

Zhou Enlai's Impact to the Foreign Policy of China

Nazira B. Boldurukova

Abstract—The main aim of this article is to give the information about life and social and diplomatic work of Zhou Enlai, to prove his identity in his impact to the history of the world; to show his place in the organization of internal and foreign policy and in the peaceful international relationships of China with other countries.

Keywords—China, foreign policy of China, identity, politician, diplomacy, Zhou Enlai.

I. INTRODUCTION

NOWADAYS the investigation of Zhou Enlai's (周恩来) life and his diplomatic work became an interesting theme for the historians and political experts of not only China, but also of other countries as well. Zhou Enlai passed away 40 years ago, but he will be in the memory of the Chinese people forever. His works are being published again, there are many articles devoted to his life and work, many films are being shot and museums are being opened. This shows that the Chinese people are getting more interested in his life and work. Zhou Enlai was one of the famous diplomats of China.

II. DIPLOMATIC COMPETENCE OF ZHOU ENLAI

Due to Zhou Enlai, the Chinese diplomacy had high achievements. His diplomatic talents were seen during the conference of the ministers of five big countries in Geneva from 26th April to 21st July, 1954. During this conference the Republic of China and The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics accepted the request of Vietnam Democratic Republic about the independence of Laos and Cambodia. After the conference in Geneva the condition of Vietnam became stable and the French Intervention in Indo-China stopped. In Geneva, Zhou Enlai used different methods to achieve the given tasks (making the official announcements, meeting with the heads of the participating delegations, holding the non-official conversations, being ready to take compromises, etc.).

During the break in Geneva conference Zhou Enlai went to India and Burma and proposed the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

The request of Vietnam Democratic Republic and The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to give the independence to three countries of Indo-China and to stop the war was accepted in Geneva conference. We know that the foreign policy of China didn't have totally peaceful aims. China tried to influence the other countries. Zhou Enlai was the person who implemented this policy. In 1954 the person who had the

national positions of Chinese government considered Indo-China to be region where Chinese matters were stronger. During Geneva conference they expected that the Western countries will recognize China as one of the most important countries in Asia. During the conference of representatives of China, Vietnam Republic and The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in April, 1951 Zhou Enlai said: "if the problem in Vietnam arises more, China will not be able to help. Because this will make it against the people of other South-Eastern Asian countries, and enable to block the relations starting from India to Indonesia" [1]. He offered to have negotiations with the French representatives.

The great countries of the capitalist world refused to accept the special conditions of China in Asia and the biggest countries of Asia offered to organize the idea of Pan-Asian community. China aimed to work closer with the Asian countries to press the United States of America and other imperialistic countries. This way the Western countries had to choose one of two options; either to be in front of the union of big Asian countries or to make compromises with China. However, the imperialist countries refused to accept the conditions of China and started the organization of anti-Chinese blocks.

Zhou Enlai had meetings in Geneva with the ministers of foreign policy of Australia, Sweden and Finland. Every time these meetings ended with the signatures on the agreements. The trade agreement of China and Finland on 21 June, 1954 can be as an example.

Zhou Enlai told about the necessity of accepting the national rights of Indo-Chinese people in his speech on 12th May. He presented the need to join the forces of Asian countries to keep the peace in Asia. In order to develop the relations among the Asian countries Zhou Enlai offered the following principles: Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, Mutual non-aggression, Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs, Equality and mutual benefit, Peaceful co-existence [2].

III. THE FIVE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

The Chinese and Western historiographies Zhou Enlai is shown as the author of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence (Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, Mutual non-aggression, Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs, Equality and mutual benefit, Peaceful co-existence). But Zhou Enlai tells that it was the mutual offer of China, India and Burma. In June, 1954 Zhou Enlai went to India for three days and met with the Prime Minister of this country Jawaharlal Nehru. Five principles of peaceful coexistence appeared as the result of this meeting called "Pancasila". These principles were the tool

N. B. Boldurukova is with Department of Political Science, L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University as PhD student, 010008, Kazakhstan (Phone: +7 (702)-178-55-00; e-mail: nazira.bolatovna@gmail.com).

to solve the confusions among the Western and Eastern countries in the middle of 1950s, and they also became the way to increase the prestige of China among other independent countries. In June 1965 Zhou Enlai said: "While expanding the relationship with other countries, China aims to make peaceful interrelations with the United States of America. We are against of having friendly relationship with some countries through making some others further. We hope that the traditional friendly relationship between the United States of America and China will impact to the further relations of these countries in the future" [3].

