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I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Soo-Lyon Yon entitled "Diplomatic Doctrine in the World System: The Case of China (1971-1983)." I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in Political Science.

Robert Peterson, Major Professor

We have read this thesis
and recommend its acceptance:

Accepted for the Council:

Associate Vice Chancellor
and Dean of The Graduate School

DIPLOMATIC DOCTRINE IN THE WORLD SYSTEM

THE CASE OF CHINA (1971-1983)

A Thesis

Presented for the

Master of Arts

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Soo-Lyon Yon

May 1997

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DEDICATION

Der Frühling kommt; es dämmert das neue Grün;
Er aber wandelt hin zu Unsterblichen;
Denn nirgend darf er bleiben, als wo
Ihn in die Arme der Vater aufnimmt.

from "Der Gefesselte Strom"
by Friedrich Hölderlin

This thesis is dedicated to God and my parents.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research is to examine the relationship between doctrine and foreign policy with the case of China (1971-1983). In this research, two major diplomatic doctrines, Mao Tse-Tung's "Anti-hegemonism" and Deng Xiao-Ping's "Practical independent diplomatic doctrine", are compared in the changing world environment. Because past research with the cognitive model approach lacks consideration of the environmental stimulus of the world system and various strategic functions of doctrine for propaganda, disguise and justification through rational calculations, this research explains the various meanings and functions of doctrine as a rational response to the outer world. Therefore, two questions which are related to the relationship between doctrine and the rational actor model are examined in this research: Can doctrine be used as a rational response to the outer world environmental change? What value does it maximize?

To answer these questions, this research examines the position that "the world environment" as the independent variable on the level of world system can have an effect on

the making and changing of "doctrine" as a dependent variable.

Finally, this research suggests the following conclusions: In China, two major doctrines, "anti-hegemonism" and "practical independent diplomatic doctrine", were used for value maximization in Mao and Deng's eras. During Mao's era, the notion of national interest was focused on national security. National interest focused on economic development during Deng's period. Internally, both doctrines tried to integrate the various domestic opinions. Externally, both doctrines tried to gain support from the third world, and to propagate their justification to the outer world.

For this reason, further research on the relationship between foreign policy and doctrine should be complemented by the rational actor model.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Doctrine has important meaning for understanding the foreign policy and decision making process of states and the dynamics of world affairs. Various factors help to explain the nature and function of doctrine and the variables that influence the building of doctrine.

China provides a useful case to examine those factors. First, China tends to attach significant meaning to doctrine, principle, value, ideology, operational code, and the reasonable causes of their actions in their social, cultural, and historical context.[1] Second, the case of China shows specific instances of the effects of doctrines and the world environment. Third, China has issued many official statements which express their positions and doctrines, and explain their diplomatic actions to the outside world.

This research will examine the nature and function of doctrine, and the variables which may have had an effect on

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[1] Dong-Sung Kim, *The Foreign Policy in China* (Bupmoon Sa, 1988), pp.191-194

the making and changing of doctrine in China during the particular period 1971-1983.

From 1971 to 1981, "anti-hegemonism," as an operational code, had a great role in the foreign policy of China. This "anti-hegemonism" came from the period that Mao Tse-tung was the leader of China. After that, Deng Xiao-Ping proclaimed the "practical independent diplomatic doctrine" as an operational code of foreign policy in 1982.

The purpose of this research is to explain the various meanings and functions of doctrine as a rational response to the outer world. The environmental stimulus of the world system and various strategic functions of doctrine for propaganda, disguise and justification will be focused on in this research.

This analysis is also related to the general assumption of realist arguments: the state is a single, rational, and unitary actor. Instead of the "inside out explanation" of past research on the relationship between doctrine and the decision making process, this research will focus on external factors of the decision making process with the notions of balance of power, tension and détente in the world environment.

According to Waltz, only two requirements are needed for balance of power: 1) the order be anarchic and 2) it be

populated by units wishing to survive. He argued that the cause of balance of power does not come from the intention of actors but come from the system automatically.[2]

Because past research lacks consideration of environmental stimulus of world system, this research will emphasize the importance of "the world environment" as the independent variable(X) on the level of world system which can have an effect on the making and changing of "doctrine" as a dependent variable(Y).

To examine this aspect, this research will compare both doctrines of China in the changing world environment with content analysis.

As a result of this analysis, a new framework for better explanation of the relationship between foreign policy and doctrine will be suggested at the end of this research.

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[2] Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (McGraw-Hill, 1979), pp. 102-128.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, general aspects of past research on the relationship between foreign policy of China will be reviewed. Because past research lacks consideration of the environmental stimulus of the world system and various strategic functions of doctrine as a rational response to the outer world, past research cannot fully explain the various causes of making and changing of doctrine. Therefore, as a result of this literature review, essential differences between past research and this research will be discussed in the next chapter.

There are many studies which have tried to explain the foreign policy of China. The major aspect is represented by the studies which have focused on the particular doctrines, strategies and leader's world view of China. J. D. Armstrong used Mao Tse-Tung's "united front," one of the operational codes of China's foreign policy, as a theme of analysis to

examine the degree that ideology as an independent variable has had influence on foreign policy. Armstrong tried to establish the 'framework' which can systematically explain the relationship between ideology and foreign policy by discussing the application of the "united front" doctrine.[3]

King C. Chen examined the world view of modern China, especially "the three worlds" which was a part of Mao Tse-Tung's "anti-hegemonism." He argued that an understanding of the subjective world view of China is required to understand the foreign policy of China.[4]

Merle Goldman and Kenneth Lieberthal studied the relationship between the bargaining and collision of internal organizations and foreign policy of China by analysis of the campaigns and the articles which proclaim the particular doctrine.[5]

The specialists of Stanford University, Thomas Finger, Harry Harding, John Lewis, Victor Li and Douglas Murray explained the linkage between the internal variables and

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[3] J.D. Armstrong, *Revolutionary Diplomacy* (Berkeley, California:University of California Press, 1977)

[4] King C. Chen, *China and the Three Worlds* (White Plains, NY: M.E. Sharp Inc., 1979)

[5] Merle Goldman, "China's Anti-Confucian Campaign, 1973-1974," in *China Quarterly*, No.63 (Sept. 1975), pp. 435-462; Kenneth Lieberthal, "The Foreign Policy Debate in Peking as Seen Through Allegorical Articles, 1973-1976," in *China Quarterly*, No. 71 (Sept. 1977), pp. 528-554.

foreign policy.[6] Although their research is not a 'comprehensive answer' on the foreign policy of China, it can be regarded as a bench mark for special research in this field.

