

MVZ-207
Chinese Foreign Policy
since 1949

Mgr. Jan Polišenský
Spring 2011

Week 3: United Front against Soviet
Hegemony (1969-1979)

<http://edition.cnn.com/video/#/video/world/2011/03/13/gps.china.flex.cnn?iref=allsearch>

Border Conflict with the
Soviet Union in 1969 and the
new strategic thinking

- Leonid Brezhnev and his doctrine in invading Czechoslovakia in October 1968
- Military clashes in March-August 1969
- "Soviet Social Imperialism"
- Nuclear threats and the Alexei Kosygin-Zhou Enlai talks in Beijing

Cultural Revolution

- Lushan Conference – Peng's criticism
- Defense Minister Lin Biao the task
- Leading a campaign to revive Mao's flagging personality cult
- Little Red Book
- Designed to strengthen socialism by removing capitalist elements from Chinese society
- 16-05-1966 – Launched by Mao

- Old Customs, Old Culture, Old Habits, and Old Ideas
- Red Guards
- Groups of Red Guards tortured thousands of teachers and administrators

Fading Revolution 1968-1969

- Struggling against US imperialism = Mao's efforts to legitimize his continuous revolution.
- Being's pursuit of fundamental changes in Chinese policy toward the US
- Strong commitment to Marxist-Leninist ideology – lean to the Soviet Union side

- First, revision of concept of imperialism by identifying it with the Soviet Union “social-imperialist” country
- Moscow, had replaced Washington as the center of reactionary forces in the world
- Second, ideological beliefs yielded to the security interests
- Two purposes:
 - First, Mao hoped to find new means to promote the transformation of China's party, state, and society
 - Second, Mao wanted to reestablished his weakened authority and reputation – after the Great Leap Forward

Opening to West

- In fall 1969, no official communication between China and the United States.
- The last meeting of Sino-American ambassadorial talks was held in Warsaw in January 1968.
- July 1969, Nixon wanted to talk to Chinese he had to talk to Pakistani president Mohammad Yahya Khan and Romanian leader Nicolae Ceausescu
- Indirect Contacts
- Slow contacts / Slow communications
- Taiwan Issue
- Albania – Criticism of China-US talks

Edgar Snow

- American writer and journalist
- Best know for the book *Red Star Over China - 1937*
- Pro-communist
- Friend to Mao and China since 1930s
- Ambassador in France that he should apply for Visa
- Interviewed Mao
- “American Friend of China



Ping-Pong Diplomacy

- 1st World Table Tennis Championship in Nagoya, Japan
- Glenn Cowan, missed his U.S. team bus
- Zhuang Zedong, a three-time World Men's Singles Champion, gave Cowan a present - silk-screen portrait of the Huangshan Mountains
- PRC responded by inviting the American ping pong team to tour China





在刚林与尼克松

在刚林与美国乒乓球王将斯廷健文切球球艺

Kissinger's role and his trip

- In July 1971 Henry Kissinger, while on a trip to Pakistan
- Fake illness for one day
- Top-secret mission to Beijing to open relations with the government of the PRC.
- On July 15, 1971, President Richard Nixon revealed the mission to the world
- And that Nixon was invited to visit the PRC, and that he had accepted the offer

Lin Biao affair

- Mao's supporter
- Little Red Book
- Mao's criticism of Lin Biao
- Lin Biao emerged as the primary military power and second in rank behind Mao Zedong in the party
- Disagreement about the normalization with USA
- Cultural Revolution spun out of control
- The PLA, under Lin's command, took over the country from the party
- Attempted Coup and Assassination attempt on Mao
- Plane Crash

The death of Lin Biao and the waning of radicalism

- Lin Biao tried to expand his power
- But was gradually undermined by Mao and Zhou
- Lin's attempted assassination of Mao

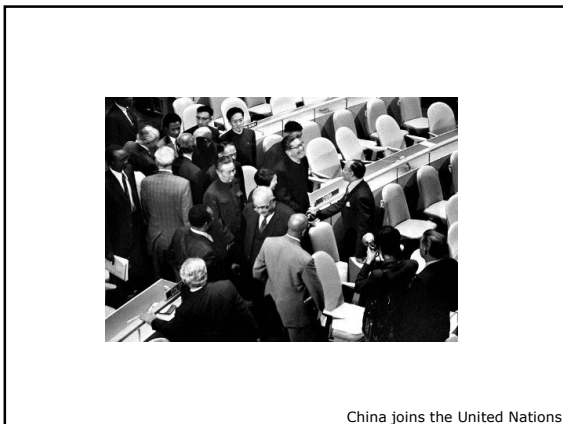
The death of Lin Biao and the waning of radicalism

- Lin Biao died on September 13, 1971, in a plane crash in Mongolia when he and his wife tried to flee to Russia
- Lin's death seriously discredited Mao's political wisdom and judgment, and the Cultural Revolution
- Mao's reflections and deteriorating health
- Radicalism in decline