After having negotiations with the Indian delegations in Beijing in 1953 Zhou Enlai told about the respect to the territorial integrity and sovereignty, life without war, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, peaceful co-existence also known as "Panca Sila". These principles became the basis of the mutual agreement about trade in Tibet and relations between China and India signed on April, 1954. After some months China, India and Burma offered to make these principles as universal norms in the international relations. These principles were used not only in the relations with the neighbor countries, but also with other countries, too. However, in the middle of 1950s even the countries that offered these 5 principles couldn't keep them while holding their foreign policy. The war between China and India in 1962 nearly destroyed these principles. However, "Panca Sila" didn't lose its topicality and is still of high importance in international legal agreements among different countries. These principles are mentioned in the American-Chinese communities of better relations between the United States of America and China made in 1972 and also in the summary documents of M. Gorbachev's trip to China in May, 1989. According to the Chinese diplomacy the respect to the territorial integrity and sovereignty is the basis of "Panca Sila". The conditions of the "peaceful coexistence" are the equality and mutual benefit, non-aggression and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. The situation of keeping peace among the countries of different territorial sizes, population and social-political structure presents the result of keeping totally these principles.

In the world of development, which is full of untraditional danger these principles will never lose their meaning.

IV. THE INTERESTS OF CHINA IN THE FIRST PLACE

From his childhood Zhou Enlai used to expand his knowledge about everything all the time. He also wanted his friends to do the same. The most important experience for him being in Geneva was his understanding that it is possible to look for the common element in the cases of each countries at the process of destroying the colonialist systems and keeping peace. Zhou Enlai tried to keep this belief while his diplomatic work. However, his beliefs weren't usually supported.

Zhou Enlai always made the interests of China to the first place as the patriot of his country. He worked to increase the role of China in international unity during the Bandung conference in 1955. In that time the relations of China and India were developing due to Zhou Enlai and Jawaharlal

Nehru. The participation of China in Bandung conference is the result of friendly relations between Nehru and Zhou Enlai and their non-official meetings with each other. China takes part in Bandung conference with the help of India. During the conversation with Zhou Enlai Nehru told about the beliefs of India about Taiwan problems. After coming back to India Nehru told that he was ready to put all his force to the solution of Taiwan problems. That time India helped to restore the rights of China in the United Nations.

The political directions and aims of 29 Asian and African countries participated in Bandung conference were different. 8 of them didn't want to join when other 19 had the Western policy. And only two of these countries (Vietnam and China) were socialist countries. As Union of Soviet Socialist Republics didn't participate in this conference, the role of China became more important as it was the representative of all the social countries. During this conference the leaders of China thought about their own interests. The main aim of China was to increase its prestige in front of other countries and to look for the supporters among Asian and African countries. The speech of Zhou Enlai during this conference and his words in different meetings can be as a proof for that. Zhou Enlai first had a speech at the conference on 19th April. He informed that China doesn't have any aggressive thoughts to Asian countries, and that the main aim of China is the cooperation with all Asian and African countries. In the social committee Zhou Enlai said that he wanted to solve the Taiwan problems in a peaceful way and he would like to negotiate with the United States of America directly on this occasion [4]. He said: "Now about the relations of China with the USA... The Chinese people do not want any wars with the United States, we always try to solve all the international problems in a peaceful way" [5]. In his speech Zhou Enlai also mentioned that they didn't have any territorial demands to their neighbors and that the Chinese government was ready to demarcate the land with the countries whose territory wasn't clearly shared yet and until that they would keep the territory they had before. He also admitted that China will use peaceful methods in the territory sharing process.