This past research has mainly studied the relationships between the inner-variable such as the value system, ideology, personality, organization structure, small groups and cultural-societal prism in China and foreign policy. Because the foreign policies of China tend to be decided within particular doctrines, and doctrines were regarded as an operational code which was based on a consistent value system and personality, past research has attached great importance to the internal components such as the leader's world view, personality and ideology which might give significant influence to building the doctrine and decision making.

From this point of view, Yaacov Vertzberger argued that an internally consistent belief system encourages decision makers to construct a view of a stable, regularized, and orderly environment in their minds. According to him, it gives them a sense of confidence in their understanding of the world and of unjustified assurance that their policies

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[6] Thomas Finger, ed., *China's Quest for Independence: Policy Evolution in the 1970s* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1980).

are likely to achieve their ends, leaving a much smaller margin for error and surprise than reality demands.[7]

Alexander L. George argued that this kind of cognitive value system includes ideology, world view, beliefs about correct political strategies and tactics, and that this cognitive value system has influence on the decision maker's political behavior patterns.[8] He also noted the reliance upon ideology and general principles as guides to action.[9] According to George, the term "operational code" has been employed in referring to beliefs of this kind held by a particular statesman or policy elite. A leader's "operational code" serves as a prism or filter that influences the actor's perception and diagnosis of political situations and that provides norms and standards to guide and channel his choices of action in specific situations. Therefore, George argued that the function of an operational code system in decision making is to provide the actor with "diagnostic propensities" and "choice propensities."[10]

According to him, this approach to the decision making process reflects the psychological aspects of decision

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[7] Yaacov Y.I. Vertzberger, *The World in Their Mind* , California: Stanford University Press, 1990) pp. 139-141.
[8] Alexander 1. George, *Presidential Decisionmaking in Foreign Policy,* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1980), P. 5.
[9] Ibid. P. 19.
[10] Ibid. p. 45.

makers. Therefore, past research on doctrine in the decision making process has mainly focused on the cognitive model and internal variables such as leader's world view, ideology and personality rather than the rational actor model with calculations for value maximizing within the particular world environment as the independent variables.

Several theoretical questions arise from this literature review.

In his *China and the Three Worlds*, King C. Chen argued that Mao Tse-tung's "anti-hegemonism" had been developed as an operational code which is based on ideology. According to Chen, Mao's "anti-hegemonism" is not a new principle but a variation of existing diplomatic principle. Therefore, from his point of view, the establishment of this anti-hegemonism did not result from the stimulation of the world environment. He also emphasized the importance of the subjective world view of the leader to understand his doctrine.[11]

J. D. Armstrong's research is based on 3 steps: ideology --- doctrine --- foreign policy. His framework for research is only based on ideology as an independent variable.[12]

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[11] King C. Chen, Ibid.
[12] J. D. Armstrong, Ibid.

As pointed out above, the past approaches on doctrine are focused on the leader's cognitive aspects.

From this point of view, "cognitive consistency," one of the mechanisms of the cognitive model, maintains doctrine which includes ideology and principle in foreign policy.[13] Therefore, new information and the world environment which might cause "cognitive dissonance" are easily ignored or distorted by the past approaches.

(1) From this point of view, past research has assumed the internal components as an independent variable(X), and assumed doctrine as a dependent variable(Y).

X ----------→ Y

internal components doctrine

(2) To study the relationship between doctrine and foreign policy, past research has tended to assume the doctrine of a country in foreign policy as an independent

[13] Alexander L. George, Ibid. pp. 19-20.

variable (X) which has an effect on decisions in foreign policy as a dependent variable (Y).

X ----------→ Y

doctrine foreign policy

As pointed out above, these analyses, (1) and (2), are well combined in J.D. Armstrong's three steps: ideology --- doctrine --- foreign policy.

(1) (2)

A ----------→ B ----------→ c

Ideology Doctrine Foreign Policy

Moreover, Walter Carlsnaes's research on the relationship between cognitive notions and doctrine reflects the major tendency of the past research. Here is his framework in <figure 1>.*

* All figures can be found in the Appendix B.

According to Carlsnaes,

> It (figure 1) represents the following two fundamental methodological claims: (1) that we should regard all the various *doctrinal* aspects of foreign policies as intentional in nature and hence as teleological in thrust; while (2) all psychological-cognitive notions such as *belief systems* should be viewed as dispositional factors and hence as causal in relation to both doctrines in particular and foreign policy actions in general.[14]

By distinguishing two dimensions (the intentional dimension and the dispositional dimension), this explanation is much more sophisticated than J. D. Armstrong's framework for research. However, this explanation is basically similar to Armstrong's 3 steps.

Therefore, in the studies of doctrine, past research on the effect of world system as an independent variable is relatively rarer than type (1) and (2) analysis.[15] Dong-sung Kim has argued that the past research has provided "incomplete answers" to the study of China's foreign policy.

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[14] Walter Carlsnaes, *Ideology and Foreign Policy: Problems of Comparative Conceptualization* (New York, NY: Basil Blackwell Inc., 1986), pp. 103-104.

He has also said that past research tended to emphasize the world view, and ideology which advocates pursuing consistent principles of the communist party.[16]

In these kinds of past research, the level of analysis can be focused on the level of the individual, the level of the role, the level of the government and the level of the society among the five levels which are distinguished by Rosenau.[17]

Indeed, doctrine is the significant independent variable which brings together ideology, culture, and the leader's personality. Therefore, the above research with the existing decision making model which is represented as the cognitive model can fully explain those factors.

However, these applications of this model lack consideration of the environmental stimulus of the world system. Moreover, the past research which reflected the cognitive aspects of the leaders underestimated the various roles of doctrine.

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[15] Dong-Sung Kim, Ibid. pp. 17-21.
[16] Kim, Ibid. p. 19.
[17] The five levels are the level of the individual, the level of the role, the level of the government, the level of the society and the level of the world system.
James N. Rosenau, "Pre-theories and Theories of Foreign Policy," in R. Barry Farrel, ed., *Approaches to Comparative and International Politics* (1966), pp. 27-92.

