

# China's Foreign Policy

The Sino-Soviet Split

"The Great Friendship Picture Exhibition  
Organized by the Tianjin Sino-Soviet Friendship Association"



"Study the Soviet Union's vanguard experience in production.  
Strive to industrialize our motherland."

# Causes of the Sino-Soviet Split

## Border Disputes

- 1919 Russia took over Outer Mongolia
- 1945 Russians stripped Manchuria of \$2 billion worth of industrial resources before returning it to China after liberating it from the Japanese.
- There were a series of border clashes on the Sino-Soviet border in the 60s.
- In 1969 China and the USSR pointed nuclear weapons at each other.
- 1979 USSR invasion of Afghanistan seen by China as an attempt to mass troops on its borders

# Causes of the Sino-Soviet Split

## **Disputes over how to run the Chinese revolution**

- Stalin disagreed with Mao's contention that a proletarian revolution could be peasant-based.
- Stalin had kept telling the CCP to ally with the GMD during the 20s, 30s and 40s, even when it was clear that the GMD wanted to wipe out the CCP, and even when it was clear the CCP were winning. This convinced Mao that Stalin wanted a weak, disunited China
- USSR was critical of the Great Leap Forward and later the Cultural Revolution
- China accused the USSR under Khrushchev of perverting socialism and betraying the revolution by making a détente with the West. Khrushchev and his successors accused Mao of distorting Marxism to make it fit in with China's peasant society.

# Causes of the Sino-Soviet Split

## Personal animosities

- Mao was offended by the superior air adopted by Stalin when Mao visited the USSR in 1950. He also felt the Chinese guests were treated in an offhand, disrespectful manner.
- When Khrushchev visited Mao in 1958 to try to patch things up, Mao arranged for his delegation to be put up in a hotel without air conditioning and held one round of talks in a swimming pool
- After the Albanian incident, Khrushchev abused Mao as an "Asian Hitler" and a "living corpse". Mao called Khrushchev a "redundant old boot".

# Causes of the Sino-Soviet Split

## **Terms of treaty of Friendship Alliance and Mutual Assistance, 1950**

- Soviet Aid was a loan, not a gift, and they charged interest
- China had to take out high interest loans to pay for the 10,000 Soviet Advisors
- China had to pay through the nose for Soviet arms during Korean War

# Causes of the Sino-Soviet Split

## **Khrushchev's de-Stalinization, 1956**

- Khrushchev's criticism of Stalin's "cult of personality" was seen as an oblique criticism of Mao's "cult of personality". (This was one reason for Zhou Enlai's walking out of the 1961 Moscow Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union while Khrushchev was criticizing Albania)
- Mao blamed de-Stalinization for unrest in Eastern Europe.

# Causes of the Sino-Soviet Split

## Khrushchev's Foreign Policy

- Mao disagreed with Khrushchev's policies of "peaceful coexistence" and "different roads to socialism"; Mao wanted to pursue World Revolution. The launch of Sputnik (1957) convinced him the USSR had the power and wasn't using it. Deng and Mao expounded these views at a meeting of international Socialist leaders in 1957, embarrassing the USSR
- Mao criticized Khrushchev for signing the Nuclear Test Ban treaty of 1963 because it was collaboration with capitalists. Khrushchev accused Mao of wanting to see USSR and USA destroy each other leaving China to take over.
- Khrushchev refused to support China when she mobilized against Taiwan in 1958. After this, the USSR withdrew its economic advisers and cancelled commercial contracts.
- Khrushchev supplied India with MIG fighters during the Sino-Indian War of 1962.
- Mao was critical of Khrushchev's handling of the Cuban Missile Crisis.

全世界无产者，联合起来！



打倒美帝！打倒苏修！！

中国革命成功以国际无产阶级革命成功为前提

“Workers of the world unite!  
Smash the US imperialists! Smash the Soviet revisionists!”

# Causes of the Sino-Soviet Split

## USSR's assumption of Leadership of Communism

- 1958 Soviet Ambassador Yudin suggested that China's Navy should be subordinate to the USSR's while negotiating a joint Sino-Soviet Naval programme.
- Since the 1950s Mao was infuriated by Stalin and Khrushchev's insistence that if China wanted Soviet help with its nuclear programme, it must give the USSR a controlling hand in the PRC's defence policy.
- "Brezhnev Doctrine" of the mid 1960s stated that, in order to maintain solidarity among socialist states, all the Eastern European states were to follow the leadership of the USSR. This was the justification for the crushing of the "Prague Spring" in 1968. Mao didn't agree with counter-revolution, but he resented this assertion. Brezhnev organized an International Communist Conference in Moscow in 1969 with the aim of outlawing China, but did not succeed in persuading the other states to do this.

# Causes of the Sino-Soviet Split

**China took every opportunity to embarrass the USSR by supporting socialist countries hostile to it.**

- Zhou Enlai walked out of the 1961 Moscow Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (to which he had been invited as an observer) to protest Khrushchev's criticism of Albania. This led to the severing of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

- When the USSR stole a march on China by getting communist Vietnam into its camp, China “adopted” Cambodia, in spite of the massacres committed by Pol Pot’s regime. When Vietnam invaded Cambodia in 1978 over a border dispute, China invaded Vietnam. The PRC was eventually forced out of Vietnam and Vietnam overthrew Pol Pot in Cambodia, but people in China were not informed of this.

# Causes of the Sino-Soviet Split

## **Nuclear Issue**

- USSR withdrew Nuclear advisors in 1959. China proceeded to piece together their shredded records and build its own nuclear programme.
- Mao's speeches led many to believe he was willing to risk a nuclear war:

“There are 2.7 billion people in the world...I say that, taking the extreme situation, half dies, half lives, but imperialism would be razed to the ground and the whole world would become socialist.” - Mao in 1957

“We are willing to endure the first [U.S. nuclear] strike. All it is is a big pile of people dying.” – Mao in conversation with Khrushchev

# Major Events of the Sino-Soviet Split

**1958 USSR withdraws economic advisers and cancels commercial contracts**

**1960 Soviet Nuclear scientists withdrawn from China (shredding their records)**

**1961** Zhou Enlai walks out of a meeting of the Moscow Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union over the Albanian issue.

**1962** Sino-Indian War (USSR supplies fighters to India)

Cuban Missile Crisis (China critical of USSR)

# Major Events of the Sino-Soviet Split

**1963-75 Vietnam-USA war** (both China and the USSR supply North Vietnam)

**1964 Chinese develop A bomb** (having pieced together shredded Soviet records)

**1967: China develops H Bomb**

**1969:** USSR tries to outlaw China from International Communism

PRC and USSR point nuclear rockets at each other

# Major Events of the Sino-Soviet Split

**1971** Sino-American talks begin

PRC admitted to UN

**1972** US president Nixon visits China

**1975** USSR brings Vietnam into the Soviet “Camp”,  
China “adopts” Cambodia.

**1976** Death of Mao and overthrow of “Gang of Four”  
paves the way for an easing of Sino-Soviet tensions



Premier Zhou Enlai serves dinner to the imperialist president, accompanied by Zhang Chunqiao.

# Major Events of the Sino-Soviet Split

**1978-79** Vietnam successfully invades Cambodia,  
China unsuccessfully invades Vietnam.

**1979** Full diplomatic relations between PRC and USA  
USSR Invades Afghanistan

**1982** Death of Brezhnev paves way for easing of Sino-Soviet tensions

- Supplement these notes by reading Chapters 5 and 6 in Michael Lynch's : The people's republic of China since 1949.
- (you have a packet copy of this book)