Five principles of Peaceful Coexistence played an important role in the speech of Zhou Enlai at Bandung conference. This problem was discussed in the Social committee while issuing the Declaration of Peace and Cooperation enhance, main document of the conference. The discussion and this document itself showed the need to protect the peace among Asian and African population, enhance of international relations, to destroy all types of colonial behavior and racism. On the basis of that the Chinese delegation tried to join and manage all the Asian and African countries. The principles of peaceful existence had to play the part of the theoretical basis of this union. Zhou Enlai mentioned that these principles are the main principles of China. He offered to take these principles as the main rules in the future relations and cooperation of Asian and African countries. In the end the member of the conference made the Declaration that consisted of 10 points. Although these principles didn't coincide with the "Panca Sila" principles, Zhou Enlai said: "We think that the 10 principles of

the Declaration accepted by the Asian and African countries are the more expanded forms of the five principles of peaceful coexistence... these principles are for all the countries. The Chinese government wants to have good relations with all the countries and live in peace. The five principles of peaceful coexistence and ten principles accepted in the conference are written with the aim of cooperation of all the countries" [6].

There wasn't a prepared and accepted programme about the work of Bandung conference. The general problems that were in the conference of Bogor in December, 1954 were offered for discussion, such as the problems of the countries that didn't get their independence yet (Western Iran, Tunis, Morocco, etc.), their war against colonialism and racism, cultural and economic relations among the Asian and African countries.

We can see that Zhou Enlai understood the necessity of the crafty diplomacy when he changed his speech during the Bandung conference of the Asian and African countries. This text was prepared by the Chinese Communist Party Leaders before the conference. After having conversation with the representatives of the countries, participating in the conference he decided that his speech wasn't sufficient. During several hours between the morning and evening meetings he wrote a new speech and he mentioned the union of Asian and African countries that were fighting against imperialism and colonialism and also the social and political systems as the basis of his speech. During his speech Zhou Enlai also mentioned the basic principles of Chinese Republic. This way, he denied the "Communist danger" of China which was discussed by the representatives of several countries.

V. COUNTRIES OF THE THIRD WORLD IN THE FOREIGN POLICY OF CHINA

In 1960s Chinese foreign policy started paying attention to the countries of the "Third world". These actions didn't only aim the ideological goals of China. Although China was a great country it still was inside the "Third world" according to its economic development. It was necessary for China to develop its relations with Asian, African and Latin American countries. It supported the fights for social and economic rights, and asked to enhance the fight, come to the union, to solve the problems in a peaceful way. One of examples is the business trip of Zhou Enlai to African countries starting from December 1963 to February 1964, which lasted for 72 days. This step was supported by most of the Asian and especially African countries [7].

Some Western authors show Zhou Enlai as the leader who tried to organize the "Asian center of force" with the help of China. However, it is known that starting from 1950s Zhou Enlai distinguished the local safety problems in a worldwide realistic context. In 1954 he said: "It isn't necessary for the Asian countries to fight with others, the thing we need is peace and cooperation. The Asian countries must agree and use beneficial ways, try to keep the social cooperation and protect the safety and peace in Asia using the joined force. Our society has connection to the other countries located far from Asia".

Zhou Enlai believed that the main tool to keep the international peace is in enhancing the meeting among the heads of countries, exchanging the Parliament Delegations, increasing the trade, economic and cultural relations among all the people. He went abroad many times and he often accepted the foreign guests in Beijing. He used to get prepared when he was going to other countries, to get more information about the country he was going to visit. He impacted to the friendly relations of China with the countries where he went in the period from November, 1956 to February 1957, such as Vietnam, Cambodia, Burma, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Nepal and Ceylon. In the spring of 1960 he visited Burma, India, Nepal, Cambodia, Vietnam and Mongol Republic. From December, 1963 to February 1964 he visited 10 countries of Africa. The aim of these trips was to increase the international relations and to enhance the force of China among the countries of the "Third world". But there was another aspect as well. In case of developing the concepts of foreign policy of Mao Zedong and his supporters, Zhou Enlai mentioned that his government wanted to get introduced to the countries of the "Third world" with different social-economic, political conditions, and that they were looking for the answer to the question if these countries really can be the revolution force. Also the speech of Zhou Enlai about the war and peace, Soviet-Chinese relations was published those days. Zhou Enlai said that several nuclear wars became the greatest enemy of the human being of all times.