Generally, most countries act by giving consideration to national security and national interest. From this point of view, decision makers can use doctrine as a justification for their past decisions and to hide their true goals which are concerned with their national interest. For this reason, doctrine 'as a creator of justification' can be a useful tool which integrates the various inner opinions and propagates their justification to the outside world. This attitude is conspicuous in some countries, such as China, which tends to attach great importance to their values, ideologies, and reasonable causes of their actions within their social, cultural and historical contexts.

For these reasons, in the relationship between doctrine and foreign policy, doctrine should be considered not only as an independent variable(X) but also as a dependent variable (Y) which can justify past actions or be changed to cope with new circumstances. In this research, the level of world environment has a significant meaning as a level of analysis.

CHAPTER III

DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH QUESTIONS, VARIABLES, DEFINITIONS AND DATA

The purpose of this chapter is to develop research questions through the discussion of previous studies. Moreover, both the independent variables(X) and the dependent variables(Y), definitions of China's two major doctrines, "anti-hegemonism" and "practical independent diplomatic doctrine", and the various data sources for content analysis will be presented in this chapter.

In the cognitive model, "consistency striving" can distort information and hamper rational calculation and choice. The information can be ignored or selected, interpreted or reorganized to fit leader's world view and ideology.[18]

[18] George, Ibid. P. 20.

Dong-Sung Kim said that much information is ignored by decision makers of China when that information does not fit their world view.[19] In this cognitive approach, doctrine as a principle or operational code has useful functions which reduce value complexity and uncertainty and make the decision making process stable. On the other hand, doctrine also has bad functions which limit flexibility in decision making process and hamper rational choice by distorting information.

However, doctrine should be also considered as a strategy which is produced by rational calculation. According to Allison, the concept of "rationality" is formalized by economics, decision making theory, and game theory as well as the less structured notion that underlies our everyday assumptions of human purposiveness both in individual behavior and international foreign policy.[20] He also argues that rationality refers to consistent, value maximizing choice within specified constraints. Therefore, "rational behavior" is motivated by a conscious calculation of advantages, and this calculation is based on an explicit and internally consistent value system.[21] In this model, it is also important that each nation's best choice depends on

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[19] Kim, Ibid.
[20] Allison, *Essence of Decision:Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis(*Harper Collins Publishers,*1971)*, p. 30
[21] Ibid. p. 13.

what it expects the other to do. Strategic behavior influences an actor's choice by working on his expectations of how his behavior is related to his adversary's. For this reason, the behaviors of the outer world are important to a nation's decision making. In the rational actor model, it is rational choice or maximization of the expected utility that explains which alternative the decision makers choose.

The case of China provides answers to questions which are related to the relationship between doctrine and the rational actor model: Can doctrine be used as a rational response to the outer world environmental change? What value does it maximize?

In China, two major doctrines, Mao's "anti-hegemonism" and Deng's "practical independent diplomatic doctrine", were used for value maximization in Mao and Deng's eras. During Mao's era, the notion of national interest was focused on national security. National interest focused on economic development during Deng's period. Internally, both doctrines tried to integrate the various inner opinions. Externally, both doctrines tried to gain support from the third world, and to propagate their justifications to the outer world.

As a rational strategy, doctrine can perform these functions; disguise, propaganda and justification. Therefore, research on the relationship between foreign policy and doctrine should be complemented by the rational

actor model. From this point of view, the analysis by the rational actor model can focus on creating and changing of doctrine rather than maintaining doctrine which makes decision making process stable by the "consistency striving" mechanism of the cognitive model.

In the relationship between doctrine and foreign policy, this research will examine the position that "the world environment" as the independent variable on the level of world system that can have an effect on the making and changing of "doctrine" as a dependent variable.

(3) X ----------→ Y

world environment doctrine

To examine that relationship, this research will focus on the interpretation of doctrines and change of doctrines as rational response to environmental change.

As a result of the literature review and development of research questions, the essential differnces between past research and this research can be summarized in the <Table>.*

From this point of view, this research will be based on the comparison of Mao Tse-Tung's "anti-hegemonism"

* This table can be found in the Appendix A.

doctrine and Deng Xiao-Ping's "practical independent diplomatic doctrine" in the changing world environment during the period 1971-1983.

The following aspects of doctrine of China's foreign policy will be examined in this research:

1. THE WORLD ENVIRONMENT HAD AN EFFECT ON THE MAKING OF MAO TSE-TUNG'S "ANTI-HEGEMONISM"

2. THE WORLD ENVIRONMENT HAD AN EFFECT ON THE CHANGING MAO TSE-TUNG'S "ANTI-HEGEMONISM" TO DENG XIAO-PING'S "PRACTICAL INDEPENDENT DIPLOMATIC DOCTRINE"

In this research, both the independent variable(X) and the dependent variable(Y), definitions of China's two major doctrines, "anti-Hegemonism" and "practical independent diplomatic doctrine", and the various data sources for content analysis will be presented in the following:

The independent variable (X) of this research is the distribution of power in the world environment. This world environment can be distinguished by 4 basic static environments and 12 dynamic environments in the <figure 2>.

The general world environment (A) can be described as a balanced situation and an unbalanced situation relative to the "status quo." The relationship between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. (B) is also considered as an independent variable with the notion of tension and détente because the major diplomatic targets of China's foreign policy were both superpowers.

These variables can be simplified in the following <figure 3>.

The dependent variable (Y) of this research is doctrine as an operational code of foreign policy. There are two major doctrines from 1971 to 1983: "anti-hegemonism" and "practical independent diplomatic doctrine".

The definitions and contents of both doctrines need to be explained to clarify the focus of the analysis.

Dong-Sung Kim said that both "anti-hegemonism" and "practical independent diplomatic doctrine" were used as "operational codes" in the foreign policy of China.[22]

To build an operational code, there had been the establishment of the official definition of "anti-

hegemonism" as a doctrine from January 23rd, 1971.[23] At this point, the term of "hegemony" was used as a synonym of "dominion." According to the Daily Summary of the Japanese Press, the term, "hegemony" in China means expanding economical, political and military power and exercising control between two superpowers.[24] Therefore, "anti-hegemonism" reflects the positions of China against expanding dominion of two superpowers: the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R..

