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Comments

Please comment, as appropriate, on the candidate's performance, the context in which the candidate undertook the research for the extended essay, any difficulties encountered and how these were overcome (see page 13 of the extended essay guide). The concluding interview (viva voce) may provide useful information. These comments can help the examiner award a level for criterion K (holistic judgment). Do not comment on any adverse personal circumstances that may have affected the candidate. If the amount of time spent with the

has approached his Extended Essay with enthusiasm and vigour. He was very much a self starter and required little assistance and direction. His greatest weakness seemed to be his spelling and grammar which would, at times, impede his ability to express himself clearly. His main points and the thrust of his argument are essentially clear, however.

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Supervisor's signature: _

Date: FEB. 6, 2009

What effects did China's Cultural Revolution have on its Foreign Relations?

Candidate Name:

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Essay Subject: History

Supervisor:

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I would like to extend my thanks to my advisor , who gave me advice and support while writing this essay. I would also like to thank my history teacher who helped in providing several book sources which I used in my essay.

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Abstract:

Although this essay on the outside may seem as another judgment of the Chinese Cultural Revolution, this essay answers a more difficult question. The question researched was, what affect the Cultural Revolution in China had upon its own foreign affairs? While the Cultural Revolution did have a great effect upon internal affairs it was interesting to research something not normally answered in textbooks. Even though the Cultural Revolution took place over a period of around five years it was necessary to broaden the scope of my investigation to include the lead up to the Cultural Revolution as well as one to two years after the end of the Cultural Revolution. It was necessary to do this firstly to understand the situation created for events such as these to transpire. As well as what immediate, and short term effects it had on diplomatic relations with other countries. My conclusion reached was that a unstable government produced an unstable situation for relations to occur with other nations. This was best reflected in the incidents that occurred in South East Asia, and the border conflicts with Russia. However once the situation became more stable under Zhao Enlai great progress was actually made in terms of relations with the US, and several African nations.

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Introduction

The Cultural Revolution was one of the worst examples of human cruelty taken to its extreme. Although having a great affect on China's internal affairs it also had an equally extreme affect on its Foreign Relations. China's shifting controls of power in the Cultural Revolution created an equally shifting foreign policy with reclaiming of colonial cities in China, rapid deterioration in relations with South East Asian countries, deteriorating Sino-Russian relations and eventually progress in diplomatic relations with certain countries especially in Africa.

Mao created a movement labeled the Cultural Revolution, where he attempted to control over the country. He went to Shanghai where he attempted to drum up support for his Cultural Revolution in the largely industrial population. He succeeded and support for Mao grew extensively especially while Liu was gone, upon the return of Liu the situation had changed dramatically. The PLA, and China's main newspaper *The People's Daily* had pledged their support to Mao, with the power of the PLA Mao was even able to take control of Beijing. With the top newspapers and the army backing the new Cultural Revolution movement it was only a matter of time for it to spread throughout the country. With encouragement from Mao and his supporters Beijing University was one of the first schools to

among the youth who Mao called the "revolutionary successors", and when Mao authorized that these new student groups or Red Guards be given transport, housing and food, it enabled a vast majority of the youth to become roaming red guard members, where they caused havoc among suspected capitalists, and destroyed cultural land sites. Eventually this Red Guard movement would even spread to the industrial workers who formed different groups based upon their wants or needs in the society. This understanding of large portions of the country being devoted towards change and revolution in the country made it very difficult for the Chinese Foreign ministry to function. With the country on the outbreak of civil war, and Mao merely allowing his new creation to run its course the government still had to function, and it was this backdrop that Zhao Enlai attempted to keep the day to day functioning of the government and its foreign relations with other countries.

