed the USA, especially the Philippines, whose armies followed the USA in invading [the North]. Now the Philippines has also proposed an armistice, but their true intention is very clear. The content of the above conversation, and especially the issue of the 38th parallel no longer being in existence, can be conveyed to Rau when you see him.

Regarding the thirteen countries' experimental proposal, if they come to inquire about it, you can tell them that an armistice should not be a fraud, but should be able to truly end the Korean War. Thus, it must require the USA to state clearly its opinion on the armistice conditions and see whether it wants to continue the war and expand the war or end the war. So if the gentlemen representatives from all countries hope to truly end the Korean War, [they] should call for what the Soviet representative has proposed: that all foreign armies withdraw from North Korea, instead of anything else.

Zhou Enlai
13 December

DOCUMENT NO. 34

Telegram from Zhou Enlai to Wu Xiuquan and Qiao Guanhua, 16 December 1950

[Source: Jianguo yilai Zhou Enlai wengao (Zhou Enlai's Manuscripts since the Founding of the PRC), vol. 3, Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (CPC Central Historical Documents Research Office) and Zhongyang dang'anguan (Central Archives), eds., (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2008), pp.663-664. Translated by Jingxia Yang and Douglas Stiffler.]

Wu [Xiuquan [and] Qiao [Guanhua]:

Have received your telegram from 3 o'clock, [December] 14. Your answers to the two questions posed by Lie were very good. But be careful, as Lie is completely a US spy. According to intelligence, he even rejected the modest pressure that the UK imperialists wanted him to put on the US imperialists. So [we] must guard against his stirring up trouble for the relationship between China and Asia and China and Arabic countries. You'd better have a talk with Rau directly. If there a chance to meet with Andy Jean of Iran, [you] can also make clear our attitude directly. For the content of the talks, besides basing [yourself] on the principles stated in our three telegrams of December 8, 13, and 14, and the position you held when responding to Lie, you can also adopt Malik's attitude towards the twelve countries (not including the Philippines) on the Political Committee of the UN General Assembly. Emphasize in your explanation that we earnestly hope to make great efforts to end the Korean War as soon as possible. But only negotiations based on our proposal can bring about a true armistice. And the UN General Assembly Resolution on [December] 14 is not only illegal and invalid because representatives from our country did not participate or agree, but also the armistice in the first place and the negotiations on this only suit the needs of the USA and UK bloc of continuing the invasion of Korea and the invasion of Taiwan, bombing China and threatening Asia and world peace. We absolutely cannot agree with this kind of fake armistice and also ask that the gentlemen representatives who truly hope for peace and people over the world who love peace to try to distinguish truth from falsehood and distinguish clearly between right and wrong .

If representatives of our country are deprived of the right to speak at the Political Committee discussion accusing the USA of invading China, agree to distribute the text of the speech at the press conference.

Zhou Enlai
16 December