The content of "practical independent diplomatic doctrine" is summarized by Mu Youlin, editor of the Beijing Review, in 1984. He argued that the basic principles formed by Mao Tse-tung have been followed and developed, resulting in the unique style of China's foreign policy. According to him, Deng Xiao-Ping's "practical independent diplomatic doctrine" includes five major points. First, China will never attach itself to any big power or bloc of countries, nor will it succumb to pressure from any big nation. Second, China wishes to develop relations with all countries on the basis of the five "Principles of Peaceful Coexistence." Third, one of most important points of China's foreign policy is to oppose hegemony. Fourth, an important aspect of

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[22] Dong-Sung Kim, Ibid. p. 14, p. 45.
[23] "Renmin Ribao", (Jan. 23, 1971) in *Peking Review,* No. 5, (Jan. 29, 1971)
[24] *Daily Summary of the Japanese Press*,(May 7, 1975),P. 5.

"practical independent diplomatic doctrine" is to strengthen unity with other third world countries. Fifth, the policy of opening to the rest of the world is a basic component. With the gradual development of China's modernization program, economic, scientific, technological and cultural contacts with other countries will also be developed.[25]

Among these major points, the fifth aspect is the most important characteristic of "practical independent diplomatic doctrine" because Deng Xiao-Ping's doctrine is based on emphasizing a peaceful environment and economic cooperation for the successful accomplishment of the modernization program.[26]

As mentioned above, China has issued many official statements which express their diplomatic actions to the outer world. According to Barnett, official statements and publications from influential Chinese press such as the *People's Daily (Renmin Ribao)* play important roles in China's foreign policy. Moreover, the *People's Daily* takes a role of a special agency which represents China's positions to the outer world.[27]

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[25] *Beijing review,* Nos. 5-6. (Jan. 30, 1984), P. 4-5.
[26] "Deng's Speech in the Twelfth National Congress on the Communist Party of China" in *Renmin Ribao,* (Sept. 8, 1982)
[27] Barnett, *The Making of Foreign Policy in China,* (West View Press, 1985) PP.111-119.

Therefore, for content analysis, the data of this research are based on the official statements, constitutions, government publications, Mao and Deng's addresses, major articles of the organ paper of communist party, and the Beijing Review which provides English translation of *People's Daily*.

CHAPTER IV

PROCESS, COMPARISON AND MECHANISM

In this chapter, the process of establishing "anti-hegenomism" and "practical independent diplomatic doctrine," the relationship between the outer circumstances and both doctrines, and the functions of doctrines as rational responses to the outer world will be discussed with content analysis. The fact that both doctrines were used as rational responses to the outer world will be examined in this part. To examine this, four major aspects of doctrine and world environment can be suggested: 1) the process of establishing doctrine, 2) the world environment around China, 3) the world environment based on the relationship between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., and 4) the goals of doctrine. As a result of this analysis, a new framework for the explanation of the relationship between foreign policy and doctrine will be suggested at the end of this chapter.

1. Anti-Hegemonism

Process of Establishing Doctrine

As pointed out above, there was a process of establishing the official definition of "anti-hegemonism" as a doctrine from January 23, 1971. After that, "anti-hegemonism" became a main term of official statements which expressed the positions of China to the outer world. This doctrine was ideologically justified by Lenin's remark quoted by Chou En-Lai at the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China on August 28, 1973.

> Lenin said that "an essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between several Great Powers in the striving for hegemony." Today, it is mainly the two nuclear superpowers- the U.S. and the U.S.S.R..[28]

This "anti-hegemonism" was elucidated as the most important part of the foreign policy of China in the Constitution of the Communist Party of China by the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1973.

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[28] *Peking Review*, Nos. 35-36 (Sept. 7, 1973), p.22.

> The Communist Party of China upholds proletarian internationalism and opposes great-power chauvinism. It fights together with the people and nations of the whole world to oppose the hegemonism of the two superpowers- the United states and the Soviet Union.[29]

Deng Xiao-Ping's address on anti-hegemonism in the U.N.(April 1974) has significant meaning as a proclamation of the position of China to the outer world. Moreover, Mao's "Three World Theory" was also delivered by Deng at that time. According to him, the world environment is chaotic and there is no harmony as far as there is hegemonism of two superpowers as the First World. He argued that this hegemonism had also aroused strong dissatisfaction among the developed countries of the Second World and serious political and economic crises among developing countries of the Third World.

> More and more, the old order based on colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism is being undermined and shaken to its (international situation) foundations. International relations are changing drastically. The whole world is in turbulence and unrest. The situation

is one of "great disorder under heaven," as we Chinese put it. This "disorder" is a manifestation of the sharpening of all the basic contradictions in the contemporary world....The two superpowers are the biggest international exploiters and oppressors of today...So long as imperialism and social imperialism exist, there definitely will be no tranquillity in the world, nor will there be "lasting peace."[30]

In 1975, the preamble of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China indicated the importance of "anti-hegemonism." The importance of "anti-hegemonism" was also emphasized in the New Constitution of the People's Republic of China in February 1978.

Therefore, the establishment of the official definition of "anti-hegemonism" as the operational code of the foreign policy can be summarized by major official statements in the following:

1971 editorial of "Renmin Ribao" (the organ paper of the Communist Party)

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[29] *Peking Review,* Nos. 35-36 (Sept. 7, 1973), p.26.
[30] *Peking Review* , supplement to No. 15,(April 12, 1974), pp.1-5.

1973 Constitution of the Communist Party of China

1974 Deng's U.N. address

1975 Constitution of the People's republic of China

1978 New Constitution of the People's Republic of China

World Environment around China

The world environment around China as an independent variable which has an effect on establishing doctrine, "anti-hegemonism" can be described as follows:

In the late 1960s, the world environment around China was very unstable and complicated. In this state of flux, the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the U.S.S.R. in 1968 and the conflict over the national border between China and the U.S.S.R. in 1969 convinced China that the expanding power of the U.S.S.R. was very dangerous. This situation gave a sense of crisis to China.

The Peking Review on September 7, 1973 which was based on Mao's statement of May 20, 1970 suggests the major positions of China at that time.

