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Peaceful Coexistence:

Sino-African Relations and the Evolution of Maoist Internationalism

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis aims to analyze the methods utilized by the leadership of the People's Republic of China to foster relations with and spread Maoist ideology to Third World nations, which lasted throughout the Mao Era, from 1949-1976. While nations of Latin America and Asia were part of this initiative, of particular interest to this study is the development of relations between the PRC and various nations within the African continent. A number of studies on this subject, within the broader context of Chinese foreign relations, have attempted to ascribe meaning to these internationalist pursuits in a variety of ways. One of the defining questions which differentiates these studies hinges on to what degree the impact and importance of ideology, as opposed to more pragmatic and strategic goals, played in the adoption of these internationalist policies. However, this binary conceptualization of Chinese foreign policy not only ignores a significant number of influential factors, but is also at its core unanswerable. Whether Mao or other leaders undertook efforts to spread influence abroad cannot be determined simply as a pragmatic or ideologically motivated policy, for ideology shapes one's notion of what is practical. While many historians have attempted to solidify their own personal arguments on the subject, the

complexities of the time period, and porosity between the concepts of ideology and practicality has hampered any attempts to definitively answer this question.

Breaking from these trends, this thesis intends to analyze not why, but how PRC leadership took on the enormous task of promoting relations with African nations to both the Chinese people and to the various peoples of Africa. Newspaper articles from People's Daily, propaganda posters, official speeches and diplomatic communications, amongst other sources and studies have been utilized to analyze the strategy behind this initiative. To promote Sino-African relations to their own people, the PRC relied upon using familiar elements of nationalism to promote the unfamiliar concept Maoist internationalism. Yet at the same time, key tenets of China-centered internationalism also called back upon China's long history as a regional superpower. Within Africa, China's understanding of many African nations positions as newly liberated states helped them formulate programs for aid with no strings attached and assurances of diplomatic friendship, which still propel Sino-African relations today. African leaders, who picked and chose elements of Maoism to adjunct with their own native ideologies and goals, accepted these ties to create a relationship defined by mutualism. While an essential aspect of the original Maoist interpretation of 'internationalism' required violent world revolution led by the Chinese nation, historical developments and pressing foreign policy matters reshaped this Chinese-led internationalism into a sustained policy of non-intervention and peaceful coexistence based upon the tenets of defensive anti-imperialism rather than aggressive revolution. While the revolutionary ideologies of African liberation movements and that of Maoist Internationalism shared many similarities, it was this adherence to the simple respect for national sovereignty that has sustained Sino-African relations for the past half-century.

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I. Introduction: Building Sino-African Relations

Relations between China and Africa have a long-standing history. Some historians estimate that trade and communication between China and parts of North-East Africa could have occurred as long as two thousand years ago, and there is ample evidence of a wide reaching trade network between China, India, the Middle East, and Africa from as early as the 8th century.¹ Trade continually flourished between Africa and the various dynasties of China throughout the centuries, but there was still very little contact between the two regions besides hearsay and tales from middlemen traders. Finally, between 1405 and 1433, the Chinese admiral Zheng He made several voyages throughout the Indian Ocean, and even landed his great ships on African shores. Yet despite Zheng's discoveries and acquisitions of many goods throughout his travels in Africa, upon his return the Ming government turned its back on Africa and set the precedent for future Chinese foreign relations by ending any further exploration missions.² As such, there were very few developments in Sino-Africa relations until the founding of the People's Republic.

China's renewed interest in Africa in the Maoist Era was fueled by a new desire to unite the peoples of the world as brothers in socialism. As China emerged as a "new" state under new leadership, independence movements around the world similarly began to gain traction in. China took advantage of these similarities by strongly supporting these movements in order to gain diplomatic recognition. Yet at the same time, national leaders in the Third World and aspiring freedom fighters took advantage of this opportunity to help facilitate their own liberation from the superpowers and their allies. This relationship began

¹ Jinyuan Gao, "The Development of Relations over Many Centuries," *African Affairs* 83.331, (1984): 241-243, accessed November 17, 2014, URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/721561>.

² Ibid, 244-246.

when one of Africa's few independent nations, Egypt, officially recognized China at the Bandung Conference in April 1955.³ Throughout the Maoist Era until today, Chinese leaders have relied on using the concept of fraternal, mutual development between Africa and China to promote diplomatic ties between the regions. Although the emphasis on socialism has faded, China's attempts to woo African states have been a great success, as today around 90% of African nations have established relations with China.⁴ From the 1950's onward, Africa and China were no longer two regions in contact by way of envoys and middlemen. China sought to establish a direct relationship with Africa, and over time would become a major player in a part of the world ignored by many.

The relationship between China and Africa was fostered to a great degree by the efforts of the Chinese Communist Party to support independence movements around the African continent. Donovan Chau describes how at the Eighth National CPC Congress in 1956, Mao stated, "To achieve a lasting peace in the world, we must further develop our friendship and cooperation with the fraternal countries in the camp of socialism and strengthen our solidarity with all peace-loving countries."⁵ One of China's major objectives at this time was to create international unity between as many socialist-leaning states as they could, and Africa was shaping up to be a fertile breeding ground for revolution. These tactics were effective in part because in many cases these African independence movements were directly combatting the "evil imperialist" forces that China so openly opposed. As

³ Jianjun Tu, "Sino-African Relations: Historical Development and Long-Term Challenges," *China: An International Journal* 6.2, (2008): 331, accessed October 9, 2014, doi:10.1353/chn.0.0001.

⁴ Ibid, 248.

⁵ Donovan Chau, *Exploiting Africa: The Influence of Maoist China in Algeria, Ghana and Tanzania*, (Naval Institute Press, 2014), 16.

such, China utilized the notion of fraternalism to demonstrate to its own people the evils of capitalism, and foster relations with new African states at the same time.

While China would soon come to bankroll many revolutionary movements throughout Africa, one of the first efforts to interact with the region was through the use of health diplomacy. “In 1963, Premier Zhou Enlai dispatched the first Chinese medical teams to Algeria. This inaugurated Chinese efforts to support African healthcare systems by providing medical personnel, equipment and supplies throughout the continent.”⁶ These medical teams functioned much like the barefoot doctors in rural China. While some specialists were employed, their duties mostly entailed providing “basic preventative care to rural areas that had previously lacked any such care.”⁷

The Sino-African relationship of the 1960’s and 1970’s was also strengthened by Chinese military aid for aspiring African revolutionary movements. Remarkably, these contributions were not limited to solitary regimes, regions, or even ideological movements within Africa. Despite the youth and inexperience of “New China” on the world stage, Mao set out to support revolutionary movements of all sorts around the entire continent.

China’s first foray into supporting revolution in Africa involved Algerian independence from France. Throughout the late 1950’s Algerian military delegations visited Chinese bases for training, and Chinese armaments and equipment soon popped up on battlefields around Algeria. The CIA estimated that starting in 1959 China spent around \$15 million in military aid for Algerian rebels.⁸ China also pursued forming friendships in West

⁶ Jeremy Youde, “China’s Health Diplomacy in Africa,” *China: An International Journal* 8.1 (2010): 153, accessed October 9, 2014. doi: 10.1353/chn.0.0036.

⁷ Ibid, 155.

⁸ Donovan Chau, *Exploiting Africa*, 48-53.

Africa, and in the early 1960's they signed numerous friendship treaties with Ghana and began providing economic assistance. China even went so far as to set up a secret training camp for guerrilla fighters in Ghana to train African rebel movements from a variety of nations.⁹ On the other side of the continent, on Africa's Eastern coast, China began supporting the communist movement on Zanzibar in 1960. When Tanganyika gained independence in 1961, China sought to bring some of the socialist fervor from Zanzibar to the mainland. While this dream may have been lost when the two states combined in 1964, China maintained good graces with the newly formed Tanzania, and eventually offered aid in the form of overt military training and assistance in building infrastructure projects.¹⁰ Perhaps the most impactful of these projects was the construction of the Tanzam Railway, which linked rich copper-mines of landlocked Zambia to the trading ports along the coast of Tanzania.¹¹ This massive project was completed in 1975, and stretched for 1,860 kilometers.¹² Some estimated that there were well over 10,000 Chinese migrants working on the railroad by 1971.¹³ Throughout the seven odd years of its construction, China continued to support Tanzania through a variety of other means including building military bases, water treatment plants and a stadium.¹⁴ These relationships eventually began to solidify China as not only a powerful player on the world stage, but a benevolent and friendly one at that. Guerrilla fighters from nations across the continent were sent to China for ideological

⁹ Ibid, 84-85, 90.

¹⁰ Ibid, 106, 114-116.

¹¹ Ibid, *Exploiting Africa*, 129.

¹² Jianjun Tu, "Sino African Relations: Historical Development and Long-Term Challenges," 332.

¹³ Donovan Chau, *Exploiting Africa*, 139.

¹⁴ Donovan Chau, *Exploiting Africa*, 131-135.

and military training, and returned prepared to produce independence.¹⁵ As a result, on October 25th 1971, resolution 2758 was passed in the United Nations.¹⁶ The People's Republic of China needed a two-thirds majority in order to become the representative of "China" in the United Nations over The Republic of China, and claim their spot on the Security Council. They received 76 out of 111 votes to win the nomination; 26 of the affirmative votes were from African nations.¹⁷ Today Sino-African relations have maintained their sense of fraternalism and cooperation, formed upon the basis of Maoist Internationalism and Zhou Enlai's own policy of Peaceful Coexistence. However, there are many emergent challenges, which may endanger these relationships. While Chinese and African leaders continue to view their relationship as one of mutualism and cooperation, on the local level cracks are beginning to show. Outside of the era of ideology, these local events may slowly produce a crisis between a nation of Africa and China, which leaders will be forced to deal with.

I have provided a very brief outline of the trajectory Sino-African relations, yet a few key aspects of this relationship remain unexplained. How exactly, did the leadership of the PRC facilitate this relationship? How were the Chinese people convinced to provide ideological support for the liberation movements of the people of a far off continent? How were concepts of Maoist Internationalism compatible with the ideologies and goals of African liberation leaders? While one may doubt the necessity of rousing public support for the policies of a single party dictatorship, the efforts of the CCP to educate the population

¹⁵ Clapperton Chakanetsa Mavhunga, "A Plundering Tiger with Its Deadly Cubs? The USSR and China as Weapons in Engineering of a "Zimbabwean Nation," *Entangled Geographies: Empires and Technopolitics in the Global Cold War*, Gabrielle Hecht, ed., (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2011), 242.

¹⁶ Jianjun Tu, "Sino African Relations: Historical Development and Long-Term Challenges," 332.

¹⁷ Donovan Chau, *Exploiting Africa*, 66.

about International Maoism reflect the importance placed upon these policies. Chapter II will elaborate upon how the ideology of Maoist Internationalism was “sold” to the Chinese public through nationalist propaganda. While a world system of fraternalism was emphasized in this media, a sense of leadership and centralism for the Chinese people elevated the nation above their peers in the Third World as a benevolent savior.

Chapter III will discuss the historical trajectory of Maoist Internationalism, and demonstrate its resilience throughout the commonly termed “isolationist” period that was the Chinese Cultural Revolution. I will demonstrate how Zhou Enlai’s policy of Peaceful Coexistence and dedication to Sino-Third World relations has persevered since the 1950’s, and survived the political tides of the Cultural Revolution due to its importance to China’s foreign policy program.

Chapter IV will turn its gaze to Africa in an effort to navigate how the ideals and goals of African liberation movements newly liberated nations were compatible with Maoist Internationalism. The construction of the Tanzam Railway and will be used as a case study to demonstrate how the African origins of socialism and cross-cultural fraternalism were combined with Internationalist Maoism. The blossoming of relations between China and Africa, and the willingness of both parties to subscribe to a policy of mutual gain, was in a large part made possible by China’s commitment to anti-imperialism and Peaceful Coexistence, a promise that few other nations could keep.

Finally, Chapter V will focus upon contemporary Sino-African relations, in an effort to gauge to what degree the concepts developed in the Maoist era still hold sway today. While African and Chinese leaders both publically state that the ties between their nations are as healthy as ever, racism, local turmoil, and the interconnectedness of their economies

may in time produce a crisis. While politically Sino-African relations may appear to be constructed upon a sturdy framework engineered by the goals of Maoist Internationalism, Peaceful Coexistence, and the desire for independence and liberation from imperialism, at the local level these ideological concerns may be trumped by more immediate desires.