Reclaiming Colonial Cities

Although many people see the Cultural Revolution as having only to do with internal Reference affairs, this claim couldn't be farther from the truth. While China was engaged in its Cultural liberance Revolution there was still diplomatic action occurring throughout the world, and China's cultural revolution was bound to play a role in this. It did in 1967 China's foreign minister came under attack for having a revisionist foreign policy and so just one year into China's cultural security foreign policy and so just one year into China's cultural security foreign policy and so just one year into China's cultural security foreign policy and so just one year into China's cultural security foreign policy and so just one year into China's cultural security foreign policy and so just one year into China's cultural security foreign policy and so just one year into China's cultural security foreign policy and so just one year into China's cultural security foreign policy and so just one year into China's cultural security foreign policy and so just one year into China's cultural security foreign policy and so just one year into China's cultural security foreign policy and so just one year into China's ability foreign policy and so just one year into China's ability security foreign policy and so just one year into China's ability foreign policy and so just one year into China's ability foreign policy and so just one year into China's ability foreign policy and so just one year into China's ability foreign policy and so just one year into China's ability foreign policy and so just one year into China's ability foreign policy and so just one year into China's ability foreign policy and so just one year into China's ability foreign policy and so just one year into China's ability foreign policy and so just one year into China's ability foreign policy and so just one year into China's ability foreign policy and so just one year into China's ability foreign policy and so just one year into China's ability foreign policy and

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to cooperate with other nations¹. China's foreign relation difficulties began towards the center of where the problems were occurring, mainly with China itself. Ever since the 19th century many European colonial countries had possessed spheres of influence in Chinese ports, with the rise of Mao and communism after World War II China was able to reclaim many of its ports. Now with roaming legions of Red Guards they began to reclaim some of these old ports. An example of this can be seen in the port of Macau where in 1887 Portugal was able to obtain the port through exploitation of China's weakness, throughout the years China had been looking for situations where it could reclaim its city. In 1966 the first official year of the Cultural Revolution anger against foreign intervention, was at an all time high personified in the Portuguese controlled city of Macau. Riots and demonstration plagued the city culminating in the 12-3 incident where disputes over school construction resulted in 200 people being injured or killed in the demonstration². As a result Portugal issued an official statement of apology, and promised equal treatment to Chinese citizens mainly meaning Chinese control of the city. Although in name Portugal still was in control the day to day tasks were handled by Chinese authorities in decision making. Similar occurrences can be seen in the former British colony of Hong Kong, where once again the Cultural Revolution had a negative influence on foreign affairs. As the communist groups in Hong Kong saw the successful uprising in Macau and inspired by the Cultural Revolution they demonstrated in the city, fought against the police, and used terrorist tactics to attempted to dislodge the British supported government seated there. This originated with a confrontation between demonstrating workers of the Sanpokony branch

¹ The exception to this was Egypt, where Huang Hua who had actually only recently been appointed and had received relatively little attacks at that time. (Barnouin and Yu) pg 13

² Several people were injured in conflicts with Maoist demonstrators. Barnouin and Yu Chinese Foreign Policy during the Cultural Revolution pg 67

of an Artificial Flower factory. As the situation worsened word got out to left wing civilians and students. They joined the original workers culminating in a battle between rioters and the Hong Kong Riot police. These conflicts between Chinese citizens and the colonial power gained much attention from the Chinese population prompting the Chinese Foreign Ministry to issue a statement protesting the "sanguinary atrocities ... perpetrated by the British Authorities"3. However opposition inside Hong Kong, mainly provided by the police was strong, and Zhao Enlai was forced to bring an end to fighting in the city, but the harm had already been done and relations with Britain deteriorated. In trying to force the British out of Hong Kong British authorities had remained strong and the situation became serious. China did not want to risk military confrontation with the United Kingdom, and this was the last step available to them. When Zhou En Lai appeared to back down and did not provide material goods to the revolutionaries/ the Red Guards became enraged, and when Great Britain refused to ban three of its local newspapers, the embassy in Beijing was attacked and set to fire. This set relations with Great Britain very low and China was forced to begin talks with Great Britain in order to avoid more serious confrontation⁴. However unrest was sure not to remain contained inside China itself.

Southeast Asian Relations

The Cultural Revolution's effect spread out rather like an Earthquake with tremors the most severe the closer you were to the center. It was only a matter of time before these tremors spread out to some of China's closest neighbors, mainly in Southeast Asia. One of the

³ New China News Agency, Foreign Ministry Statement, 15 May 1967 in PR, number 21, 1967, 14.