> The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared... It will be possible to prevent such a war, so long as the peoples, who are becoming more and more awakened, keep the orientation clearly in sight, heighten their vigilance, strengthen unity and preserve in struggle... We should be fully prepared against any war of aggression that imperialism may launch and particularly against surprise attack on our country by Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. Our heroic people's Liberation Army and our vast militia must be prepared at all times to wipe out any enemy that may invade.[31]

The position of China on the world environment around China in late 60s and early 70s was well expressed in the U.N. in 1972. According to chairman of the Chinese Delegation, Chiao Kuan-Hua's address in the U.N., the world environment around China was made unstable by the expanding hegemony of the superpowers.[32] Hua Chih-Hai, the theorist of China, predicted that these tensions would increase and the competition for hegemony would cause extensive disruption

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[31] *Peking Review,* Nos. 35-36 (Sept. 7, 1973), pp.23-24

[32] *Peking Review*, Nos. 41 (Oct. 13, 1972), pp.4-9.

and disorder in the world in 1972.[33] According to an editorial of the *Peking Review*, "the U.S.- Soviet contention for hegemony is the cause of world intranquillity".[34] Chou En-Lai expressed the same position on the world environment in the Tenth National Congress of the Communist party of China on August 28, 1973.

> The present international situation is one characterized by great disorder on the earth. "The wind sweeping through the tower heralds a rising storm in the mountains." This aptly depicts how the basic world contradictions as analyzed by Lenin show themselves today. Relaxation is temporary and superficial phenomenon, and great disorder will continue.[35]

World Environment based on the Relationship between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

However, in the relationship between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., the talks promoting a better relationship started

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[33] Hua Chih-Hai, "Understanding the World Situation by Studying Geography," in *Peking Review*, No. 48 (December 1, 1972),pp. 5-7.

[34] *Peking Review*, Nos. 35-36,(Sept. 7, 1973), p. 22

in 1970. In March 1970, there was the conference between two superpowers on the status of Berlin. After that, the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) between two superpowers were held in Vienna and Helsinki. Both superpowers approached *détente*.[36] This détente was made official by Breznev in the 24th Communist Congress in April 1971. He emphasized the importance of the improved relationship between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.. Therefore, the movements between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. during that period, 1969 and 1970, gave advance notice of their future cooperation for balance of power in the world.

China worried that this détente might create the long term isolation of China from the outer world by the collusion of both superpowers.[37]

The *Peking Review* on September 7, 1973 suggests China's position on the relationship between both superpowers.

> Today, it is mainly the two nuclear superpowers- the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.- that are contending for hegemony. <u>While hawking disarmament, they are actually</u>

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[35] Chou En-Lai, 'On the Situation and Our Tasks" in *Peking Review*, Nos. 35-36 (Sept. 7, 1973), pp.22-24.
[36] John G.Stoessinger, *Nations in Darkness:China, Russia & America* (New York: Random House, 1975), pp. 179-180.
[37] Kim, Ibid. p. 72.

expanding their armaments every day. Their purpose is to contend for world hegemony. They contend as well as collude with each other. Their Collusion serves the purpose of more intensified contention... It has met with strong resistance from the Third World.[38]

Therefore, China felt the need for a new doctrine which opposed the superpowers and emphasized the support and unification of the third world. Deng's address in the U.N.(April 1974) clearly suggests China's positions on both superpowers and the third world.

> Every day, they (both superpowers) talk about "détente" but are actually creating tension...(Therefore) there will be no "lasting peace."... It is not the one or two superpowers that are really powerful; the really powerful are the Third World and the people of all countries uniting together and daring to fight and daring to win.[39]

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[38] *Peking Review,* Nos. 35-36 (Sep. 7, 1973), pp. 22-23.
[39] *Peking Review,* supplement to No. 15 (April 12, 1974) pp.1-5.

Goals of Doctrine

As mentioned above, the world environment around China can be characterized as an unbalanced situation. On the other hand, world environment based on the relationship between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. can be characterized as détente. For this reason, the world environment as independent variable(X) can be generally described as unbalance oriented tension reduction. In this situation, China tried to keep a symmetrical relationship with the outer world by challenging both superpowers and emphasizing the support and unification of the third world. Therefore, China wanted a new strategy for the two major goals: (1) interception of expanding power of the U.S.S.R. and (2) enhancement of their status in the third world.[40] For these goals, "anti-hegemonism" was suggested as a useful means which satisfies the need for new diplomatic principle. Moreover, it could be ideologically justified by Lenin's remark on hegemonism. Mao's "third world theory" was also used to reinforce anti-hegemonism.

This doctrine, "anti-hegemonism" was mainly focused on keeping security in Mao's era.

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[40] Dong-Sung Kim, Ibid. p. 73.

2. Practical Independent Diplomatic Doctrine

Process of Establishing Doctrine

The establishment of Deng Xiao-Ping's "practical independent diplomatic doctrine" as an official diplomatic principle was proclaimed on September first, 1982.[41] This doctrine was also made official in Constitution of the People's Republic of China.

> The basic task of the nation in the years to come is to concentrate its effort on socialist modernization ... China adheres to an independent foreign policy as well as to the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence in developing diplomatic relations and economic and cultural exchanges with other countries.[42]

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[41] "Deng's Speech in the Twelfth National Congress on the Communist Party of China" in *Renmin Ribao,* (Sept. 8, 1982)

[42] *Beijing Review*, No. 52 (Dec. 27, 1982), pp. 10-11.

Dong-Sung Kim said that the implication that this "practical independent diplomatic doctrine" as a modification of existing principle will replace "anti-hegemonism" is found in that constitution.[43] One of the significant facts in the new constitution is that the terms, "social imperialism" and "revisionism" as the key words of attack against the U.S.S.R. were eliminated. This fact is relevant to a remark made by Seo Shin, vice president of "the research institute of strategy" in Beijing, that an all out attack from the U.S.S.R. is impossible.[44]

World Environment around China

The world Environment around China as an independent variable which has an effect on establishing doctrine, "practical independent diplomatic doctrine" can be described as follows:

Through the normalization of the diplomatic relationship between China and the U.S. in 1979, China was confident about national security because of their anti-

[43] Dong-Sung Kim, Ibid. p. 231.
[44] Jonathan D. Pollack, *The Sino-Soviet Rivalry and Chinese Security Debate* (Santa Monica, CA:Rand), R-2907-AF, p. 35.