II. Internationalism and Nationalism in Domestic Propaganda

One major factor in the promotion of International Maoism within China was the use of propaganda posters. The policies promoted by this propaganda were unique in that they were some of the first attempts that China had made to actively pursue foreign policy abroad, rather than being a passive player to international forces. Given existing xenophobic, and even anti-socialist behaviors that some Chinese no doubt still held, the CCP was challenged to create propaganda that even those least inclined to International Socialism could accept. Through examining these representations, it can be realized that they functioned on two levels. To those already inclined and adjusted to the ideal of global socialism, these portrayals appealed to a humanistic sense of common identity, brought together through socialist revolution. However, they also functioned to call upon China's own personal, national history – often reflecting the Chinese nation's own long standing struggles against imperialist powers. Issues of national identity were utilized to promote new concepts of a shared human identity, serving to gain the support of even those with no deep belief in the ideals of socialism. In addition, to those with little care for the notions of shared human-identity, this nationalistic trend always placed China in a position of primacy amongst their supposedly equal foreign allies. If we are to believe that the aims of government propaganda during this time were realized, then many Chinese people saw themselves not as the oppressed pawns to a powerful dictator, but as a noble force working under a government which dedicated to helping others to avoid the terrors of China's past, while leading the world towards peaceful coexistence. Many Chinese may not have believed in the ideals of international socialism and coexistence, whether from a dislike for socialism or for foreigners in general, yet the focus on China's national character in these discourses

gave China a sense of primacy and leadership within this international context. Mao and other leaders within the CCP consciously applied this strategy of combining the national with the international in their propaganda to support the new ideals of International Maoism.

A. Maoist Humanism

In order to rally support for their new foreign relationships, Mao and the CCP were required to establish a common human identity by which to emphasize international socialism as a “natural” force of humanity. This image, of Mao as a humanist, may seem contradictory. For of course, Mao did separate humanity into dichotomies of “the people” and “the enemy,” stated that there is “no human nature above classes,” and encouraged people reject Confucian ideals like “benevolence is the characteristic element of humanity.”¹⁸ Mao’s own unique vision of humanism rejects these notions of “old humanism” in favor of believing that human equality and benevolence would only be captured after the destruction of class society.¹⁹

The violent nature of the many speeches, posters and other forms of propaganda that are so often seen from this time period seem to disregard universal humanism in an effort to highlight the binary conflict between the envisioned “people” and “enemy”. However, analysis of the more positive-natured internationalist discourse reveals the structure behind the humanism promoted by Mao. Mao himself stated that, “To achieve a lasting peace in the world, we must further develop our friendship and cooperation with the fraternal countries

¹⁸ K.T. Fann, “Mao’s Revolutionary Humanism,” *Studies in Soviet Thought*, Vol. 19, No. 2, (Mar. 1979), 144-146.

¹⁹ Ibid, 148-149.

in the camp of socialism and strengthen our solidarity with all peace-loving countries.”²⁰

The Sino-Soviet split clearly reflects these beliefs, in that Mao rejected Soviet revisionism in favor of pursuing continued revolution against the imperialist forces of the world.²¹ While the Soviet Union’s decision to come of terms with the West and deescalate may seem like the more humanistic course of action, at this time Mao saw no hope for the ideal of world socialism and peace without the destruction of the inhuman “enemy”. Humanism was a part of Mao’s ideology, but it was firmly prioritized behind revolution.

Engel’s statement that “Labor created humanity” in the context of human evolution from animals tied in neatly with Mao’s utopian vision of world socialism as the prerequisite for world peace. Mao envisioned the very earliest, primitive communities of humanity as peaceful, ideal communists. As such, Mao’s steadfast belief that revolution would bring about a return to this ideal was justified.²² As Sigrid Schmalzer aptly states:

[Engels] Defining humans in terms of labor not only glorified the laboring classes but also allowed the possibility that, through labor, intellectuals, capitalists, and members of other suspect classes could reform. ...The internationalist socialist version of humanism was meant to inspire revolutionary struggle against imperialism.²³

Change would come about to reform the world, and in the wake of Soviet revisionism China would be forced to lead this revolution.

²⁰ Donovan Chau, *Exploiting Africa: The Influence of Maoist China in Algeria, Ghana and Tanzania*, (Naval Institute Press, 2014), 16.

²¹ William C. Kirby, “China’s Internationalization in the Early People’s Republic: Dreams of a Socialist World Economy,” *The China Quarterly*, No. 188, The History of the PRC (1949-1976), (Dec., 2006), 890.

²² Sigrid Schmalzer, *The People’s Peking Man: Popular Science and Human Identity in Twentieth-Century China*, (University of Chicago Press, 2008), 89-95.

²³ Ibid, 112.

The discovery of Peking Man in the 1920's was utilized in the early years of the PRC to demonstrate a common origin of all the people of the world, conveniently stemming from China (later discoveries in Africa would move this location, although many Chinese still cling to this China-centered framework today).²⁴ The idea brilliantly demonstrated that just as all mankind is one family, led (in a way) by an ancestor of Chinese origins, so too would the people of the world be reunited under socialism, with China again leading the charge. The ideology behind Maoist Internationalism may not be a reflection of Mao's own good natured benevolence or human dignity, but the ambitious goals of his theory help reveal why China placed such a large emphasis on fostering foreign relations with Third World countries. Mao was violent and often unjust, but I do not believe that this is a reflection of selfishness or greed. The aims of Mao and the CCP were heavily rooted in the dogmatic, but idealistic, belief that the *only* way to achieve world peace was through world socialism. The foreign policies of Maoist China and methods by which this vision was communicated to the people reveal this.

B. Propaganda on Two Levels: Internationalism

Internationalist propaganda in Maoist China functioned to support the cause of humanism after revolution that Mao emphasized. As a result, these works typically fell into two distinct camps. One portrayed the “revolution” with violent depictions of foreign peoples, and the other portrayed “humanism” with images of foreign and Chinese people in harmony. Violence-based propaganda commonly focused on the revolutionary union between foreigners and the Chinese people against the aggressive imperialists. These works,

²⁴ Schmalzer, *The People's Peking Man*, 103-105.

as seen in Figure 1²⁵, reflected the “revolution” stage of Mao’s vision for international socialism. In this image the “Red Sun” of Mao rises over a diverse array of foreign peoples, armed and determined to combat imperialism. The text encourages the Chinese people to “Vigorously support the anti-imperialist struggle for the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America”²⁶ Of particular interest is the traditional attire of the foreign fighters, a theme reflected in many portrayals during this time period. In Figure 2²⁷, this aspect can also be seen in portrayals of the “humanist” stage of International Maoism. In this image a broad array of foreign figures visit what appears to be a small Chinese town. Electrical lines and a



Figure 1: “Vigorously support the anti-imperialist struggle for the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America” (坚决支持亚洲非洲拉丁美洲人民的反帝斗争) 1964.

factory in the distance accent the continual focus on socialist industrialization, while the town scene itself appeals to more traditional aspects of Chinese culture (a portrayal that probably would not be made in the impending Cultural Revolution).

²⁵ Zhou Ruizhang, “Jianjue zhichi Yazhou Feizhou Lading Meizhou renminde fandi douzheng,” Published by Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe (1964), Chinese posters.net, accessed 2/21/15, URL: <http://chinese posters.net/posters/e3-724.php>.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Yu Huali, “You peng zi younfanglai,” Published by Tianjin meishu chubanshe (1961). Chinese posters.net, accessed 2/21/15, URL: <http://chinese posters.net/posters/e15-211.php>

Again the exotic clothing of the foreign people clearly stands out of these images. While these details are useful in demonstrating the diversity of the allied people in the struggle against imperialism, this “othering” of those foreign does align with some of the xenophobic tendencies China still held at this time. For despite the popularizing of ideals like “The Modern Races Are All One Family” and the notion of common human ancestry, racism was still a persistent issue in Maoist China.²⁸ One Ghanaian student in China in the 1960’s even remarked that that doctors there couldn’t help but ask “why your skin is so black if you ever wash.”²⁹ Despite this, blame for global racism and disdain was still firmly set in the lap of the imperialists. An article from the *People’s Daily* in 1959 describes a rally held in Beijing in solidarity with the Congolese independence movement, in which “to the heroic Congolese and African people [the ralliers] extended a noble, brotherly tribute.” The article describes



Figure 2: “Friends from afar are coming to visit” (1961). Note the traditional garb of the foreign peoples, and aspects of industrialization in the background juxtaposed to the traditional town gathering scene in the front.

the “futile attempts [of the imperialists] to use brutal suppression and a variety of deceptive tactics in order to maintain their evil colonialist rule” and culminates by describing

how “the Chinese people persistently feel deep

²⁸ Schmalzer, *The People’s Peking Man*, 108.

²⁹ Ibid, 108, 111.

sympathy for and firmly support the Congolese and African people's righteous struggle.”³⁰

The CCP resolved the issue of racism not by confronting the existing biases of the Chinese people, but instead by simply placing racism and the other evils of the world at the feet of imperialism. Thus, “Chinese people could actively participate in solidarity rallies without ever questioning their racist assumptions.”³¹ In spite of this, more needed to be done to convince the population of the need to work outside China's borders to support foreign liberation movements. The promotion of global socialist and international solidarity with groups of people that many Chinese had never had any interaction with was a hard sell. Mao and the CCP would attempt to accomplish this goal by ascribing China's own national struggles to the international problems that faced their new allies.

C. Propaganda on Two Levels: Nationalism

In the relatively short timespan between the Sino-Soviet split in 1960 and the death of Mao in 1976, China was envisioned as the true leader of the socialist world, and thus, the world of the future. This dream visualized China leading the rest of the world away from the temptations and chains of imperialism by utilizing the very strategies that allowed for the victory of the CCP in 1949. With this approach in mind, Mao and the CCP worked to instill in the Chinese people a sense of paternal fatherhood over the burgeoning independence movements in the Third World, based upon the established nationalist discourse. In the midst of World War II, long before the birth of the PRC, Mao attempted to solve the issue of nationalism in the context of internationalism:

³⁰ “Imperialists Get Out of the Congo! Get Out of Africa!” *People's Daily*, Patrick Laboon, trans., (November 26, 1959), 1, URL: <http://58.68.145.22/banshi.jsp>.

³¹ Schmalzer, *The People's Peking Man*, 110-111.

Can a Communist, who is an internationalist, at the same time be a patriot? We hold that he not only can be but must be... There is the “patriotism” of the Japanese aggressors and of Hitler, and there is our patriotism... China’s case, however, is different, because she is the victim of aggression. Chinese Communists must therefore combine patriotism with internationalism.³²

The struggles of China’s foreign allies in the Mao Era were similarly portrayed as battles against “aggressive” imperialists. As such, the struggles of these people could be construed to be the same struggles that China faced in confronting aggressive imperialist powers from the middle of the 19th century onwards. China’s civil war and Communist revolution in particular are cited as parallels to the struggles of the people of the Third World. Lin Biao, a high ranked military leader of the CCP, stated “Many countries and peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America are now being subjected to aggression and enslavement... the basic political and economic conditions in many of these countries have many similarities to those that prevailed in old China.”³³ Lin utilized this parallelism to describe Europe and the United States as the “cities of the world” in contrast to the imagined “rural” Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In doing so, national memories of the Communist victory in the Civil War are evoked, in which the rural guerrilla fighters based out of Yan’an overtook the urban Nationalists. The victories of China’s socialist allies in the Third World would be reflections of the CCP’s victories in the Civil War.

Of course, on a third level this also ties into the basic concept of Maoist socialism itself, where the ideal proletariat is more farmer than urban laborer. In this framework, nationalism is again stoked in that while the many countries of the Third World are still arising from

³² Mao Zedong, “The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War” (October 1938), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 196, URL: <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/works/red-book/ch18.htm>.