⁴ Hong Kong was a center of conflict for China and was an example of failed diplomacy for China. Barnouin and Yu Chinese Foreign Policy during the Cultural Revolution pg 71

first victims was the already unstable government of Cambodia, where the Vietnam War had caused great difficulties for the small nation. Even before the Cultural Revolution Cambodia's leader Sihanouk had developed peaceful relations with China, in order to hopefully have China's support in preventing the Vietnam war from spreading into Cambodia. This was a perfect example of previous Chinese coexistence with noncommunist governments. However soon Mao crazed red guards began to infiltrate the main cities of Cambodia in hopes of spreading communism⁵. This was best seen in the largest Cambodian city of Phnom Penh where the Chinese embassy itself began distributing leaflets of communism and red guards engaged with the citizens themselves in uprising and overthrowing the government, despite years of friendship Sihanouk the leader of Cambodia could not allow for any more instability then was already occurring due to the Vietnam war, and thus was forced to repress red guard and communist activities in the country effectively ending relations with China during the Cultural Revolution, which was made final in his attempt to bring Cambodian personnel back from Beijing. These type of events were seen to a greater extent this time in the country of Burma. Before the events of the Cultural Revolution China had possessed good relations with Burma, as a result of a weak communist movement in Burma, and Burman neutrality in main affairs. But this all changed with the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, events began to slide downhill with a change in doctrine of a communist group in Burma which supported a Maoist position⁶. As a result red guards began to train, and support the communist groups in Burma. When most ambassadors were recalled and replaced during the Cultural Revolution, so too was

⁵ Daniel Chirot Modern Tyrants, Princeton University Press, 1996

⁶ Students were encouraged to wear Mao badges and promoted Mao thinking in school through distribution of little red book copies. Burma attempted to stop this and in the fighting 100 people were killed. . Barnouin and Yu Chinese Foreign Policy during the Cultural Revolution pg 74

Rangoon's ambassador, who was replaced with more radical Maoist personnel, who then began to introduce Maoist thinking into Chinese schools. Culminating in Chinese representatives west distributing copies of the "little red book"7. However instead of bringing support for the Chinese government in Burma it brought about antagonism towards Chinese people. Burmese people in Rangoon were so outraged that they began attacks on the Chinese embassy, and Sound Chinese nationals themselves. This resulted in Beijing the same type of attacks against Burmese embassy personnel. As with the situation Cambodia the Beijing government stepped in and quelled the violence in Burma, basically through threatened economic sanctions. At this point relations between these previous friends appeared not to be able to get any worse, that was until the Chinese Government came out as officially supporting the communist movement in Burma to overthrow the Burmese government though violence if necessary. For Burma this was the last straw and the government could take no more. As a result massive demonstrations against China began and the break in diplomatic relations between these two former friends. Thus in a period a little under two years China's new Cultural Revolution, had completed in isolating itself from some of the only countries that had been on good terms with \ it of could repeat their names - but this

In order to better understand how these events transpired the actual control room of Chinese foreign affairs must be analyzed, for it was this ministry which was the bridge between China's internal affairs and other countries. These events were brought on by a rapid radicalization of foreign affairs in China. As many branches of the Chinese's government were taken over by zealous Red Guards so to did the foreign ministry succumb. As soon as the Red

 $^{^{7}}$ Previously stated in 6 . Barnouin and Yu Chinese Foreign Policy during the Cultural Revolution pg 74

Guards had infiltrated the organization no sooner did it spiral out of control into rapid radicalization. It was during this time that the events in Cambodia, and Burma were transpiring. Sensing disaster Zhao Enlai resumed control of the foreign affairs to attempt wring some sort of working out of the crippled office⁸. One of the main turning points in this disaster was the tragedy of the attack on the British embassy in Beijing. Having realized that China could not afford another diplomatic disaster so Zhou was given control and the more radical elements of the organization were removed, but the amount of diplomatic disaster which occurred in such a short period of time could not be healed over night or for that matter in months, none the less Zhao, would do his best to try.

