

MVZ-207
Chinese Foreign Policy
since 1949

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Week 6: Independent Foreign
Policy for Peace (1979 – 1988)

China in 1970 - 1980

- Hua Goufeng
- Deng Xiaping
- Four modernizations
- China – US relations
- China – European Countries
- China – Vietnam War
- Normalization of FP

Changes in politics

- the reforms in beginning 80's aimed to recover from the crises from Mao
- Improvement of agricultural production, industry, foreign trade, science, technology
- the economical reforms replaced the the class struggle
- the red communist Ideology faded away
- The Beijing Spring (1977 and 1978) brief period of political liberalization

Changes in politics

- After 1979, the Chinese leadership moved toward more pragmatic positions in almost all fields
- The party encouraged artists, writers, and journalists to adopt more critical approaches, although open attacks on party authority were not permitted
- In late 1980, Mao's Cultural Revolution was officially proclaimed a catastrophe

Changes in politics

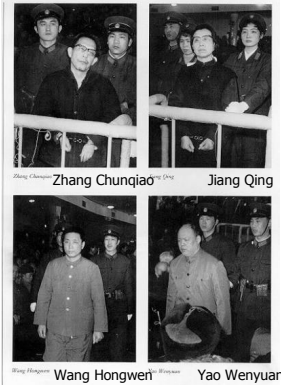
- “Democracy Wall” in 1979 and the “fifth modernization”
- Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yun, Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang, different policy packages
- Campaigns against “bourgeois spiritual contamination” and “bourgeois liberalization”

China entered a new age in 1979

- The new, pragmatic leadership led by Deng Xiaoping emphasized economic development and renounced mass political movements

Democracy Wall

- Long brick wall in Beijing, which became the focus for democratic dissent
- Recorded news and ideas, often in the form of posters
- Encouraged to criticize the Gang of Four and previous failed policies
- Part of Deng Xiaoping's struggle to gain power closed in December 1979
- The Fifth Modernization by Wei Jingsheng on December 5, 1978 – Democracy



The Gang of Four

Sino – Japanese Relations

- 1972- Nixon visit to China - normalization process
- 1975 - anti-hegemony clause – sino-soviet split
- August 12, 1978 - The Treaty of Peace and Friendship
- came into effect October 23, 1978
- Deng Xiaoping and Fukuda Takeo.

Modernizations

- December 1978 Third Plenum (of the 11th Party Congress Central Committee)
- the leadership adopted economic reform policies aimed at expanding rural income and incentives, encouraging experiments in enterprise autonomy, reducing central planning, and establishing direct foreign investment in China

The Four Modernizations

Zhou Enlai in 1963

Focused by Deng Xiaoping.

- Agriculture
- Industry
- National Defense
- Science and Technology

Four Cardinal Principles

Deng Xiaoping in 1979, four issues for which debate was not allowed:

- The principle of the socialist path
- The principle of the democratic proletariat
- The principle of the leadership of the Communist Party of China, and
- The principle of upholding Marxist-Leninist-Mao Zedong thought



Ye Jianying, Hua Guofeng & Deng Xiaoping, in Dec., 1976

Hua Guofeng

- Hua Guofeng, a protege of Mao
- Replaced as Premier in 1980 by reformist Sichuan party chief Zhao Ziyang
- Replaced as party General Secretary in 1981 by Hu Yaobang, an even more reformist and former Communist Youth League General Secretary

Deng Xiaoping

Long March

1978 - 1992 - Paramount Leader of the People's Republic of China

1981 - 1989 - Chairman of the Central Military Commission of CPC

Two purges

- During the Cultural Revolution were targeted by Red Guards
- Gang of four

Hua Guofeng, not Deng, was selected to become Zhou's successor

Opening up economy

Tiananmen Incident

Confrontation with the Vietnamese – to teach them a lesson

- Causes of the trouble
- Cambodia, Pol Pot and Khmer Rouge
- Vietnamese attempt to dominate Indochina – “regional hegemonism”
- Economic aid
- Moscow and Hanoi moving closer
- Vietnam's persecution and deportation of ethnic Chinese
- Territorial disputes

Sino-Vietnam War

On January 1, 1979, Deng Xiaoping visited the USA for the first time and spoke to American president Jimmy Carter

- Escalation of tensions, 1978
- Ending all economic and technological assistance to Vietnam
- Closing of borders with Vietnam
- Le Duan's visit to Moscow to sign a friendship treaty in November 1978
- Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia, December 1978
- Chinese warnings

Sino-Vietnam War

- China's “defensive war” for three weeks in early 1979 to punish Hanoi, followed by persistent military pressure in border
- PLA performance not too impressive
- But the invasion achieved important political results:
 - Emboldened ASEAN countries in opposition to Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia, thus placing Vietnam in international isolation
 - Prevented Hanoi from concentrating on defeating the Khmer Rouge

Diplomatic relations with the USA

- January 1979 - Three preconditions met: withdrawing forces, severing official ties with Taiwan, and abolishing Mutual Defense Treaty
- "The Government of the United States of America acknowledges the Chinese position that there is but one China and Taiwan is part of China"
- "Neither (China nor the U.S.) should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region or in any other region of the world and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony"

Sino-Soviet reconciliation 1985-1988

- China's "swing position" in the strategic triangle with strengthening ties with other countries and a growing economy
- The decline in Soviet power, particularly after its invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979
- Mikhail Gorbachev's "new thinking"
- Gorbachev visited Beijing in May 1989