³³ Lin Biao, “The International Significance of Mao-Tse Tung’s Theory of People’s War,” *Foreign Languages Press* (1965), Lin Biao Reference Archive (2003), URL: https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/lin-biao/1965/09/peoples_war/ch07.htm

under imperialist aggression, China has *already* succeeded in doing so. Such a position places the Chinese people in a position higher than that of the other peoples of the world, despite the emphasis on socialist equality. In fact, this paternal standing requires China to assist the less fortunate, weaker revolutionaries from abroad. In a talk with some African visitors in 1963, Mao remarked, “In the fight for complete liberation the oppressed people rely first of all on their own struggle and then, and only then, on international assistance. The people who have triumphed in their own revolution should help those still struggling for liberation. This is our internationalist duty.”³⁴ The diction here places China as the state that has already “triumphed” (胜利 — victory, success, surpassing) in comparison to the Africa states that are “still struggling” (正在争取).³⁵ Despite the good willed nature of the statement, there is still a slight elitist sentiment in this statement. With the USSR having already succumbed to revisionism by the 1960s, China sat alone as the true original and continued success story of socialism. Combine this with the proposed origin of mankind stemming from China, in the form of Peking Man, an image of China is constructed as the ideological and material leader of mankind, intent on brining back the natural and peaceful Communist society that our pre-class ancestors enjoyed.³⁶ On this same scale, Mao could be the central paternal figure, a liberating figure to the people of the world just as he was to the Chinese. In Figure 3³⁷ Africans joyously read from Mao’s quotations, as the caption reads “Chairman Mao is the great liberator (jiuxing 救星) of the world’s revolutionary people.”

³⁴ Mao, Zedong, Talk with African friends (August 8, 1963), URL: <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/works/red-book/ch18.htm>

³⁵ Original Chinese URL: http://www.txssw.com/newswrmzd/maozedongxingjiulunwenku/59264_2.html

³⁶ Schmalzer, *The People’s Peking Man*, pp. 99-100.

³⁷ Unknown, *Mao zhuxi shi shijie geming renminde da jiuxing*, Published by Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe (1968), Chinese posters.net, URL: <http://chinese posters.net/posters/e16-339.php>



Figure 3: Africans Read Quotations of Chairman Mao



Figure 4: *Jiuxing*, Mao Zedong as a savior of the world's people.

In Figure 4³⁸ a baby is held aloft to the picture of Mao with “Long Live Chairman Mao” (毛主席万岁, literally “Chairman Mao ten-thousand years”). The title of this poster is *jiuxing* (救星), liberator or savior, again placing Mao in a position of reverence above not just the Chinese, but all the people of the world. Keep in mind that these are works that were published in China, for a Chinese audience. In Chapter Five I will touch on the question of whether Africans and others in the Third World were really picking up books of Mao’s for the purpose of ideological education. What these images do prove, is that the Chinese government wanted their people to see their own national culture being adopted and utilized by the various people of the world. They wanted them to be proud of their nation and its

³⁸ Unknown, *Jiuxing*, Published by Gansusheng qunzhong yishuguan, Chinese posters.net, URL: <http://chinese posters.net/posters/pc-1968-s-001.php>

contributions in bringing forth a new, peaceful world. These positive associations linked International Maoism and Chinese Nationalism in a mutual feedback loop, wherein nationalist sentiment supported efforts abroad, and efforts abroad bolstered nationalism at home.

III. Revolutionary Pragmatism and the Cultural Revolution

The Cultural Revolution is sometimes viewed as a purely domestic, or even isolationist event in Chinese history. In a time where the Chinese people were embroiled in constant civil conflict, and negotiations were frayed between China and both the United States and their former ally the Soviet Union, this viewpoint is easy to understand.³⁹ Yet with this limited scope of Chinese foreign relations, a number of fascinating and significant relationships between China and other nations outside the Soviet and American spheres of influence would be ignored. In addition, taking this view of Chinese foreign policy disregards the great efforts many Chinese diplomats and leaders made to preserve and reform China's international prestige during this chaotic period.

During the early years of the Cultural Revolution, many in the Chinese bureaucracy were forced to find a balance between maintaining foreign relations while also encouraging the spirit of revolution internationally, to prevent their own purging from government. Power struggles between top leaders, and garnering the support of Mao, greatly affected the success of one's policy for foreign relations. Yet despite these difficulties, China emerged from the Cultural Revolution as a major nation on the world stage, with strengthened diplomatic ties with the United States, a United Nations seat in place of Taiwan, and a place on the UN Security Council. While the Cultural Revolution may appear to be a period of isolation and international crisis, China's continued focus on third-world relations was actually an essential aspect of the Cultural Revolution. Moreover, during this period pragmatic leadership stemming from Zhou Enlai utilized these relationships to bolster China's international reputation to new heights.

³⁹ Maurice Meisner, *Mao's China and After: A History of the People's Republic* (Simon and Schuster, 1999), 282.

A. Foreign Relations and the Origins of the Cultural Revolution

The trajectory and goals of Chinese Foreign Policy during the Cultural Revolution must be understood in context of the policies of the preceding years. Perhaps the most important shift in Chinese foreign policy in the first half of the 1960's was the Sino-Soviet split. Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin in 1956 began to tear seams in Sino-Soviet relations, as Mao continued to hold Stalin as a figurehead and leader of socialism.⁴⁰ Further disputes erupted as the Soviet Union continued to show meager support for China's aggressive initiatives. Khrushchev showed little enthusiasm to support China in the Taiwan Straits crisis of 1958, refused to aid China in their pursuit of nuclear technology, and remained neutral during the Sino-Indian border clashes of 1962.⁴¹ The dissolving of relations between China and the Soviet Union would be a key factor in Mao's desire to purge the revisionist factors in the CCP leadership by way of revolution.

Mao's rationale for launching the Cultural Revolution was undoubtedly influenced in part by this fear of Soviet-style revisionism being practiced in China, or at the very least his fear of facing the same criticism Stalin was given after his death. In a speech explaining the need for a Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao asks:

...how much bourgeois ideology have [the Soviets] eliminated and how much proletarian ideology have they fostered? One result, after these fifty years, is that after the death of Stalin, instead of forging ahead, they retrogressed toward revisionism, toward new forms of bourgeois restoration, and toward a capitalist system manifesting itself to varying degrees in new guises.⁴²

⁴⁰ Meisner, *Mao's China and After*, 162-164.

⁴¹ Roderick Macfarquhar and Michael Schoenhals, *Mao's Last Revolution*, (Harvard University Press, 2006), 6.

⁴² Michael Schoenhals, Editor, *China's Cultural Revolution, 1966-1969: Not a Dinner Party*, (M.E. Sharpe, 1996), 13-14.

However, this turn away from the USSR would not isolate China, but force its leaders to focus their efforts on maintaining and strengthening relations in the Third World.

Chinese focus on foreign relations with the Third World nations “began as early as January 1950, [when] Liu Shaoqi had argued that the road taken by China should be followed by all peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries so that they may achieve their independence and a people’s democracy.”⁴³ China expressed its support for decolonization and non-alignment of Third World nations at the Bandung Conference in April 1955, when Zhou Enlai took a leading role in promoting the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, which would shape the core of Chinese foreign policy for years to come. These principles, fashioned between China and India a year earlier, declared:

1. Mutual Respect for each other’s territorial integrity and sovereignty.
2. Mutual non-aggression.
3. Mutual non-interference in each other’s internal affairs.
4. Equality and cooperation for mutual benefit.
5. Peaceful co-existence.⁴⁴

These principles would become a major factor of Chinese foreign relations. In July 1955, Zhou again spoke upon China’s commitment to foreign relations in the Third World, stating,

The people demand the abolition of military blocs which create splits and hostility between nations...the people of Asia and Africa, in particular, are opposed to such military blocs, since it is quite clear that the colonialists are using such military blocs as a means of setting up their colonial rule.⁴⁵

Particularly significant in this diplomatic alliance of Afro-Asian states, is that as early as 1955 there are clear efforts by China to distance itself from the USSR and assert its own

⁴³ Joseph Camilleri, *Chinese Foreign Policy: The Maoist Era and its Aftermath*, (Martin Robertson and Company, 1980), 78.

⁴⁴ “No. 4307, India and People’s Republic of China: Agreement (with exchange of notes) on trade and intercourse between Tibet Region of China and India. Signed at Peking, on 29 April 1954,” *United Nations Treaty Series*, Vol 299, 1958, 57-81. [<https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/unts/volume%20299/v299.pdf>].

⁴⁵ Kuo-Kang Shao, *Zhou Enlai and the Foundations of Chinese Foreign Policy*, (St. Martin’s Press, 1996), 224.

dominance as an ally and potential leader of the Third World.⁴⁶ In addition, the Chinese method of building relationships with states on the basis of nonintervention countered the aggressive diplomacy of both superpowers.

Throughout the next decade, the PRC would make great efforts to bolster their relations with Third World nations. In 1957 Mao stated: “It is my opinion that the international situation has now reached a new turning point. There are two winds in the world today, the East Wind and the West Wind. There is a Chinese saying, ‘Either the East Wind prevails over the West Wind or the West Wind prevails over the East Wind.’ I believe that the East Wind is prevailing over the West Wind. That is to say, the forces of socialism have become overwhelmingly superior to the forces of imperialism.”⁴⁷ Focusing attention on Third World nations obviously had an ulterior motive for Mao, who wished for Maoist style socialism to spread the world over. China’s sphere of influence would expand, in hopes of forming a united front from below to unite the masses of society against imperialism. However, this dogmatic support for world socialism was mostly only a verbal commitment. For the most part China stuck to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and aimed to benefit world revolution primarily as a diplomatic ally and model revolutionary state. As such, this support was not limited to those who promoted communism, but rather directed to any who opposed “the existing international order, even if they were not entirely consistent with Chinese ideological preferences.”⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Camilleri, *Chinese Foreign Policy*, 79-80.

⁴⁷ Andrew Hall Wedeman, *The East Wind Subsides: Chinese Foreign Policy and the Origins of the Cultural Revolution*, (Washington Institute Press, 2006), 3.

⁴⁸ Camilleri, *Chinese Foreign Policy*, 100.

In pursuing relations with the Third World, Zhou Enlai held a major role. In 1963 Zhou embarked on a seven-week tour of Africa that would pave the way for future economic and technological trade and assistance. In 1964 aid deals and loans were agreed upon between China and Ghana, Kenya, Tanzania, Congo, and the United Arab Republic, and in 1967 China undertook the multi-million dollar project to construct the Tanzania-Zambia railway.⁴⁹ Zhou's pragmatic diplomatic style was effective, but his negotiations were not without their own difficulties. For example, the Second Afro-Asian Conference, aimed at recommitting the nations of the Third World to opposing imperialism, never convened. China was dedicated to keeping the Soviet Union out of the conference, while Indonesia and India supported their inclusion. Further difficulties arose when China and Indonesia called for other states to abandon the United Nations, and in 1965 when many implicated China in supporting the coup of Algerian president and Soviet supporter Ben Bella.⁵⁰

The failure of the Second Afro-Asian Conference marked a critical juncture in Zhou Enlai's foreign policy dealings. Soon after, the failed Indonesian coup led by Sukarno supporters of the Indonesian Communist Party resulted in the purging of the state's leftists and deterioration of Sino-Indonesian relations as Chinese ally Sukarno fell from power.⁵¹ Andrew Hall Wedeman's book *The East Wind Subsides* marks this event as an important factor in the origins of the Cultural Revolution. Wedeman asserts that because of the close relationship fostered between Sukarno and Zhou Enlai, the Chinese Premier and the Foreign Minister Chen Yi faced impending censure from the Central Committee General Secretariat,

⁴⁹ Ibid, 99-100.

⁵⁰ Wedeman, *The East Wind Subsides*, 122-124.

⁵¹ Ibid, 206-208.

an organization headed by many Liu-Deng supporters. Zhou, who had already ceded some of his powers in foreign relations to Liu at the start of the 1960s, and who opposed Liu's burgeoning desire to "revive the Sino-Soviet alliance to counter United States military activities in Vietnam,"⁵² responded to this threat by joining Mao's clique. At this critical juncture, Mao's desires aligned with Zhou's. In 1970 Mao told Edgar Snow that one major factor in the decision to purge Liu was that his desire to counter the United States in Vietnam would have delayed the Cultural Revolution.⁵³ This suggests that while Mao advocated for revolutionary turmoil within China, the state still required stable foreign relations to fulfill the aims of the Cultural Revolution. As such, the breaking of Zhou's neutrality gave Mao not only the decisive political advantage he needed to purge of Liu and Deng, but also a valuable ally whose pragmatic foreign policy aims could be relied upon.⁵⁴ The reawakening of the Mao-Zhou alliance was a vitally important aspect of foreign policy throughout the Cultural Revolution. While Mao would continually push for revolution and rule from the masses at home, Zhou Enlai's connections to Mao and political awareness would help Chinese foreign policy (and indeed, the Chinese state itself) brave the storm of the Cultural Revolution. This suited Mao's needs, for in the realm of foreign policy, the end goal of the Cultural Revolution was for China to serve as the leader of proletarian internationalism.