Sino Soviet Relations Deteriorate

Unfortunately for Zhao it would have to get worse before it would get better. The worse would come in the form of an increase in deteriorating results between China's bigger older communist brother the Soviet Union. China fearing an outburst from the world decided the best foreign policy would be no policy so that nothing worse could ensue. However Mao found it increasingly difficult to stay quiet, and it wasn't long before China was denouncing Russian actions again. This was only highlighted in the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 in order to keep control of its eastern European communist buffer states⁹. It was then that China no longer stayed quiet and openly criticized the Soviet Union. Mainly fearing that should China step out of line it may be forced back in forcefully by Soviet militarism. Resulting

When the initial Foreign Affairs Director Chen Yi came under severe criticism from Red Guards State Council Premier Zhou Enlai took over much of the duties of the director in lieu of more radical elements taking power. Barnouin and Yu, Chinese Foreign Policy during the Cultural Revolution, pg 138

⁹ China greatly disapproved of the acts in Czechoslovakia as they feared this repression could spread to them. . Barnouin and Yu Chinese Foreign Policy during the Cultural Revolution pg 86

in border clashes along the Ussuri River, sinking China deeper into isolation. This was a greater example of weak Chinese foreign policy that they would choose to confront the Soviet Union at a time of great weakness as a result of the Cultural Revolution. The border clashes came about as a result of Chinese investigation of Soviet military activity along the Ussuri River, where the two sides met unexpectedly and a battle began. In many situations orders were relayed by radical elements of the Foreign ministry without Zhao Enlai's approval. This then led to in March 1969 large scale fighting between the two countries in various locations along the border¹⁰. It was due to Zhao Enlai's negotiations with a Soviet counterpart Kosygin that war was avoided between these two countires. The Soviet Union in the mean time was using Chinese inattentiveness to increase weaponry along the Sino-Soviet border, and had taken the opportunity to sign treaties with Mongolia enabling it to station troops and build new bases. Thus as Chinese saw their relations with the Soviet Union reach an all time low and fearing a reactionary attack on China itself the Chinese gingerly sought an ally which could possibly stand up to the Soviet Union and thus sought to unfreeze relations with the US.

Sino American Relations

Incredibly a situation which saw verbal attacks heighten against many foreign countries brought about a desperation in China to end its isolation. In its desperation it sought out amazingly number one capitalist roader in the world. Although it wasn't just the US's desire to be friends with China that saw relations improve. It also included the fact the US was engaged in a draining war in Vietnam. The government at the time felt that a strengthening of relations

Rallow reliant on Mrs Source. 1.

Fighting took place on Zhenbao island as well on the Heilongjiang river. In which is estimated 38 Russians received injuried while only 17 Chinese soldiers were killed. These incidents occurred in many places along the Sino Russo border. Barnouin and Yu Chinese Foreign Policy during the Cultural Revolution pg 88.

would also serve to isolate their enemy at the time North Vietnam¹¹. As negotiations continued real progress began to be made with concessions being made on the side of the US. This included the removal of several trade embargos against the people's republic of China, as well as easing travel restrictions to Americans travelling to China. This opening up of relations culminated with the visit of President Nixon, and Secretary of State Kissinger to China itself, where after that there was a vast improvement in Chinese image in the world of a more open society that maybe had recovered from the horrors of the cultural revolution. In fact after the cultural revolution China a great recovering move in its standing among other nations. In fact one of the main reasons of China's increase in openness was its desire for allies that opposed the Soviet Union and this is exactly what it proceeded to do¹². It proceeded to align itself with countries including the dictatorship of Spain, Greece, and Chile. It was during the 1960's that the UN had been considering to replace Taiwan with the People's Republic of China in the UN. This would have been official recognition of China for the first by the UN. However the Cultural Revolution held the vote back until in 1971 near the end of the Cultural Revolution the vote was passed on whether China should join the UN, and become part of its various organizations Good elear enderce or asquirer to Junt most references to sources which was passed and China was able to enter the UN.