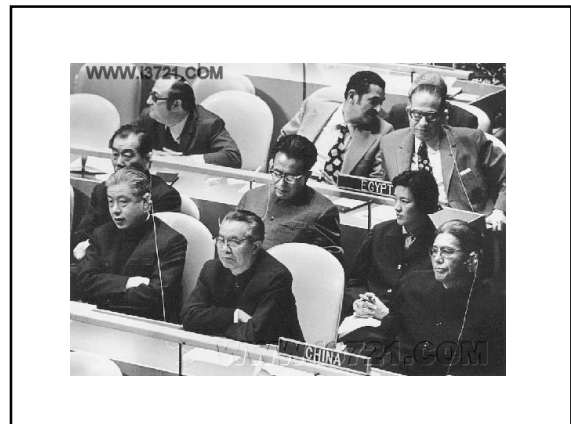


United Nations

- October 25, 1971, China's seat in the United Nations and membership of the United Nations Security Council has been occupied by the People's Republic of China (PRC)
- Supported by the Third world countries



China joins the United Nations



Shanghai Communiqué - 1972

- Normalization of their relation
- General agreement about the international order in East Asia
- Which would not become subject to "hegemony"
- Taiwan issue was the major stumbling block in Sino-American normalization
- One-China Policy

Shanghai Communiqué - 1972

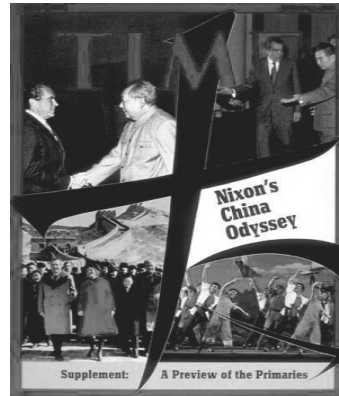
- The two sides were willing to defer diplomatic problems and the Taiwan problem
- Focused on their common strategic interests in East Asia
- US military pressure on China was reduced,
- China's attitude toward Vietnam dramatically changes
- US-China détente greatly enhanced China's international stature
- Normalization of China-Japan relations



Mao Zedong meet to Richard Nixon, in Beijing, in 1972



Zhou Enlai and Richard Nixon, at Hongqiao airport, Shanghai, in 1972



February 17, 1973 evening, Chairman Mao Zedong met with U.S. Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs Henry Kissinger. During Kissinger's visit, the two sides agreed to: the respective liaison offices in each other's capitals to establish direct contact between the two countries.



December 2, 1975, Chairman Mao Zedong met with President Ford and his wife, Betty Ford, her daughter Susan Ford

The Three Worlds Theory

- Zhou Enlai - 1969
- Claimed that the world was politically and economically divided into three worlds
- The U.S. and the Soviet Union belong to the First World
- Japan, Europe, Australia, and Canada, belong to the Second World.
- China is the Third World

- First world consisted of the superpowers
 - (USA, Russia)
 - Nuclear weapon
 - Rich countries
- The second world of the wealthy allies of the superpowers
 - (Europe, Japan, Australia and Canada)
 - Limited amount of Nuclear weapon
- Third world of the nonaligned nations. (China)

- The two super-powers were the main source of instability, hegemonism, power politics
- China firmly supported the third world countries in their struggles against hegemonism
- China supported the second world against interference and control by the super-powers

Deng Xiaoping's pragmatic foreign policy

- Gang of Four; "Wise Leader" Hua Guofeng; Deng's second rehabilitation
- Beginning of domestic reforms
- Reassessing dangers of world war
- Awareness of China's weaknesses and vulnerability
- Building a stronger and broader anti-Soviet coalition



January 8, 1976, Premier Zhou Enlai died. The 14th memorial service was held at Beijing's Great Hall, Deng Xiaoping delivered a memorial speech

Mao's death - 1976

- Mao's death in September 1976 set off a scramble for succession
- Hua Guofeng was confirmed as Party Chairman and Premier
- A month after Mao's death, Hua, backed by the PLA, arrested "Gang of Four"



September 9, 1976, Mao Zedong died in Beijing.

China after Mao

- After extensive deliberations, the Chinese leadership reinstated Deng Xiaoping to all of his previous posts at the 11th Party Congress in August 1977.
- Deng then led the effort to place government control in the hands of veteran party officials opposed to the radical excesses of the previous two decades. A new era of Chinese politics and foreign policy began.

Gang of Four - 1976

- The members consisted:
- Jiang Qing, Mao Zedong's last wife
- Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyan, Wang Hongwen
- Take control of China
- Attempted Coup
- Supported by Mao's son Mao Yuanxin

Hua Guofeng

- Mao Zedong's designated successor as the paramount leader of the Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China
- Hua succeeded Zhou Enlai as the second Premier of the People's Republic of China.
- Hua Guofeng criticized certain aspects of the Cultural Revolution blaming the Gang of Four
- On October 1979, Hua went on a European tour (West Germany and France), the first of its kind for a Chinese leader after 1949

Zhou Enlai

- First Premier of the People's Republic of China, serving from 1949-1976- until his death Zhou as
- The Chinese foreign minister (1949 to 1958) - (peaceful coexistence with west)
- Zhou and the Gang of Four struggled over leadership of China
- Zhou died eight months before Mao

Quiz

What were the main features of Chinese foreign policy during the Mao years (the first three decades of the PRC)?