⁵² Shao, *Zhou Enlai and the Foundations of Chinese Foreign Policy*, 147.

⁵³ Meisner, *Mao's China and After*, 377.

⁵⁴ Wedeman, *The East Wind Subsides*, 269-270.

B. Promoting Revolution by Example

The apparent isolation of China during the Cultural Revolution was not a jingoistic reversal of former policy, or the failure of the East Wind, but rather a doubling down on the hope that the revolutionary Chinese model, rather than the revisionist Soviet Union model, could serve as a basis for proletarian internationalism. “In 1967 Mao not only called China ‘the political center of world revolution’ but also proposed that it become ‘the military and technical center of the world revolution.’”⁵⁵ Mao’s Cultural Revolution was not a turn away from international affairs, but rather an attempt to set an example for revolution. A task the Soviet Union’s revisionists had betrayed. Throughout the first half of 1966, the Taiyuan Acrobatic Troupe toured throughout Africa, promoting Mao Zedong thought and demonstrating the physical and cultural strengths of the Chinese people. A *People’s Daily* article from July summarizes the tour, and provides some quotations from African observers. The headlining quote, which the article claims is representative of many African people’s thoughts, states, “Mao Zedong benefits the Chinese people, so the Chinese people praise him; Mao Zedong benefits the people of the world, so the people of the world respect and love him.” Another claims, “Through your acrobatic art, you can see revolutionary China’s great strength and extraordinary future. That’s why America fears China so much, because China is so revolutionary, and possesses great strength.”⁵⁶ A wealth of other articles were published in the *People’s Daily* throughout the Cultural Revolution, with headlines like “The African People Praise Chairman Mao’s Writings as a Revolutionary Well-spring,” “African Freedom Fighters Enthusiastically Praise China’s Cultural Revolution,” and “Mao Zedong

⁵⁵ Meisner, *Mao’s China and After*, 378.

⁵⁶ “The African People Welcome Chairman Mao’s Dispatched Artistic Troupe,” *People’s Daily*, Patrick Laboon, trans, (July 16, 1966).

Thought is a Bright Light Towards Victory, African Freedom Fighters Learn and Apply Mao Zedong's Writings in their Struggles."⁵⁷ These media publications reveal a major international goal of the Cultural Revolution, to promote the Maoist model of revolution. In addition, the excessive publication of articles like this within China also serves to reinforce the concepts of the Cultural Revolution to the Chinese people at home, as proof of the inspirational effect of the Cultural Revolution abroad.

Lin Biao's pamphlet "Long Live the Victory of the People's War" (1965), outlines his similar understanding of China's unique role in the international system, which is headlined by Mao's theory of people's war. Lin states:

[Mao's] theory of the establishment of rural revolutionary base areas and the encirclement of the cities from the countryside is of outstanding and universal practical importance for the present revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed nations and peoples, and particularly for the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples in Africa, Asia, and Latin America...⁵⁸

In Lin's own theory, Mao's strategy, as employed against the Japanese and Guomindang in the 1940's, can be adapted to the world at large. Taking North America and Western Europe as the cities of the world, and Asia, Africa, and Latin America as the encircling countryside, this Chinese model should (and will be, in Lin's mind) followed to pave the way for a socialist world revolution. If there was any remaining doubt as to who Lin Biao viewed as the antagonists in this struggle, one need not go further than the next two section titles in the pamphlet: "Defeat U.S. Imperialism and Its Lackeys by People's War," and "The Khrushchev Revisionists are Betrayers of People's War." This final section is particularly of

⁵⁷ *People's Daily*, Patrick Laboon, trans, (Aug 17, 1966, Sep 16, 1966, Sep 1, 1967).

⁵⁸ Lin Biao, *Long Live the Victory of People's War!*, *The International Significance of Comrade Mao-Tse Tung's Theory of People's War*. Marxists.org, [https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/lin-biao/1965/09/peoples_war/ch07.htm].

interest due to Lin's criticism of the Khrushchev revisionists "general line of peaceful coexistence, peaceful transition and peaceful competition."⁵⁹ This line is one that Zhou Enlai himself had advocated in the past,⁶⁰ and bares striking resemblance to his official treaty on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence penned with India in 1954. Despite these disagreements, one must be careful to note that while Zhou himself advocated for peaceful coexistence, he still strongly believed in China's unique role as leader of the revolutionary Third World. At the height of domestic turmoil in the summer of 1967, Zhou remarked to Shirley Graham, the widow of African-American historian and activist W.E.B. Du Bois, "The whole Chinese Revolution may go down to defeat for a while. We may lose everything. But never mind. If we are defeated here, you in Africa will learn from our mistakes, and you will develop your own Mao Zedong, and you will learn to do it better. And so in the end, we shall succeed."⁶¹ As Lin rose at the start of the Cultural Revolution to become Mao's successor, the question of foreign policy would remain an essential aspect of the Cultural Revolution. While all parties in power seemed to share the ideological desire to spread socialism and liberate people from imperialism by way of Mao's example, their methods for doing so would be an item of contention.

C. The Defense of Pragmatism

While Lin and others along the revolutionary Maoist line supported the chaotic mass movements of the Cultural Revolution, Zhou Enlai was forced to go on the defensive to preserve the Foreign Ministry, and by default Chinese foreign relations. In 1967, Zhou was

⁵⁹ Lin Biao, *Long Live the Victory of People's War!*, *The Khrushchev Revisionists are Betrayers of People's War*. Marxists.org, [https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/lin-biao/1965/09/peoples_war/ch09.htm].

⁶⁰ Shao, *Zhou Enlai and the Foundations of Chinese Foreign Policy*, 147.

⁶¹ Macfarquhar and Schoenhals, *Mao's Last Revolution*, 229.

forced to recall all Chinese ambassadors to Beijing, following in line with Cultural Revolution goals to crack down on corruption and misuse of power. Reactionary and revisionist elements arose to combat each other inside the foreign ministry, as they did in the streets of Beijing.⁶² Despite taking great efforts to protect those within the foreign ministry while not overtly opposing the Cultural Revolution, Zhou failed to fully protect Foreign Minister Chen Yi, who was subjected to criticism and eventually fell out of politics altogether.⁶³ While Zhou faced domestic attacks on his offices in Beijing, he was also forced to deal with a number of international crises prompted by the revolutionary fervor of the time. Chinese students in the Soviet Union quarreled with authorities, leftist riots broke out in Hong Kong, and Red Guards in Beijing attacked the Soviet embassy, beat secretaries of the Indian embassy, and eventually even sacked and burnt down the British embassy.⁶⁴ Immediately after these attacks, some leftist leaders rose to confront Zhou's policies in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Guan Feng is said to have stated, "the leading ideology within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is not Chairman Mao's guiding ideology of daring to wage a tit-for-tat struggle, but one of fear!" Despite these upheavals, Zhou survived the Cultural Revolution as bureaucrats and leftists to either side were purged. While some attempts were made to criticize Zhou, like the May 16th Movement, his close ties to Mao and importance to the foreign ministry seemed to allow Zhou a great deal of immunity. Moreover, "his practical strategy of seizing power selectively, at a crucial stage, served Mao's goal of revolutionizing the ruling structure while maintaining the continuity and stability of the

⁶² Barbara Barnouin and Yu Changgen, *Chinese Foreign Policy During the Cultural Revolution*, (Kegan Paul International, 1998), 14-15.

⁶³ Ibid, 20-23.

⁶⁴ Macfarquhar and Schoenhals, *Mao's Last Revolution*, 222-224.

government apparatus.”⁶⁵ The foreign ministry’s selection as an aspect of the government that deserved protection from the revolution around it reveals how much importance Mao placed on foreign relations throughout this period.

D. Contradictions and Principles in Chinese Foreign Policy

Zhou’s survival through the Cultural Revolution, and Mao’s turn against the ultra-leftist factions of the party at the end of the 1960s marked yet another crucial juncture for Chinese foreign relations. Lin Biao’s standard to support proletarian internationalism while rebuking both the Soviets and Americans as imperialists fell away as Zhou Enlai yet again took helm of foreign relations and began to promote rapprochement with the United States. In Maurice Meisner’s *Mao’s China and After*, the author states that Zhou began to advocate “a new global diplomatic strategy based on the rather traditional principles of national sovereignty, peaceful coexistence, and the establishment of friendly relations ‘between states with different social systems.’”⁶⁶ However, this was not so much a new global strategy for China as much as a return to pre-Cultural Revolution norms. Of course, diplomatic rapprochement with the United States was unprecedented in prior years, but Zhou’s foreign policy based upon the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence had already fostered relations with dozens of states with different social systems. The majority of these states were part of the Afro-Asian group that the PRC had pursued for decades, but the list also included many western states such as Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Switzerland, France, Italy and Canada, all before the PRC’s UN appointment.⁶⁷ However, I

⁶⁵ Shao, *Zhou Enlai and the Foundations of Chinese Foreign Policy*, 148.

⁶⁶ Meisner, *Mao’s China and After*, 379.

do agree with Meisner in that this shift does mark a reversal, in that rapprochement with the United States does seem to be a betrayal or at least a “politically damaging repudiation of the vision of a worldwide “people’s war” that Lin had promoted.”⁶⁸ There could be no encirclement and defeat of the urban nations of the world by those of the countryside if China was aligned with one of the major urban powers. Lin’s attempted coup in 1971, which was likely an orchestrated purge and assassination by Mao, could very well have been tied to his opposition to rapprochement with the United States. Lin indicated in private that he opposed the policy, and Mao told Nixon: “In our country also there is a reactionary group which is opposed to our contact with you. The result was they got on an airplane and fled abroad.”⁶⁹ However it is hard to determine how truthful this statement may be. Whatever the reasons for Lin’s downfall, Mao and Zhou’s efforts to build a relationship with the United States stood in stark contrast to Lin’s desire to take on and defeat *all* imperialist aggressors of the world.

While the Cultural Revolution was in part a response to Soviet revisionism stemming from their détente with the United States, China’s revolutionary faithful could see their own rapprochement with the United States as revisionism on the part of Mao and Zhou themselves. Roderick MacFarquhar and Michael Schoenhals rightly claim that this move of China seeking their own détente with the United States made “nonsense of all its ideological hyperbole of the previous five years.”⁷⁰ While fears of war with the Soviets amid border

⁶⁷ “Dates of establishment of diplomatic relations with the Peoples’ Republic of China,” *Wikipedia.org*, Accessed Dec 7, 2015, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dates_of_establishment_of_diplomatic_relations_with_the_People%27s_Republic_of_China#Recognition_of_the_PRC_before_it_was_seated_at_the_UN].

⁶⁸ Meisner, *Mao’s China and After*, 379.

⁶⁹ Macfarquhar and Schoenhals, *Mao’s Last Revolution*, 322-323.

clashes appeared to be the rationale for quelling ideology, Macfarquhar and Schoenhals argue that it was “far safer in the early 1970s than it had been in the late 1960s to maintain ideological purity and wish a pox on the houses of both superpowers,” yet Mao chose otherwise because he valued China’s national interests more than his own ideology.⁷¹ Other interpretations paint this shift in policy simply as a temporary alliance to bring about long term gain. Joseph Camilleri argues “the reorientation of policy was strongly influenced by the Maoist analysis of rifts in the enemy camp and the unprecedented opportunities they offered for a greater Chinese presence on the world stage.” Camilleri cites the printing of Mao’s 1940 ‘on Policy’ in *Red Flag* and *People’s Daily* shortly after the announcement of Kissinger’s impending visit to China. This essay urges people to combine alliance and struggle and “underlined the desirability of taking advantage of all ‘fights, rifts and contradictions in the enemy camp and turning them against our present main enemy.’”⁷² After all, despite the rapprochement, the Chinese press continued to strike out against American imperialism unabated, heavily criticizing the Vietnam War⁷³ and continually criticizing American involvement in the Third World⁷⁴. In either interpretation, the sacrifice of ideologically pure Maoist internationalism is done in pursuit of Chinese national interests and influence on the world stage. Mao preserved the foreign ministry and protected allies like Zhou who were instrumental in forging relationships with Third World leaders during

⁷⁰ Macfarquhar and Schoenhals, *Mao’s Last Revolution*, 321.