Sino-Soviet reconciliation 1985-1988

- Convinced the US of its resolve to resist Soviet pressure
- Bled Vietnam economically and placed a burden on the declining Soviet economy as well
- In 1988 Moscow failed to support Hanoi in its naval clash with China
- In 1989 Moscow agreed to discuss with China all the three conditions for improved relations, including Cambodia

Jimmy Carter and the Taiwan Relations Act

- TRA stipulates that the United States will "consider any effort to determine the future of Taiwan by other than peaceful means, including by boycotts or embargoes, a threat to the peace and security of the Western Pacific area and of grave concern to the United States" but does not mandate that the United States intervene in these situations
- The TRA authorizes quasi-diplomatic relations with the Taiwan authorities by giving special powers to the American Institute in Taiwan to the level that it is the de facto embassy

Taiwan Relations Act

- This TRA also requires the United States "to provide Taiwan with arms of a defensive character," and "to maintain the capacity of the United States to resist any resort to force or other forms of coercion that would jeopardize the security, or the social or economic system, of the people on Taiwan."
- Successive U.S. administrations have sold arms to Taiwan in compliance with the Taiwan Relations Act despite demands from the PRC that the U.S. following legally "non-binding" Three Joint Communiqués and the U.S. government's proclaimed One-China policy

Taiwan Relations Act

- The Taiwan Relations Act does not require the U.S. to intervene militarily if the PRC attacks or invades Taiwan, and the U.S. has adopted a policy of "strategic ambiguity" in which the U.S. neither confirms nor denies that it would intervene in such a scenario
- Differences between China's One China Principle and America's One China Policy



January 1979



Renewed China-US tensions and negotiations over Taiwan

- The 17th August 1982 Sino-US communiqué with the Reagan administration
- US pledges that its arms sales to Taiwan would not exceed either in qualitative or in quantitative terms the level of supplies during the past years and that it intended gradually to reduce its sale of arms to Taiwan, leading to a final resolution

Renewed China-US tensions and negotiations over Taiwan

- Beijing reaffirmed its fundamental peaceful approach to Taiwan
- US not to carry out a policy of “two Chinas” or “one China, one Taiwan”
- US understands and appreciates PRC policy of seeking a peaceful resolution of the Taiwan question, strongly implying that its agreement to curb arms supplies to Taiwan was contingent on a continuation of Beijing’s peaceful intentions toward the island
- US offered Six Assurances to Taipei

Six Assurances

1. The United States would not set a date for ending arms sales to the Republic of China (ROC);
2. The United States would not hold prior consultations with the People’s Republic of China regarding arms sales to the ROC;
3. The United States would not play a mediation role between the PRC and the ROC;
4. The United States would not revise the Taiwan Relations Act;

5. The United States would not alter its position regarding sovereignty over Taiwan (i.e. “The United States acknowledges that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of China. The United States Government does not challenge that position”); and
6. The United States would not pressure Taiwan to enter into negotiations with the PRC.



- Independent Foreign Policy of Peace endorsed by the 12th Party Congress in 1982
- Disillusionment about the United States
- Need to improve relations with Moscow
- Alertness against Western political influence in China
- Changes in the assessment of the danger of war

The Domestic political scene and implications for foreign policy

- Reform policies brought great improvements in the standard of living, especially for urban workers and for farmers who took advantage of opportunities to diversify crops and establish village industries. Literature and the arts blossomed
- Chinese intellectuals established extensive links with scholars in other countries
- Political dissent as well as social problems such as inflation, urban migration
- Although students and intellectuals urged greater reforms, some party elders increasingly questioned the pace and the ultimate goals of the reform program

Loosening Political Atmosphere

- In December of 1986, student demonstrators, taking advantage of the loosening political atmosphere, staged protests against the slow pace of reform
- Such movements confirmed party elders' fear that the current reform program was leading to social instability

Loosening Political Atmosphere

- Hu Yaobang, by now a protégé of Deng and a leading advocate of reform, was blamed for the protests and forced to resign as CCP General Secretary in January 1987
- Premier Zhao Ziyang was made General Secretary and Li Peng, former Vice Premier and Minister of Electric Power and Water Conservancy, was made Premier



Hu Yaobang

EU – China relations

- 1975 May Diplomatic relations established. Christopher Soames first European Commissioner to visit China
- 1978 2 May Trade agreement EEC-China signed. Inter alia, establishes Joint Committee
- 1979 February Roy Jenkins visits China. First visit of a Commission President. Meets Deng Xiaoping
- July First meeting of the Joint Committee in Beijing
- 18 July (First) agreement on textile trade
- 1980 16-19 June First inter-parliamentary meeting between delegations of the EP and of the National People's Congress, Strasbourg.

Diplomatic Relations

- 1950's – 25 countries
- 1960's – 18 countries
- 1970's – UK, Mexico, Netherlands, Greece, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Spain, Portugal, USA
- (Over 60 countries)
- 1980's – 19 countries

Conclusion

- Economic opening of no return
- Planned economy to “commodity economy” to socialist market economy
- Abandoning the Soviet model but keeping the Soviet revolutionary spirit
- Socialism with Chinese characteristics
- American political model rejected, but cultural goods moved in
- Lesson: To learn from Western technology but guard against Western ideology

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JBT3rWFoU3w>