U.S.S.R. strategy of cooperation with the U.S. and Japan.[45] Moreover, the U.S.S.R. did not take military actions in response to the invasion of Vietnam because of apprehensions about the cooperation among the three countries. Concerning the invasion of Afghanistan, China did not directly react but made an indirect response because they thought that China was not the focus of interest of the U.S.S.R. any longer, and that invasion was not a dangerous sign for China.[46]

Leonid I. Breznev admitted China as a socialist state and argued the importance of improvement of the relationship in the Tashkent Declaration on March 24th, 1982.

In this situation, China did not want to irritate the U.S.S.R. by the term "social-imperialism" and "revisionism." Therefore, these terms were eliminated in the official statements of China.

The possibility of war with the U.S.S.R. was ignored in the position of China.[47] This position became obvious by the fact that the U.S.S.R. did not take military actions when China attacked Vietnam in 1979. Moreover, the invasion of Afghanistan by the U.S.S.R. was not interpreted as a danger to China in 1980. Mu In said that the provocation of war

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[45] Kim, Ibid. p.351.

[46] *The Guardia* (Sept. 21, 1980), pp.17-18, and *Beijing Review,* No. 20 (1981).

[47] Jonathan D. Pollack, Ibid. p. 35.

from the U.S.S.R. will be controlled by the balance of nuclear weapons in *the World Information* on January 16, 1981.[48] The decision makers of China took this world environment as a more stable situation than Mao's era and felt the need for more stable and peaceful environment for the successful achievement of the modernization program. According to Dong-Sung Kim, Deng was satisfied by the existing cooperation with the U.S.A., Japan and China until 1981.[49] On this basis, Deng wanted to pursue reconciliation with the U.S.S.R. to eliminate insecurity and maintain a peaceful environment.

World Environment based on the relationship between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

However, the invasion of Afghanistan by the U.S.S.R. in 1979 increased tension between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.. Moreover, Reagan's new government of the U.S. took a hard-line attitude against the U.S.S.R. and China from 1981. This situation caused the "new cold war" era between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.. In this situation with increased tension, China realized that the former doctrine, "anti-hegemonism"

[48] *World Information* No.2, (Jan. 6, 1981), p.15.

was unfit to this new world environment. Therefore, China felt the need for new strategy to keep a good relationship with the U.S., and approached both superpowers with equidistant diplomacy to maintain stability which enables economic development through the modernization program.

Goals of Doctrine

As mentioned above, the world environment around China can be characterized as a balanced situation. On the other hand, the world environment based on the relationship between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. can be characterized as increased tension. For this reason, the world environment as independent variable(X) can be generally described as balance oriented tension increase.

In this situation, the "practical independent diplomatic doctrine" was officially established for the two major goals: (1) building up the peaceful environment and, (2) the successful achievement of the modernization program for economic development.

To gain economical and technical support from Japan and the U.S., and to pursue reconciliation with the U.S.S.R., China wanted to keep the symmetrical relationship with both

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[49] Kim, Ibid. p. 248.

super powers. For those purposes, Deng's "practical independent diplomatic doctrine" was used as a useful means in China's foreign policy.

This doctrine, "practical independent diplomatic doctrine" was mainly focused on the economic development in Deng's era.

3. The Relationship between the World Environment and Doctrine

In terms of the above explanation, the relationship between the world environment and doctrine can be illustrated in the following <Figure 4>.

In the late 1960s, when the relationship between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. approached détente, the remarks or official statements which express doctrine, "anti-hegemonism', were tough and resolute. Some expressions, such as "defeat to the U.S. imperialism, social imperialism, and revisionism"[50] were very aggressive to both superpowers. In the conflict over the national border between China and the

U.S.S.R., China recognized that the environment around China was unstable. Because China worried that détente might create the long term isolation of China from the outer world by the collusion of the superpowers, China tried to overcome this situation by taking a hard line which is effective for the interception of expanding power of the superpowers and the enhancement of their status in the third world.

On the other hand, in the early 1980s, when the relationship between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. was in a high state of tension, China did not want to stimulate both superpowers. Therefore, China stopped using the terms "imperialism" and "revisionism," and approached both superpowers by equidistant diplomacy and an appeasement policy for maintaining peaceful environment which was required to achieve their modernization program.

In China, personality was not a significant variable which had an effect on the making and changing doctrine, because Deng Xiao-Ping emphasized the importance of the existing "anti-hegemonism" of Mao and reinforced the application of that doctrine in the early period of his reign. However, he changed doctrine when it appeared that the existing doctrine which took a tough line to both

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[50] in the 12th Plenum of Eighth C.C. of the C.P.C. (August, 22, 1968)

superpowers did not fit the new world environment around China and the new relationship between superpowers.

Moreover, ideology was also not important to establishing doctrine in China. This is proved by Deng's U.N. address in April 1974. He said that the "communist camp" does not exist anymore. According to Deng, there are the three worlds: two superpowers, Europe as the second world and the third world countries as a main force which fights hegemonism of two superpowers.[51] During the conflict over the national border between China and the U.S.S.R., China criticized the U.S.S.R. with the term "revisionism" until the early 1980s. However, China was also criticized with the same term by the U.S.S.R. at the same time. Therefore, in their anti-U.S.S.R. campaign, ideological propaganda was not an effective means. Moreover, after peaceful change of the relationship between China and the U.S.S.R., this ideologically aggressive term "revisionism" was eliminated from official remarks and statements of China.

In this case, ideology had a function of justification which supports the doctrine and decision for the quest of national interest rather than a purpose in itself. In fact, Lenin's remark on hegemonism was used as an effective means

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[51] *Peking Review,* Supplement to No.15 (April 12, 1974), pp.1-5.

to provide an ideological basis to Mao's "anti-hegemonism" doctrine and his position against the two superpowers.

Both doctrines are based on the realistic view of China in decision making on foreign policy. They also have a function, the justification of decision makers' rational choices. For both doctrines, as the rational and practical strategies of China, it was required to adjust to the balance and unbalance, tension and détente of world environment as the significant variables. For this reason, the past research on China's foreign policy and doctrine with the cognitive model approach has to be complemented with the rational model approach to explain the various functions and meanings of doctrine.