⁷¹ Ibid, 322.

⁷² Camilleri, *Chinese Foreign Policy*, 138.

⁷³ “American imperialism barbarically bombards Vietnam yet again to carry on the war under false pretenses, *People’s Daily*, Patrick Laboon, trans, (Dec 31, 1971).

⁷⁴ “American Imperialism’s Infiltration and Plundering of Africa,” Patrick Laboon, trans, *People’s Daily*, (June 28, 1971).

the Cultural Revolution for the same reasons. The opening of relations with the United States can be seen along the same lines, despite its much larger scope. It can be argued to what extent Mao or Zhou still believed these gains would later aid a Chinese-led world revolution, but it is clear that China would not waver in their support for the Third World.

On October 25th, 1971 the PRC gained the two-thirds majority required to become the representative of “China” in the United Nations over Taiwan, and received a spot on the Security Council. They received 76 out of 111 votes, 26 of them from African nations.⁷⁵ In February 1972, Nixon’s visit to China marked a new chapter for Sino-American relations. Zhou Enlai was well aware that China’s success in the United Nations, and subsequent opening to the west was in no small part due to the support of the Third World. In an interview following China’s appointment to the United Nations in 1971, Zhou outlined his thoughts, “If the statements of the small and medium-sized countries are ignored and if things are decided only on the basis of statements by the major powers, this violates the premise that small, medium and major nations are uniformly equal.” Yet even as champion of the Third World, Zhou made sure to distinguish China from the other superpowers, “Our principles are clearcut ones. We are opposed to the ‘major powers,’ to power politics and to domination. We will not become a major power under any circumstances.”⁷⁶ Within the framework of the now very public forum of the United Nations, China reshaped, and rebranded Lin Biao’s theory into the ‘Three Worlds Theory’. Created in part by Mao, and presented to the United Nations by Deng Xiaoping in 1974, this concept divides the world into three parts. The superpowers make up the First World, industrialized nations the Second

⁷⁵ Donovan Chau, *Exploiting Africa: The Influence of Maoist China in Algeria, Ghana and Tanzania*, (Naval Institute Press, 2014), 66.

⁷⁶ Shao, *Zhou Enlai and the Foundations of Chinese Foreign Policy*, 253-25.4

world, and socialist and oppressed nations the Third. Intact from Lin's theory is the idea that First world nations were to be a target for revolution by the Third World, proving that despite rapprochement with the United States, ideology was still very much alive in Chinese foreign policy.⁷⁷ The primary difference in Chinese foreign policy before and after rapprochement with the United States is the emphasis placed on revolution to displace *imperialism* rather than *capitalism*. The world conflict outlined by Deng in 1974 was not the same formula as the bipolar relationship of countryside versus cities or communism versus capitalism as described by Lin. Communist, or even Maoist ideology did not play as large a role as the simple struggle of the strong nations against the weak. "Attention in the 1970s was focused almost exclusively on the hegemonic and exploitative policies of the superpowers, and on the resistance they aroused among medium and small powers."⁷⁸ With this standard in place, China could criticize the United States and other nations while maintaining diplomatic connections. The efforts of world revolution with Chinese backing was not to displace the entire political systems of their rival states, but to back smaller nations in their attempts for liberation and self-determination from them. As such, this new policy bears much more similarity with Zhou Enlai's Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence than with Lin's theory.

China's emergence from the Cultural Revolution as a major player on the world stage is not so much an aggressive leap forward by Chinese foreign policy, as a proof of its defensive fortitude. The role of China as a supporter of the world's small and medium sized nations is not only a mantle the nation still bears today, but one Zhou Enlai set out to establish in the 1950's. The emphasis placed on noninterference and peaceful coexistence,

⁷⁷ Barnouin and Yu, *Chinese Foreign Policy During the Cultural Revolution*, 50-51.

⁷⁸ Camilleri, *Chinese Foreign Policy*, 140.

as outlined in the Five Principles and reiterated at the Bandung conference, were primary factors for China's support in the UN and acceptance by the West. The rise of dogmatic Maoism during the Cultural Revolution, as evidenced in Lin Biao's opposition to coexistence with either superpower, threatened the success of these policies. Yet while the foreign ministry came under siege and Chinese radicals caused chaos abroad, it was Mao himself who recognized the need for a stable foreign policy under Zhou Enlai's pragmatic leadership. Foreign affairs played a critical role during the Cultural Revolution, and helped bring the PRC into the international fold. However, the diplomatic successes of China in the early 1970's were not evidence of a radical shift from pre-Cultural Revolution policies as much as evidence of a defensive victory against the radicalism of the time.

IV. African Outreach: China and the Tanzam Railway

I have spent a good deal of time discussing the nature and methods deployed by the Chinese government in order to promote the concept of Maoist Internationalism to their own people. Their attempts to publicize and popularize Sino-African relations were not only an extension of Chinese nationalism, but as an essential aspect of the proposed international socialist world order, which worked to build a united Third World of nations which shared very brief historical relationships. The Chinese Communist Party mainly relied upon its own common channels of communication and propaganda to educate and inform their population about this new relationship: newspaper articles, rallies, big character posters, commissioned artwork, and official speeches all helped to solidify the symbolic unity of the Chinese and African people. The next step towards making this vision a reality relied upon acting upon these promises of unity and creating a relationship with not only the governments of new African states, but their people as well. This task would appear to be much more difficult for the CCP to undertake. For while their own people could be trusted to respond positively to the familiar signs of propaganda that were utilized ubiquitously in Chinese society, these same techniques could not be wholly relied upon to entice their newfound allies from the Third World. While economic, diplomatic, and military ties would come to bind China with various African nations, this relationship was from the start built to be a unity between the people, in the Maoist fashion. Socialism and the Chinese model for revolution were encouraged and promoted through the various foreign policy initiatives of the PRC, yet the key component of their successes in Africa was their nonconditionality.

Various African liberation movements required aid in the form of weaponry and training, yet many were reluctant to turn to the imposing powers aligned with the West or

the Soviet Union. On the contrary, Sino-African relations were built from the ground up as a project without any colonial vestiges. China's true success in securing the trust of the African people lay in their shared revolutionary history. While other nations reached out to these newly liberated nations with conditional loans and heavy ideological pressure, as former members of their own revolutionary struggle, Chinese leaders understood that what would really bring the Chinese and African states closer together was a healthy respect for sovereignty. Leaders of liberation movements and upstart governments in Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and various other locales accepted Chinese aid and utilized elements of Chinese socialism in their state ideology; yet were very clear in delineating that China's relationship with Africa was not simply the emergence of a new colonial power. Despite Chinese influences, the origins and practice of African socialism were very different from that of Maoism. Thus, while one could argue that the Chinese were attempting to use or exploit their ties in Africa to promote their own interests, it is just as easy to state that African liberation movements took advantage of Chinese aid with no interest in embracing Maoist socialism as the leaders in China intended. In reality these relationships were not so nefarious, but policies of mutualism. While the parties of any relationship will act in their own self-interest, a successful pairing depends on compromise. In this respect, while Chinese propaganda at home emphasized the future centrality of China in a system of international Maoism, in their international dealings ideology was secondary to liberation. Similarly, African liberation movements utilized Chinese aid, yet made no promises to embrace Maoism. However, elements of Maoist ideology were utilized in efforts to promote the goals of liberation. The key concept that made a win-win scenario like this possible was

nonconditionality and respect for national sovereignty, both aspects of Zhou's outline of Peaceful Coexistence.

Chinese funded projects like the Tanzam Railway, were emblematic of nonconditional Chinese support for a liberated Africa. This project, and the various other ties promoted between China and the up and coming revolutionary leaders of East Africa enabled political and ideological victories of several liberation movements, while simultaneously helping promote Sino-African political unity and friendship. In this chapter I will use the Tanzam Railway as a case study in an effort to elaborate upon the influence and strategy of China's Maoist Internationalist movement. In addition, the ties between China and various other states and nations in South-East African will also be included to provide a context for the breadth of Sino-African relations during the 1960's and 1970's. In navigating the desires and actions of both the Chinese and African leaders, one must take into account the effect of signification and coding in political discourse. The mutualism that flourished between China and African liberation movements in these decades was ensured by each party cleverly dancing around their own true desires to promote a relationship upon the values they compromised upon – namely Peaceful Coexistence and anti-imperialism. A semiotic analysis of these discourses, through the lens of the Tanzam Railway project and the surrounding liberation movements of the time will be used to deconstruct the stereotype of the Third World puppet state or claims of exploitation and neocolonialism. Through this analysis, it can be seen that it was not the ideological strength of Maoist Internationalism that helped shape Sino-African relations, but the success of China's soft power initiatives and position as a model revolutionary state with a great deal of offer African liberation. The continuation of strong Sino-African relations today demonstrates how China's Third World

connections were not built upon ideals of a socialist world order so much as upon the promise of stability and respect for new and developing nations.

A. China, Tanzania and Nyerere

China's links with the East African nations of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, which would merge in April 1964 to become Tanzania, were solidified nearly from the start of their independence. Tanganyika was the tenth African state to recognize the PRC in December 1961, shortly after obtaining their independence from the United Kingdom. Within the next few years, the bonds between the two countries were strengthened as Tanganyikan President Julius Nyerere and Zhou Enlai both set forth plans to visit each other's countries in 1964. However, the tumultuous events of the year, which included the Zanzibar Revolution, a mutiny by the Tanganyikan army, and the eventual union of Zanzibar and Tanganyika into Tanzania, prevented either visit from occurring. However, these events did serve to enable a stronger relationship between the newly formed Tanzania and China. In the wake of Tanzania's discord, China began to provide military assistance to the Tanzania People's Defense Force, and began to assist the nation in developing self-reliance from the United Kingdom. This was accomplished through the use of development aid, trade agreements and various other treaties promising friendship and increased commerce between the two nations.⁷⁹

Zhou Enlai eventually made it to Dar es Salaam in 1965 and Nyerere's came to China in 1965 and 1968, in which he "stressed that he had "come to learn.""⁸⁰ While one must be

⁷⁹ Martin Bailey, "Tanzania and China," *African Affairs*, Vol. 74, No. 294, (Oxford University Press, Jan., 1975), 39-40.

⁸⁰ Ibid, 41.

careful not to ascribe Chinese influence as the sole factor in Nyerere's philosophy on governance, I would be remiss not to note the shift that Tanzania's governance took towards socialism in the midst of this blossoming of Sino-Tanzanian relations in the 1960s. In February 1967, Nyerere's "Arusha Declaration" marked a great shift in Tanzanian policy towards socialism and self-reliance. The nationalization of banks, establishment of communal Ujamaa villages, and increasing focus on internationalism came about the next few years. In 1971, Nyerere's party TANU (Tanzania African National Union) set out in an official document that advancing the Tanzanian revolution required "cooperation with all friendly, socialist, revolutionary countries."⁸¹ During another visit to Beijing in 1974 Nyerere stated that, "Two things convince me that socialism can be built in Africa and that it is not a Utopian vision. For capitalism is ultimately incompatible with the real independence of African states. The second thing which encourages me is China...China is providing an encouragement and an inspiration for younger and smaller nations which seek to build socialist societies."⁸² These statements and actions appear to be a perfect reflection of every ideal proposed by International Maoism. Self-reliance, international cooperation between Third World nations, revolutionary society, communal village projects, large overhead nationalization are all tenets reflected in the discourse of Mao and Tanzanian leadership beginning in the late 1960s. To really emphasize these similarities I must also make one more comparison. Consider Maoist policies such as the "Down to the Countryside Movement" in relation to this next example:

⁸¹ J.D. Armstrong, *Revolutionary Diplomacy: Chinese Foreign Policy and the United Front Doctrine* (University of California Press, 1977), 233.

⁸² Bailey, "Tanzania and China," 42.