China and Africa Foreign Relations Successes and Failures

China despite being in the midst of social strife was also able to enter into some level of help diplomatic relations with Africa during the time of the Cultural Revolution. The main reasons

¹¹ The US at the time was engaged in a military conflict between North Vietnam and South Vietnam on the South

¹² Ever since the border clashes as well as verbal attacks by the Chinese government on the Soviet Union claiming they were not true communists relations had been severely suffering.

for China's main interest in Africa can be seen to gain more international recognition instead of Taiwan, and also to establish more diplomatic relations with third world countries. China started its attempts in the late 50's by recognizing certain new African countries such as Sudan and Ghana, and offering a certain amount of aid¹³. Yet despite China's noble efforts its early attempts largely ended in failure. Another failure occurred in China's support of the Tutsi people of Rwanda who were planning a return to power in the country, however the plan failed and even got several Chinese diplomats kicked out of nearby Burundi. As well as the failed support of a mission in Congo this also failed after a military coup. One of the main reasons of China's failure can be blamed on the Cultural Revolution once again for during this time the money provided to many of these missions was substantial less than needed, as a result of social strife brought around by the Cultural Revolution. That caused many workers strikes making production far less than what were usual standards. However if there was one success story for China in Africa it would definitely be Tanzania. China was able to establish good relations with Tanzania as a result of their support of a communist uprising in that country earlier in the year 1964. The foreign minister of this new government Mohammad Babu Source recognized China's valuable support and managed to receive a loan from the Chinese. This helped in the union of Tanganiyika and Zanzibar to form Tanzania. The new president of Tanzania also recognized China's value as a friend instead of supporting the US or the Soviet Union. It was in 1965 that Nyerere and Zhao Enlai met for the first time, as well as an ambassador for China was sent to Dar- es- Salaam. China's greatest achievement in Africa would definitely be the building of the TAZARA railway. The idea for the creation of this railway good

More references to sources needed

¹³ Chinese foreign aid was around five and a half billion RMBs. Li Xiaoyun (China's foreign aid and aid to Africa: overview) http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/27/7/40378067.pdf pg 1

came about as a need for Zambia, a landlocked country, to ship its minerals and goods while avoiding Portuguese territory. It was at this time that Zambia was surrounded by colonial territories still, and having gained its independence it vastly opposed any such territories. Thus Zambia sought for a way to ship its valuable minerals, especially copper out of the country while avoiding these colonial territories. These territories included Angola, Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), as well as Mozambique. So Kaunda the president of Zambia, as well as Nyerere felt that building a railway inbetween their two countries would not only provide an alternate route for Zambia in shipping its goods, but also for each of them to work to bring development to less developed parts of their countries. China had previously in 1964 offered to send money and production crews to Tanzania to help build railways, but later on decided add to that offer by promising aid in creating an international railway. Despite the effects of cultural, economic, and social strife inside the nation; China's government was able to sign a deal with Kaunda president of Zambia for the creation of the railway. So it was that even though China's government may have been sluggish at the time it was still able to negotiate deals with the two African nations for the building railway almost two thousand kilometers in length. Around 15,000 Chinese workers began construction of the railway in 1970, along with an estimated 50,000 African workers. The cooperation was almost shattered when Chinese officials began to use Maoist propaganda, but it eventually ceased and propaganda was held to only passing out 'little red books'. The railway through hard work was actually completed two years ahead of schedule, and was a shining example of Chinese aid in the third world. At the time it was one of the best examples of modern architecture and brought light after the dark times of the Cultural

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Conclusion

China during the Cultural Revolution had experienced large sweeping rages of destruction by an encouraged outraged youth, as well as poorly well off industrial workers. This type of chaos had a great affect on the normal day to day goings on of the Foreign Ministry of China. Where shifting centers of power created an equally shifting foreign policy this created an equally shifting foreign policy. This included Chinese reclaiming of colonial cities, a rapid deterioration in relations with South Eastern Asian countries, Sino-Soviet border clashes, towards progress in relations with other nations including the US, and several African nations. This extreme period in Chinese history has brought up future questions in research. By studying the effects of the Cultural Revolution on foreign affairs it would also be necessary to see some of the long term effects of such an intense moment in history. Particularly a research of how relations with the US developed, as well as with the Soviet Union. Another question that would require research is how the Cultural Revolution influenced the succession of power after the death of Mao Ze Dong. Although this period in history is one of the darkest examples of human nature there were some positive experiences for expanding relations with countries in which China previously without the unbearable circumstances would have ever turned to. So it is necessary to view this time in Chinese History of great tragedy, but in some cases also in great progress.

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Assessment form (for examiner use only)

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Name of first examiner: _ (CAPITAL letters)	Examiner number:
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