Zhou Enlai had already discussed the problem of economic relations with developed countries before. For example, in 1956 he said: "China is a young independent country. Our economics is still behind the other countries. We haven't achieved the high economic development yet. That is why our economic opportunities are limited and our economic cooperation with other countries is being developed by the trade. However, the economical integrity is important for to enhance the political independence. That is why we are ready to help other countries in the development of their economics" [8].

VI. CONCLUSION

There are many actions being done in China in order not to forget Zhou Enlai. The museums were opened in his hometown Huayan, and also in the cities where he went, such as Nanjing, Chongqing, Shanghai, Yunnan, Xian and Tianjin including the materials about his work. Two tomes of his works were published. Most of the Chinese leaders mention in their speeches and articles such words as: "Let us learn from our friend Zhou Enlai!" During the "cultural revolution" Jiang Qing and his supporters stood against the Zhou Enlai's works. They always made the Red guards (hongweibing) against the prime minister. The Red guards even kept Zhou Enlai in his house for several days under captive. However, the actions that took place in 1976 in Tiananmen Square present the people's evaluation of Zhou Enlai's work.

After the anarchy in 1966 he continued governing the state. He is the person who tried to save the people from expulsion and keep the structure of the government. Although Zhou

Enlai was a sincere person for Mao Zedong during the “cultural revolution”, he could join the pragmatic forces all together [9]. He could return back the people who were in expulsion to their own positions in 1969. After the start of making the structure of the party committees in November of 1970 and after the fail of Lin Biao’s case, Zhou Enlai enforced his action of returning the workers to their own positions. Due to his work, Deng Xiaoping was able to return to his position again.

Nowadays we can truly admit that the achievements of China and its great development are the results of Zhou Enlai’s work. It is important to mention his contribution to the internal and foreign policy of China and his works for the life of the Chinese government from the 20th century to the end of the 1970s. Even the important role of China in international relations is due to the Chinese crafty and dexterous diplomacy which was based by Zhou Enlai. That is why the high evaluation of Zhou Enlai’s role in the international history is a fair situation.

REFERENCES

- [1] Foreign policy and International relations of the Republic of China, 1st tome, Moscow, 1974, p. 110
- [2] E. P. Bazhanov. China and other world, Moscow, 1990. P.69.
- [3] Zhou Enlai. About the modern international conditions, foreign policy of China and about the liberation of Taiwan (missive at the 3rd session of the conference of the first convocation on 28th June, 1956). Beijing, 1956.
- [4] V. V. Kuzmin. China in the strategy of the American imperialism, Moscow, 1978. P.107
- [5] International relations in the Far East in postwar years 1945-1957. Moscow, 1978. P.45.
- [6] S. L. Tikhvinskii. History of China and modernity. Moscow, 1976. P. 93
- [7] Foreign policy and international relations of China 1949-1963, Moscow, 1974. Pp.93-94.
- [8] Republic of China and developing countries in 1960s and 1970s. Moscow, 1983. p.157.
- [9] F. M. Burlatskii. Mao Zedong. Moscow, 2003. p. 228.

Nazira B. Boldurukova was born on December, 1986. In 2008 received her Bachelor’s degree with honors in Area study from the Faculty of Oriental Studies of Al-Farabi Kazakh National University. In 2010 received her Master’s degree from the Faculty of Oriental Studies of Al-Farabi Kazakh National University. In 2011 received from the Faculty of Law of Peoples’ Friendship University of Russia. Since 2011 she is a Ph.D student at L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University, specialty is Political Science. The research interest includes Chinese foreign policy, world security. Currently, she is working on problems of Chinese migration.