Efforts have also been made to decentralize government and party power in Tanzania to leave more opportunity for initiative at the grass-roots level. The Tanzanian leadership has attempted to integrate manual and intellectual work: examples of this have been the establishment of farms in primary schools, the introduction of national service for students in higher education, and the President's symbolic period of physical labor in the countryside.⁸³

Were these policies enacted because of an overwhelming Chinese influence over the Tanzanian President? While the various economic and political ties between the two nations certainly didn't hurt, one must be careful to note that African Socialism is not simply a foreign importation. Maoism was not simply a carbon copy of Soviet communism or pure Marxist thought, but an ideology forged together with unique Chinese characteristics. In the same manner, African Socialism as promoted by Nyerere and other leaders of the time had strong domestic roots. Nyerere's socialist projects attempted to adopt "the same socialist attitude of mind which in the tribal days gave to every individual the security that comes of belonging to a widely extended family."⁸⁴ The principles of Nyerere's socialism itself were rooted in the Swahili word *ujamaa*, which literally likened socialism to the notion of an extended family. The reason Maoism had any successful implementation in the policies of Nyerere and other African leaders is because they saw it as a useful adjunct to the homegrown socialism that already found its roots in African society.

Nyerere's conceptualization of African Socialism was intrinsically linked to Pan-Africanism, and helped pave the way for Tanzania as a key organizational base for various guerrilla fighters from across the continent. Nyerere's adoption of Chinese style collectivization was based upon *ujamaa*, his one-party state borrowed "as much from pre-

⁸³ Bailey, "Tanzania and China," 41.

⁸⁴ Cranford Pratt, Julius Nyerere: Reflections on the Legacy of His Socialism, *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 1, (Taylor & Francis, Ltd., 1999), 146.

colonial Africa's kingly traditions as from the Chinese Communist Party,"⁸⁵ and secured Chinese support for the Tanzam Railway to help pave the way for the future liberation of southern Africa. Nyerere's Tanzania, bolstered by Chinese support, would become an example of Pan-African cooperation. Nyerere continued to navigate between the ideologies of Maoist Internationalism and those of Pan-Africanism, as evidenced by his speech at the last Pan-African Congress in 1974, in which he placed the "opposition to racialism, colonialism, oppression and exploitation everywhere" in "the context of a worldwide movement for human equality and national self-determination."⁸⁶ In this manner, the Pan-African movement, which was already founded upon roots of internationalism, intertwined itself with the tenets of International Maoism.

B. The Tanzam Railway

Alongside several large packages of development and military aid, the most impactful undertaking of China in Africa was the building of the Tanzam Railway. At the time the project was the third largest foreign aid project ever undertaken, and remains China's biggest single foreign aid contribution.⁸⁷ While a link between Tanzania and Zambia has originally been envisioned by Cecil Rhodes as part of a Cape to Cairo line, the project that was eventually developed served to protect to autonomy of the newly liberated black African nations. At the beginning of the 1960s Tanzania's Nyerere and Zambia's

⁸⁵ Clapperton Chakanetsa Mavhunga, "A Plundering Tiger with Its Deadly Cubs? The USSR and China as Weapons in Engineering of a "Zimbabwean Nation," *Entangled Geographies: Empires and Technopolitics in the Global Cold War*, Gabrielle Hecht, ed., (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2011), 244

⁸⁶ Minkah Makalani, "Pan-Africanism," *Africana Age*, (New York Public Library Project), URL: <http://exhibitions.nypl.org/africanaage/essay-pan-africanism.html>.

⁸⁷ Rosalyn J. Rettman, The Tanzam Rail Link: China's "Loss Leader" in Africa, *World Affairs*, Vol. 136, No. 3 (World Affairs Institute Winter 1973-1974), 232.

Kaunda began drawing up plans for a railway link between their two countries. After
Zambian independence in 1964, the nation still found itself dependent on the white African
nations to the south.

Her railways were part of Rhodesia Railways; the coal for her extremely important
copper mining came from Rhodesia; her source of electricity was the Kariba Dam,
the powerhouse of which is located on the Rhodesian side of the Zambezi River; her
oil came via Rhodesian pipelines; her food imports came through Mozambique and
Rhodesia; a great number of her consumer projects imported South Africa; and her
copper was exported almost totally through Rhodesia and Mozambique.⁸⁸

The Tanzam Railway would help circumvent the fears of a southern blockade of these
resources by providing Zambia with alternate routes for economic freedom. Tanzania's
desire for a railway to Zambia similarly contained both ideological and economic interests.
On the one hand, the Tanzam Railway would link the weaker Zambian to Tanzania, one of
the central points for Pan-African liberation movements, and help create a stronger united
front of black African states.⁸⁹ On the other hand, economically the Tanzam Railway would
benefit all three involved parties. Zambia and Tanzania would enjoy increased trade, new
fertile areas would be opened up for development, China would benefit from increased
exportation into Africa, and copper from the Zambian copper belt could be bought by
foreign parties (such as the Chinese) without having to travel through Rhodesia.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Rettman, *The Tanzam Rail Link*, 236.

⁸⁹ Rettman, *The Tanzam Rail Link*, 239-240.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 236, 240.



Figure 5: “Serve the Revolutionary People of the World”, (1971) A Chinese worker on the Tanzam Railway.

Of course, the building and financing of the Tanzam Railway would also serve to solidify China’s role as a leader of Third World liberation movements. As seen in Figure 5, China remained dedicated to maintaining their position as a revolutionary partner to Third World nations.⁹¹ While many Western governments refused to fund the Tanzam Railway, China took the initiative in September 1967 by signing a tripartite agreement to survey, build and finance it. The 1,060-mile project, which would link Zambia’s copper belt to the Tanzanian port city of Dar es Salaam, began in April 1970 and was completed in 1975. The Chinese impact in building the Tanzam Railway was not solely a political one. 60,000 Africans were employed in the construction of the Tanzam Railway, and the economic and ideological benefits of the line would have a direct impact on the people of Zambia and Tanzania.⁹² Many who worked on the Railway gained skills to be in its employ their entire life, while many farmers and commodity traders alike relied upon the Railway’s passenger

⁹¹ Tianjin tielu fenju zhigong yeyu san jiehu chuangzuo zu, “Serve the Revolutionary People of the World (为世界革命人民服务),” Published by Tianjin renmin meishu chubanshe, 1971.

⁹² Jamie Monson, *Africa’s Freedom Railway: How a Chinese Development Project Changed the Lives and Livelihoods in Tanzania*, (Indiana University Press, 2009), 33.

corridors between cities to sell their products and bring consumer goods to local markets. The line's transportation capabilities brought mining, forestry and fishing industry (and jobs) to untouched areas.⁹³ In Eastern Africa, the line was called the *Uhuru* (Freedom) Railway.⁹⁴ It was a symbol of "revolutionary solidarity and resistance to the forces of colonialism, neo-colonialism, and imperialism."⁹⁵ The Chinese press recorded a number of quotes from local East African's during the process of building the Tanzam Railway. While their validity may not be of the highest degree of journalistic integrity, I believe they are of interest in order to at least gauge to some degree the impact of the Tanzam Railway. Upon hearing that the railway through her village had been completed, one blind elderly lady is led by her granddaughter to touch the tracks, "Although I can't see the railway, I certainly want to use my own two hands to feel the Tanzam Railway go through my hometown."⁹⁶ A worker states, "We want to quickly finish the Tanzam Railway, to thoroughly crush the colonialist's blockade on us."⁹⁷ Finally, one quote demonstrates the growing bond between the Chinese and African workers on the line, "In order to promptly finish the Tanzam Railway, we and our Chinese friends must learn and work together."⁹⁸ While examples such as these may be nothing more than idle propaganda for the Chinese people, they do reflect aspects of the reality that the Tanzam Railway provided to the people of Zambia and Tanzania. The line provided a new livelihood for thousands living alongside it, brought in

⁹³ Ibid, 9.

⁹⁴ Bailey, *Tanzania and China*, 46-47.

⁹⁵ Monson, *Africa's Freedom Railway*, 2.

⁹⁶ "The Zambian People Fight on the Tanzam Railway Line," *People's Daily*, Patrick Laboon, trans, (February 23, 1972), 6.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ "The Zambian People Fight on the Tanzam Railway Line," *People's Daily*, 6.

new industries and jobs, and assured the people of the newly liberated states a sense of stability in their self-reliance from the southern African states.

C. Public Outreach and Propaganda

In conjunction with the various forms of foreign aid provided by the Chinese government, social outreach programs were undertaken to make direct connections with the people of East Africa. China attempted to increase their influence in Africa through the use of radio broadcasts. Radio Peking's English language transmissions provided ideological news and commentary alongside music. However, given that radios were still a luxury item for many at the time, many of the masses China desired to reach were likely out of earshot during their 21 hours of weekly broadcasts. Moreover, the enduring popularity of the BBC radio station still held dominance. A survey of educated East African urbanites in 1964 and 1966 showed that while in each year 51% and 70% listened to BBC respectively, Radio Peking's numbers were a mere 1% to 8%. While their numbers were on the rise, the Chinese were still far behind the British radio station.⁹⁹ Other examples of Chinese attempts to reach out to the African population are evident in the various Chinese publications that found their way to the continent. In 1968, Political Scientist George T. Yu reported that in Africa,

*The China Pictorial, Peking review, Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Mao's selected works, Swahili translations of Chinese poems for children, etc. have all been readily obtainable. In Kampala, a street stand opposite the main Post Office sells a wide range of Chinese literature, as well as portraits of Mao and Stalin; in Dar es Salaam the Friendship Book Shop carries a full stock of Chinese publications and a complete line of Mao buttons.*¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ George T. Yu, "Dragon in the Bush: Peking's Presence in Africa," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 8, No. 12 (University of California Press, Dec., 1968) 1023-1024.

¹⁰⁰ Yu, "Dragon in the Bush," 1024.

However, Yu is careful to delineate that access to Chinese publications does not imply that the African people were actively reading them and taking in their ideological messages. Most of the interest in Chinese publications is among African academics, and even then, an editor of an East African intellectual journal at the time “had found that so far as indicated by the written word, Chinese influence ideologically among African contributors is minimal if present at all.”¹⁰¹ However, Chinese publications and radio broadcasts were making some contact with a portion of the population, even if it was not a significant one. In this respect it is evident that the Chinese government was attempting to propagate Chinese ideological values throughout Africa for the purposes of Maoist Internationalism. However, outside of a continuously revolutionary society that is quite accustomed to political movements and media, the African population was much less responsive. This is likely due in part to the English translations of Chinese works, which comes off as monotonous, and the “equally monotonous repetition of ideological symbolism.”¹⁰² These problems are a result of a failure to carefully signify why Maoism is beneficial for African people. Whereas the denotation of these broadcasts may carefully lay out the glories of Maoism, the connotations taken away reject the media as ideological blabbering. China’s real successes in Africa were possible through direct connection to national leaders, who could accept Chinese assistance for the benefit of their own people, while publically communicating and coding the ideologies of Maoism in a fashion that not only relates back to the native ideologies of the people, but their own national hopes and goals. To that end, where their ideological initiatives may have

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

fallen short, the Chinese government continually focused on providing support for their revolutionary counterparts through other methods.

Recorded radio broadcasts from Tanzania provide a wealth of evidence for just how much effort the Chinese put into strengthening their relationship with not only the Tanzanian government, but their people as well. In December 1964, one broadcast reports on the arrival of a gift of 15 buses from the Chinese, which Vice President Abeid Karume states will be used to help farmers move their produce in and out of towns.¹⁰³ Another in the same month makes note of the departure of seven Zanzibari students, off to China to study finance for six months.¹⁰⁴ Following Nyerere's visit to China in February 1965, the newspaper *Nationalist* printed an editorial stating,

The Chinese people support us Africans in the struggle to oppose imperialism and colonialism, new and old, and to win and safeguard out national independence...They support the Africans policy of peace, neutrality and nonalignment. They support Africa's desire to achieve unity and solidarity in a manner of its own choice as well as its efforts to settle its own internal disputes through peaceful consultations...Above all, the Chinese have expressed their respect for the sovereignty of the African countries and have undertaken to avoid encroachment or interference in our political affairs.¹⁰⁵

Ever searching for an endorsement of Sino-African relations, the Peking NCNA International Service quoted the statements of the *Nationalist* on their own radio program. On the acceptance of gifts of cars or sewing machines, and arrival of PRC doctors, or the laying of a cornerstone on a Chinese financed mill, local Tanzanian radio broadcasts

¹⁰³ "Fifteen Buses Received as CPR as Gift," *Dar es Salaam Tanzania Domestic Service – 1964 -12 -15*, Daily Report, Foreign Radio Broadcasts, FBIS-FRB-64-244.