As a result of the above analysis, a new framework for the explanation of the relationship between foreign policy and doctrine can be suggested in the following <figure 5>.

In this new framework, the world environment can be considered as one of the significant variables which have an effect on the making and changing of doctrine. This fact can be well explained by the case of China. Moreover, in this framework, former foreign policy actions can have an effect on doctrine, because doctrine is a useful means for justifying a decision maker's former actions with rational calculations. This justification can be used to integrate

the various inner opinions, to propagate their former decisions, and to gain support from the outer world.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

As Chou En-Lai admitted the importance of national interest in foreign policy,[52] the foreign policy of China has been based on the continuous process of a quest for its own national interest. Two major doctrines, "anti-hegemonism" and "practical independent diplomatic doctrine," were used for value maximization in Mao and Deng's eras. This notion of national interest was focused on national security during Mao's period. On the other hand, that notion was focused on economic development during Deng's period. Internally, both doctrines tried to integrate the various inner opinions. Externally, both doctrines tried to gain support from the third world, and to propagate their justification to the outer world. Therefore, both leaders used their doctrines as the tools to achieve their diplomatic goals. For these reasons, doctrines of China were not only the reflections of the leader's world view, ideology and personality by "consistency striving" for

reduction of value complexity in the cognitive model but also adaptations to the changing environment as rational strategies for national interest. From this perspective, the functions of doctrine as the hidden strategies for disguise, propaganda, justification have significant meanings in China.

Therefore, the research on China's foreign policy and doctrine with the cognitive model approach has to be complemented with the rational actor model approach to explain the various functions of doctrine in foreign policy.

The new framework which is suggested in this research can be applicable not only to the case of China but also to the cases of the rest of the countries in the world.

For these reasons, extended future research which examines the various functions, meanings, and interpretations of doctrine is required to understand the complexity of the world affairs.

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[52] *Peking Review*, No. 16 (June 11, 1971) p. 15.

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(Sept. 8, 1982)

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

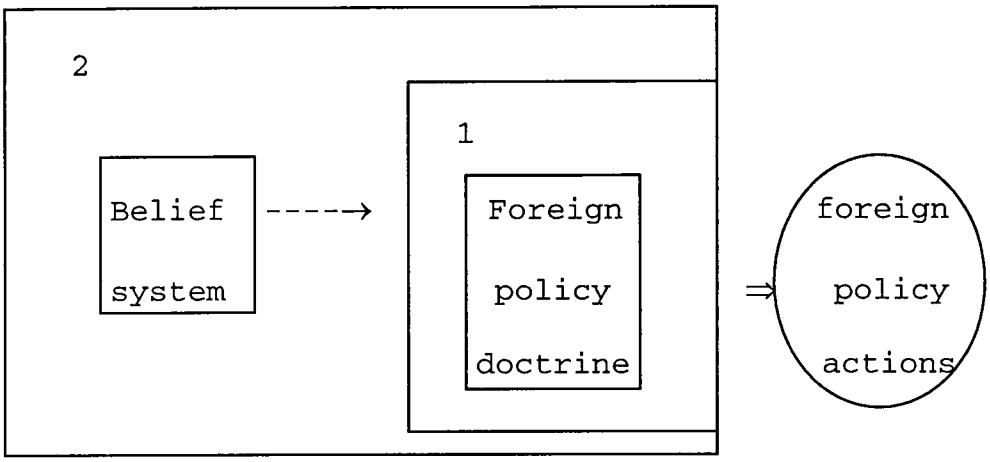
TABLE

<Table> The Differences between Past Research and This Research

	past research	this research
doctrine as a variable	X	Y
type of analysis	type 1, 2 internal factors --- doctrine --- foreign policy	type 3 world environment --- doctrine
decision making model	(Mostly) cognitive model	the rational actor model
level of analysis	the level of the individual the level of the role the level of the government the level of the society	the level of the world system
variables of analysis	the internal factors	the external factors
major aspects of doctrine	ideology value system/world view personality	propaganda justification disguise
focus of research	1. distortion by cognitive consistency 2. maintaining doctrine	1. rational calculation/choice 2. creating/changing doctrine

APPENDIX B

FIGURES



<Figure 1> Explanation in terms of Beliefs and Doctrines.

1= intentional dimension

2= dispositional dimension

⇒ teleological relationship

--→ causal relationship

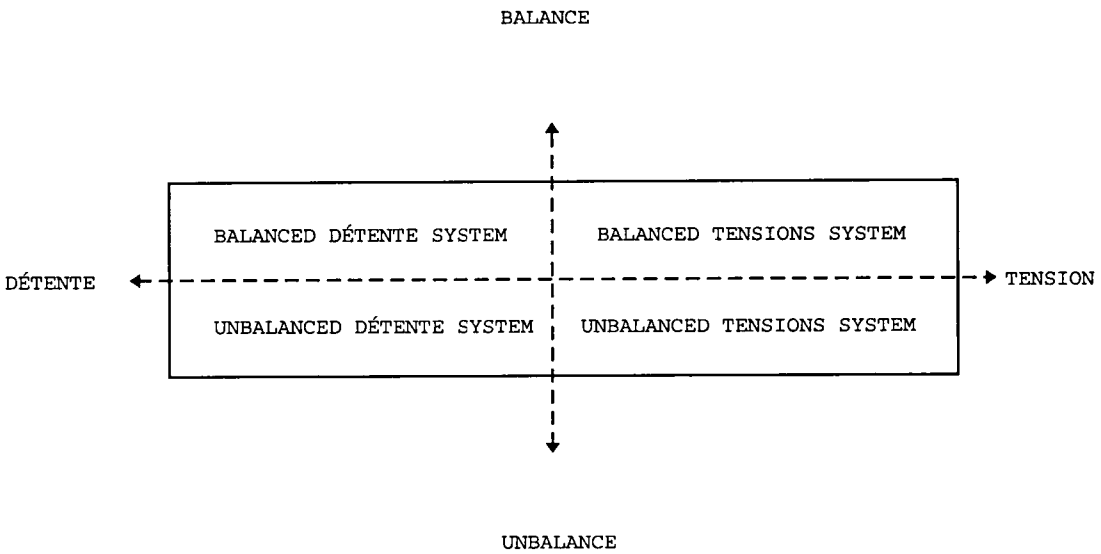
(Source: Walter Carlsnaes, *Ideology and Foreign Policy*, New York, Basil Blackwell Inc., 1986)