¹⁰⁴ "Students to CPR," *Zanzibar Tanzania Domestic – 1964 -12 -22*, Daily Report, Foreign Radio Broadcasts, FBIS-FRB-64-249.

¹⁰⁵ "The Nationalist Hails CPR Support of Africans," *Peking NCNA International Service – 1965-01-29*, Daily Report, Foreign Radio Broadcasts, FBIS-FRB-65-021.

highlighted the contributions China provided their nation.¹⁰⁶ And, whereas western institutions like IMF and World Bank promised aid and assistance only under the conditions of Structural Adjustment Programs, China's support came with no strings attached.¹⁰⁷ There were no efforts to attach conditionality for aid upon socialist policy. In this respect China's efforts to establish a foothold in Africa took care to respect the sovereignty of the newly liberated countries they supported. While other nations hounded these states to conform to their own First or Second World ideals, China acknowledged their need for respect, and was successful in establishing a relationship built upon mutual trust and understanding. While the history and cultures of China and Tanzania may be wildly different, they both shared commonalities in their most recent struggles against colonizing powers, and subsequent liberation and nation building endeavors. The ideological shift towards socialism would not be an overt pressure by the Chinese state, yet a cultural adoption built upon the ever-present model of a successfully liberated state. This soft power strategy did not require conditional support, direct military intervention, or even much ideological proselytizing outside the few radio broadcasts and Chinese publications in Africa. It relied upon a steady stream of physical aid and support on the ground level, and political declarations and connections at the top. Finally, a key aspect of Sino-African relations certainly relied upon Chinese support for African liberation movements on a larger scale. While media propaganda could be used to try and reinforce Chinese ideology, the true builders of Sino-African relations within Africa were the guerrilla fighters who learned from China and went on to found their own independent nations.

¹⁰⁶ Daily Report, Foreign Radio Broadcasts. Under the heading Tanzania, Africa, 1964-1966.

¹⁰⁷ Meine-Pieter van Dijk, ed., *The New Presence of China in Africa*, (Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 23.

D. No Strings Attached: Liberation and Exploitation

China's influence in East Africa stretched well beyond the borders of Tanzania and Zambia, in that guerilla fighters trained within China went off to practice revolution across the continent. Some of those who underwent this training went on to be prominent members of new governments, and took with them an appreciation for both the Chinese nation and Maoist ideology. Yet when discussing matters of ideological training and packages of military and infrastructural aid in the context of the Cold War, it is easy to imagine these liberated African nations as having succumbed to the presence of an overlord Chinese hegemon. Yet China was the nation many turned to because the West and the USSR were seen as the sort of international powers that would reinstate some form of neo-colonial control over their "allies." In 1976, Zambia's President Kaunda likened the Soviets in Africa to "a plundering tiger with its deadly cubs coming through the back door."¹⁰⁸ Yet even when grouping China amongst these domineering powers, one must keep in mind that within any binary relationship the notion of "use" or exploitation can be muddled. Dr. Clapperton Chakanetsa Mavhunga argues that from the eyes of Africans, the larger states "were merely sources of guns, military training, and communist ideology-tools with which to liberate power for themselves,"¹⁰⁹ and that African leaders were not puppets, but:

‘Playing puppet’ as camouflage to use these communist countries as weaponry for designing themselves into nationalists, create guerilla movements, and assemble ideological repertoires to engineer colonies into independent nations through warfare and diplomatic trickery.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Mavhunga, "A Plundering Tiger with its Deadly Cubs?" 233.

¹⁰⁹ Mavhunga, "A Plundering Tiger with its Deadly Cubs?" 233.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

While International Maoism may have been the ultimate ideological goal of Chinese intervention in Africa, the goals of the guerrilla fighters were more attuned to their own liberation, or at the most the concepts of Pan-Africanism, anti-imperialism, and African Socialism. Obviously these concepts have much in common with International Maoism, which is probably indicative of why the peoples of these two very disparate cultures found so much to learn from one another. Josiah Tongogara, the commander of ZANU's liberation army in Zimbabwe, trained at a guerilla camp at Nanjing's Military Academy in 1966. The training included two months of education on the Chinese Revolution and communist ideology, months more of training in "mass mobilization, military intelligence, political science, mass media, and guerilla strategies."¹¹¹ The effects of this training are not only evident in the effectiveness of ZANU and other revolutionary movements trained in China, but in the characteristics of Maoism that carried over into their own liberation of the countryside. In the final stages of the Zimbabwean struggle for independence in 1979, Tongogara related to a BBC reporter:

When we open a new area, we don't just go and fight. First of all we make a study – investigation among the masses – they tell us their grievances, and those we exploit and use them...and we explain to them why we have come to them, why you are fighting this war. They have to understand it.¹¹²

Collectivization, utilization of the masses in armed struggle, and the printing of books and other media espousing Maoist ideology were all key components of the ZANU strategy.¹¹³

From this perspective it appears that the Chinese efforts in Zimbabwe were a great success,

¹¹¹ Ibid., 242-243.

¹¹² Portrait of a "Terrorist," Nick Ross, rep., (BBC Two England, April 19, 1979), URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YbU_IQMz7ko.

¹¹³ Ibid.

especially with respect to the Soviet backed ZAPU that was also fighting within Rhodesia at the time. Yet that is not to say that Zimbabwe today is a proxy or puppet state under Chinese control. Arguing that Chinese support for African liberation movements entirely had “No Strings Attached” would be ignoring the fact that the spread of Maoist ideology was a reality. However, the tactics and ideology of Maoism were adopted not out of coercive force on the part of the Chinese, but because they fit the needs of the ZANU guerrilla forces. If one wished to twist this mutual relationship into one of exploitation either side could be conceptualized as the pawn of the other. I do not believe this is the proper way to characterize this relationship, because the presence of any such antagonizing force would not yield the same long-term results that have sustained themselves in Sino-African relations. It was the concept of mutualism and the well-entrenched foreign policy devotion to Peaceful Coexistence that made this a reality.

Nyerere’s own statement on the subject of aid with no strings attached provides an interesting perspective on the state of Sino-Tanzanian relations. I will provide a brief semiotic analysis on this text to attempt to illuminate the intentions behind these statements. Umberto Eco provides a simple communication model that outlines a basic structure that can assist us in our analysis (Figure 6)¹¹⁴.

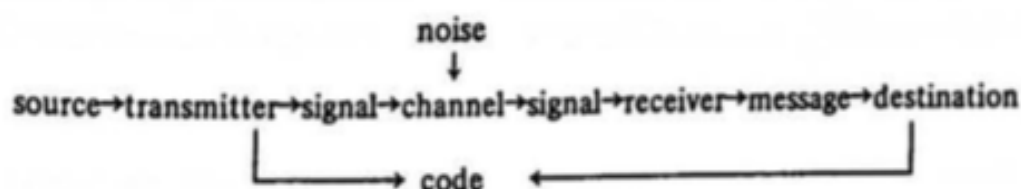


Figure 6: Umberto Eco’s “Elementary communicational model”

¹¹⁴ Umberto Eco, *A Theory of Semiotics*, (Indiana University Press, 1976), 33.

In this conceptualization, each of our three texts is the source, or signifier. The transmission of this source, in this case through speech or writing, is intended to create a signal that can be received and interpreted by the destination party. However, troubles in miscommunication may arise in the wake of noise distorting the message as it moves from one party to the other, or through the opposite party simply decoding the message in a manner that yields a disparate interpretation. Thus in a kind of public statement such as the following we will be required to analyze not only Nyerere's rationales and intentions, but the effect his words have on the intended audience. Nyerere's speech at his welcome banquet during his first trip to China in February 1965 marks a new dramatic connection between the people of these two disconnected regions. Nyerere commits to the typical formal greetings, before making reference to historical Sino-African trade and Zheng He's voyages to Africa, in which he famously brought back a giraffe for the emperor:

When after our independence...Tanzania began to establish contacts with your country we were not really doing anything new. We were merely resuming a connection which had been broken off. Along the entire coastal strip of the Tanzania mainland we have archeological evidence that strong trade links existed between your country and mine in the 13th, 14th, and early 15th centuries...You have in your country I believe a drawing of a giraffe which was at that time sent to China from east Africa.¹¹⁵

Here Nyerere seeks to create a historical relationship between the Tanzanian and Chinese people based upon historical connections and symbolism, in the form of the well-known image of Zheng He's giraffe. Nyerere then continues to solidify the new, contemporary connections that China and Tanzania share:

¹¹⁵ "Nyerere Banquet Speech," *Peking-1965-02-17*, Daily Report, Foreign Radio Broadcasts, FBIS-FRB-65-033, 1.

The independence of Tanzania has now made possible this renewal of contacts between our two countries and also perhaps more important the establishment of contacts between our two people (applause). So despite the long distance between us our peoples have very much in common. The vast majority in both China and Tanzania earn their living from the land or in rural areas and both of us have only recently won freedom from the combination of exploitation and neglect which characterize feudal and colonial society. There is therefore, much that we can learn from each other (applause).¹¹⁶

Here, it is easy to see just how much Nyerere's own diction and ideology match up with those of Maoist Internationalism. One could easily imagine these very same words coming from the mouth of Zhou Enlai. It is to be a union not between countries alone, but people. Moreover, Nyerere undermines any ideas of Chinese primacy in the relationship by stating that there is much to learn from each other, thus equalizing the relationship. However, Nyerere is not afraid to address the elephant in the room. Aid for Tanzania is the primary driver of China's relationship with the state, but Nyerere is resolute on protecting Tanzanian sovereignty:

But on one thing we are all determined in Tanzania—all our people are united in the decision that cooperation we get from abroad must be completely without strings. Those who give us loans or grants or send us technicians to work with us must do this because they wish to take part in man's human development, and not because they wish to control our young state. Tanzania is not for sale. Neither our foreign policy nor our internal policy will be moved one inch as a result of threats to withhold or withdraw economic assistance. The policies of our united republic will be determined by the needs and judgments of our people and by no other criteria at all (applause).¹¹⁷

A message such as this, at the welcome banquet during his first visit to China, is not some idle posturing. Despite the relative weakness of the Tanzanian state, Nyerere makes it clear that they are tired of being manipulated by foreign powers, and China will be no exception. While the only direct response we have to these statements from the Chinese perspective is

¹¹⁶ Ibid, 1.

¹¹⁷ "Nyerere Banquet Speech"

the recorded signal of applause, I believe China's continued dedication to providing Tanzania and many other Third World states interest free loans, labor and resources for huge infrastructure projects and other forms of no strings attached aid are evidence enough that they took Nyerere's warning to heart. While there was a risk of Nyerere's transmitted message not being properly interpreted by the Chinese leaders within the audience, I think an understanding of Tanzania's position as a newly liberated state helped inform Zhou Enlai and others as to the proper course to drive Sino-African relations. Maoist Internationalism was to be deconstructed for the African audience, and the tenets of world socialism would be left to the side as China aggressively pursued soft power in Africa through a variety of nonconditional aid projects. Chinese leaders understood Nyerere's need for national sovereignty and respect in his position as the leader of a nation that had just achieved liberation from colonialist control. As such, they provided a foreign policy plan that would be much more successful in harboring relations with developing nations than that of the Western powers or USSR, who in the midst of the Cold War based their aid off conditional free-market policies or other ideological and political restrictions. From the point of view of African leaders, guerrilla, fighters, and everyday citizens, China's commitment to Peaceful Coexistence and anti-imperialism, coupled with military training and support, painted China as a fresh alternative to the domineering superpowers of the world. Aid from China was a source of support that could be relied upon, from a nation that knew quite a bit about colonial oppression and guerilla warfare. It was Zhou Enlai's model of pragmatic foreign policy, implanted over the core of International Maoism, which helped make these relationships so fruitful. The intertwining of these ideals, with those of the men and women in the liberation movement, produced something that could stand the test of time. To that

point, China continues to have strong relations with many developing states today, proving the effectiveness of this model outside the bounds of Maoist or African Socialist ideology.