A / B	EQUILIBRIA	EQUILIBRIA-UNBALANCE	UNBALANCE	UNBALANCE - EQUILIBRIA
TENSION	BALANCED TENSION	UNBALANCE ORIENTED TENSION	UNBALANCED TENSION	BALANCE ORIENTED TENSION
TENSION - DÉTENTE	BALANCED TENSION REDUCTION	UNBALANCE ORIENTED TENSION REDUCTION	UNBALANCED TENSION REDUCTION	BALANCE ORIENTED TENSION REDUCTION
DÉTENTE	BALANCED DÉTENTE	UNBALANCE ORIENTED DÉTENTE	UNBALANCED DÉTENTE	BALANCE ORIENTED DETENTE
DÉTENTE - TENSION	BALANCED TENSION INCREASE	UNBALANCE ORIENTED TENSION INCREASE	UNBALANCED TENSION INCREASE	BALANCE ORIENTED TENSION INCREASE

<Figure 2> World Environment as Independent Variables (X)

A: World Environment around China

B: World Environment based on the relationship between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

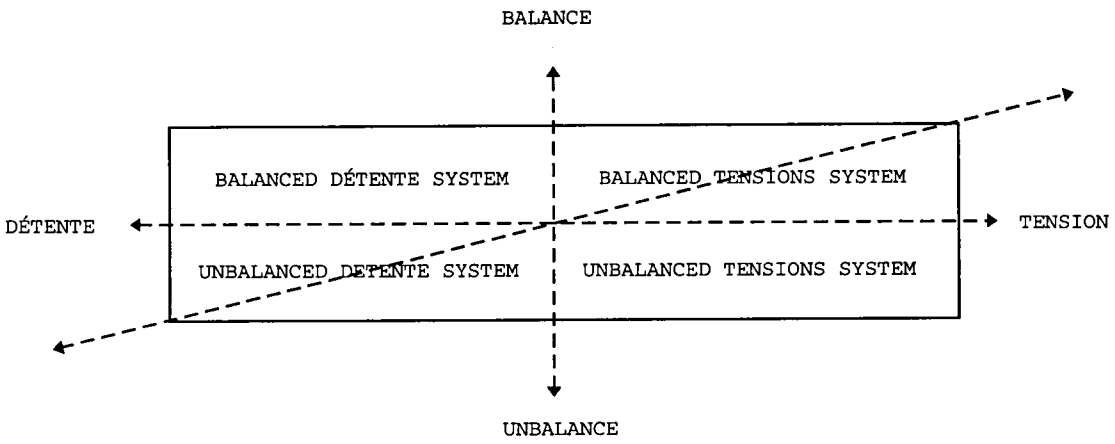


<Figure 3> World Environment

in the early 1980s Deng's period

practical independent diplomatic doctrine

(focused on the economic progress)

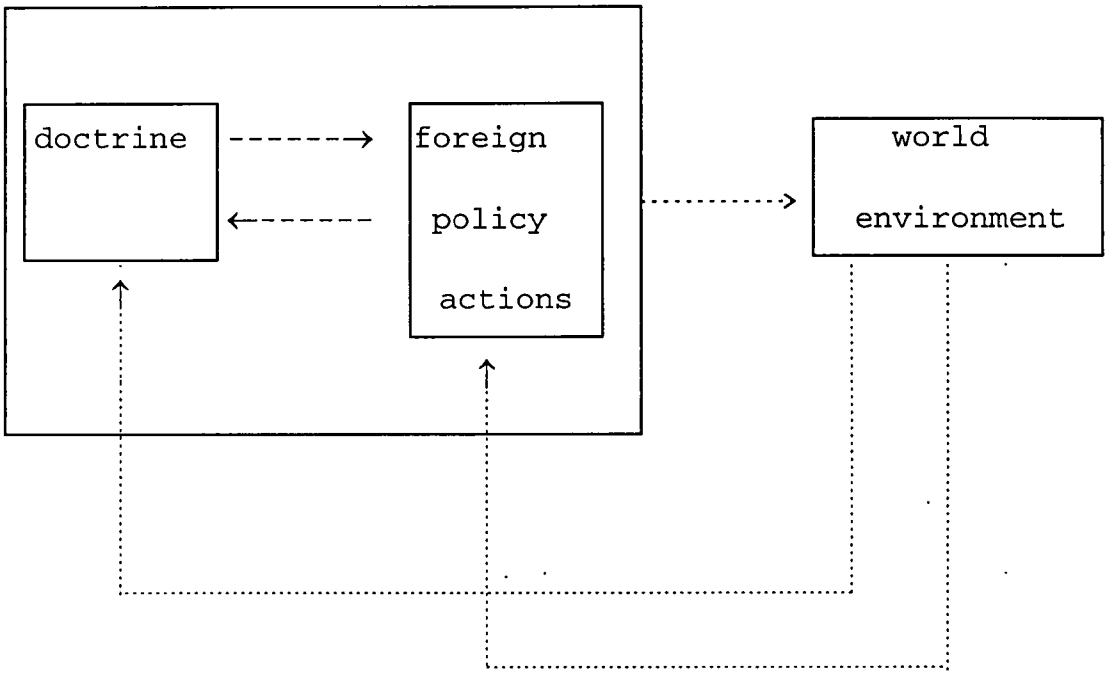


in the late 1960s Mao's period

anti-hegemonism

(focused on the security)

<Figure 4> The Relationship Between the World Environment and Doctrines



<Figure 5> A New Framework for Explanation of the Relationship between Foreign Policy and Doctrine

VITA

Born in Seoul, on August 21, 1971, Soo-Lyon Yon was raised and received her undergraduate education there. Since her childhood, she has been interested in political affairs, influenced by her father, a journalist. She entered Hankuk University of Foreign Studies in March of 1991, choosing English as her undergraduate major in order to get basic understanding of American and British societies. Political Science was her minor during her undergraduate years. She received the Bachelor of Arts in English in February, 1995. She entered the Master's program in Political Science at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville in August of 1995. The degree of Master of Arts was received in May, 1997.

Yon's next research subject is "Long Cycles and Polarity in the World System."