V. Contemporary Challenges and Triumphs

I believe the Sino-African relationship will prove to be a vitally important segment of world affairs over the next several decades. The structure and outline of this contemporary relationship stems from the idealistic vision of Maoist Internationalism, Zhou Enlai's ideal of Peaceful Coexistence, and various African nation's dedication to independence. I hope that this thesis has not only proved to serve as a general guideline for the basic ideology and practical applications of Maoist Internationalism throughout China's revolutionary period, but has helped to explain how two very different regions came together to promote a common goal – to stand up for those segments of the world that had been oppressed, manipulated, and used by the reigning superpowers. The tenets of Maoist Internationalism are at their core appealing to one's humanist side. When the violent rhetoric is put aside, and the barrel of the gun turned down, the doctrine is one that promotes social harmony and cross-cultural friendship. It is easy to see why so many people dedicated themselves to making this dream a reality.

The Chinese government utilized their own nationalist discourse to promote Maoist Internationalism, and created a new vision for what the Chinese state could be on the world stage. While nationalism empowered the Chinese people, internationalism created a universal goal that gave meaning and context to the often-tumultuous events of the Maoist period. The constant purges, drastic policy shifts, and various revolutionary movements were efforts to purify and strengthen the Chinese people dedication to Maoism, and thus his dream of an international socialist world. Throughout all of the domestic struggles that China endured, the dedication to Maoist Internationalism through the pursuit of foreign relations with the nations of the Third World would remain a primary policy goal. China's

foreign policy would come to be defined by Zhou Enlai's "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence," which has outlasted the revolutionary fervor of the Maoist Era to become a defining trait of contemporary Chinese foreign policy. While capitalism has replaced communism wholesale in China, the foreign policy initiatives of the PRC have remained remarkably stable for the past 60 years. China has dedicated itself towards championing the developing nations of the world, even as its own economy has become one of the world's largest. While profit motive has replaced Maoist ideology, I believe the longstanding adherence to this policy is still anchored in the notions of nonintervention and anti-imperialism as developed in Zhou's Principles. From the perspective of African leaders, China has remained a staunch ally and supporter of both their liberation movements and future political and developmental efforts. Even outside the bounds of shared socialist ideology, the foreign policy ideals of China have been relied upon because of their continued adherence to national sovereignty.

Yet, while China's efforts to enable Sino-African cooperation and commerce have continued until today, many challenges still exist. While Chinese influence in Africa shaped the trajectory of many liberation movements and provided continued assistance and friendship in Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and many other African nations, localized tensions may be on the rise. The connections that created the strong Sino-African relationships of today are built upon mutual understanding, respect for sovereignty, and trust. Yet issues have begun to arise. The Chinese black market for ivory, used in traditional Chinese medicine, has fueled poaching across Africa. Two Chinese smugglers, found with ivory belonging to 226 elephants, were sentenced to 30 years jail time in Tanzania after

being arrested in 2013.¹¹⁸ A particularly inflammatory poaching case arose when 66-year-old Yang Fenglan, the “Ivory Queen,” was arrested for leading a smuggling ring responsible for \$2.5million worth of poached ivory. Yang had originally come to Tanzania as a Kiswahili interpreter in 1975, to help facilitate China’s involvement on the Tanzam Railway.¹¹⁹ While the links between these people and their nations may originate in the fraternal ideology of Maoist Internationalism, contemporary challenges are to a great degree influenced by individuals. The “Ivory Queen” is a unique case in that her ties to Africa date back to the beginnings of Sino-African friendship and cooperation, yet over time she has taken advantage of these connections to amass personal gain. These fears, that the ties between Africa and China have blinded political actors to the new wave of Chinese neocolonialism and economic domination in Africa, have been well documented in the media. Books have been published, newspaper articles printed, and documentaries made chronicling or prophesizing China’s neocolonial agenda in Africa. Yet at the same time, many view Chinese continued friendship and promises of aid with no strings attached as a welcome alternative to the politically domineering forces of the West.

The perception of Chinese influence in Africa today could easily shift from one of assistance to exploitation if leaders are not careful. Issues have already begun to arise in the wake of some Chinese development projects in Africa, because of Chinese employers’ reluctance to utilize local African workforces. Many businesses will ship over entire divisions of Chinese workers to complete projects, leaving infrastructure as they leave, but

¹¹⁸ Tausi Ally, “Chinese jailed 30 years for slaughter of 226 elephants,” *The Citizen*, March 19, 2016, URL: <http://www.thecitizen.co.tz/News/Chinese-jailed-30-years-for-slaughter-of-226-elephants-/1840340/3123746/-/ca8766z/-/index.html%20Tanzania%20source>.

¹¹⁹ “Chinese woman’s story,” *The Citizen*, October 10, 2015, URL: <http://www.thecitizen.co.tz/News/Revealed--Her-story/-/1840340/2907058/-/13081chz/-/index.html>

providing little opportunity for African human capital development. African leaders cannot sit by idly as their resources are traded for Chinese built highways and stadiums, for the development of human capital is essential for the long term self-reliance of any developing state. Yet another growing concern may simply be an inevitable repercussion of the very economic ties that have united Chinese and African leaders. In the wake of China's slowing economy in the last year, imports from Africa dropped 40% in 2015. China's economic integration with a variety of commodity exporters in Africa would inevitably affect the growth and development of these African nations if any greater economic problems were to arise. Finally, one cannot simply right off Chinese involvement with violators of human rights as Western propaganda. While the Chinese position of nonintervention in the affairs of other nations politics and no strings attached aid programs has won them many friends amongst leaders of the developing world, partnerships with Sudan in the midst of the Darfur crisis and other amicable deals with human rights violators does very little to bolster their reputation as a friend of the African people.¹²⁰ I do not by any means suggest that Western powers themselves are innocent in this regard, but in light of this one should not stand by these injustices just because they are widespread. Chinese leaders cannot risk popular backlash against their operations in Africa, for an association with neocolonialism will not help any future foreign policy initiatives.

Chinese racism towards Africans is one likely reason for the lack of African employment by Chinese firms, and is another issue that could produce strain on Sino-African relations. In May of 2016 a Chinese advertisement for the laundry detergent Qiaobi made headlines across social media as "The Most Racist Ad Ever." In the advertisement, a

¹²⁰ Dambisa Moyo, *Dead Aid: Why Aid Is Not Working and How There Is a Better Way for Africa*, (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2009), 275.

Chinese woman is approached by a black man who whistles at her and winks in her direction. She proceeds to place a packet of detergent in his mouth and stuff him in a washing machine, where after a moment he emerges as a Chinese man, to the delight of the woman. The company's initial response to the public outcry was that people are simply too sensitive, before a day later making an official apology, which nevertheless places some blame on the "over-amplification by the media."¹²¹ Yet while the world may just be catching on, anti-black racism in China is not a new phenomenon. In 1979, a clash broke out in China between visiting African students and their Chinese counterparts, resulting in around 50 foreigners and 24 Chinese injured. Throughout the 1980's various other small-scale conflicts between Chinese and Africans occurred throughout China, often fueled by racism. A driving factor in these conflicts was Chinese concern over relations between African men and Chinese women. In some cases Chinese harassed Africans by calling them "black devils" or claiming that they were carriers of AIDS.¹²² All of this, despite the fact that "in April 1988, Communist Party head Zhao Ziyang stated that racial discrimination was common 'everywhere in the world expect China.'¹²³ Within China during this time, African students responded to this racism with protests, marches and boycotts.¹²⁴ More recently, racism has been a key element holding back the employment of many Africans who could benefit from Chinese investment in their nations. When interviewing a number of Chinese migrant entrepreneurs in Africa for his book *China's Second Continent*, Howard W. French asked

¹²¹ "Chinese firm apologises over Qiaobi race-row advert," *BBC News*, May 29, 2016, URL: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-36407651>.

¹²² Barry Sautman, "Anti-Black Racism in Post-Mao China," *China Quarterly* 138 (1994): 415-420, 422, accessed December 4, 2014, URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/654951>.

¹²³ *Ibid*, 420.

¹²⁴ *Ibid*, 418, 420.

these people why they didn't hire African workers. One Chinese farmer in Mozambique claims, "The market capacity of the blacks is pretty bad. The thing you need to know about them is that they only do what they are supposed to do when you are watching them."¹²⁵ A manager of a copper business in Zambia claims, "Zambians have good bodies. The problem is they cannot work hard."¹²⁶ He employs a few locals, but opts to hire bricklayers from China, paying them twice as much as such a worker would make in China, and about ten times what a Zambian could make in the position.¹²⁷

In the BBC documentary *The Chinese are Coming*, many local Africans are featured who take issue with the growing Chinese presence in their region. One man asks why the Chinese refuse to hire Zambians for simple jobs like driving a forklift, while local chicken farmers claim that Chinese chicken farmers are resorting to foul play by enlarging their chickens to take over the market.¹²⁸ With ever-increasing Chinese investment and migration to Africa, tensions between local Africans and Chinese are bound to erupt. However, racist attitudes and the undervaluing of the worth of the African individual are making this process a lot more troublesome than it need be. One African civil society worker puts it best, "There is a risk that they [Chinese leaders] should consider...that one day the people of Africa will come to see China as an unfriendly country...That could put all their interests in danger over time. They should think about this a little more."¹²⁹ These straining forces have already broken out of the biased realm of western media to influence African leaders and

¹²⁵ Howard W. French, *China's Second Continent*, 15.

¹²⁶ Ibid, 55.

¹²⁷ Howard W. French, *China's Second Continent*, 54.

¹²⁸ BBC, *The Chinese are Coming Ep. 1*, Documentary, starring Justin Rowlett, BBC, 2011.

¹²⁹ Howard W. French, *China's Second Continent*, 125.

publications as well. As Julius Malema, leader of the South African political party Economic Freedom Fighters puts it:

We are looking for new partners, we are looking for new investors; but let it be done through our own terms as Africans and not through the exploitation of our resources and our people by the new colonizer, because this one projected themselves as better than the previous colonizer.¹³⁰

The Chinese promise of nonintervention in political affairs may be seen as a gateway to African independent growth and development, yet Malema reveals this projection to be a cover for the growing economic influence of China in Africa. Just as capitalism has replaced Maoism in the field of Chinese international relations, economic domination has replaced the goals of ideological influence and political transformation.

Despite growing tensions at the local level, many other political leaders still espouse the value of Sino-African relations. China's involvement with Mugabe's government in Zimbabwe has produced a highly integrated relationship, to the degree that Mugabe has adopted the Chinese Yuan as Zimbabwe's primary international currency.¹³¹ Many have claimed that moves like this, and other aspects of China's large-scale intervention in Africa is a form of neocolonialism. At the China-Africa summit in Johannesburg in December of 2015, Mugabe spoke out against these claims of Chinese neocolonialism, and praised the present Xi Jinping as "a man representing a country once called poor, a country which was never our colonizer. He is doing to us what we expected those who colonized us yesterday to do... We will say he is a God-sent person."¹³² Mugabe's impression of China is not simply

¹³⁰ Julius Malema, "Julius Malema Doesn't Want China Colonising Africa," Youtube.com, URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tIkx5zDKNtQ>

¹³¹ Samuel Ramani, "Zimbabwe: China's All-Weather Friend in Africa," *The Diplomat*, January 11, 2016, URL: <http://thediplomat.com/2016/01/zimbabwe-chinas-all-weather-friend-in-africa>.

¹³² Lily Kuo, "Robert Mugabe: China is doing everything that Africa's colonizers should have done," *Quartz*, December 4, 2015.

fueled by their continued aid and friendship, but by the very foreign policy ideologies that China has continually stood for. China is an example of a country that has come from poverty, and an example of an ally who has rebuked the temptations of neocolonialism. Kenneth Kaunda, former president of Zambia was asked in an interview in 2014 about the relationship between China and Zambia. Reflecting upon the UN vote of 1971, Kaunda says,

We argued strongly, thank God we succeeded in the recognition of China as a true member of the United Nations...China, they were strong communists, but that did not worry us, that is their way of thinking, and we thought differently and up to now we remain good friends, and many of them are here with us, helping us to build Zambia in different ways; roads, schools, hospitals and all those organizations that are required in human life.¹³³

Kaunda's recollection of China and Zambia's shared history demonstrates how these vestiges of the Mao Era have continued up until today. The most interesting aspect of this is how Kaunda admits that their ideologies did not entirely match up with that of the Chinese, but that they simply "thought differently," and that was perfectly acceptable for their system of mutualism. In response to claims of Chinese neocolonialism in Africa, Kaunda has pointed to propaganda from the West as a primary source of these claims, stating, "It would be wrong to generalize when it comes to China's relationship with Africa and portray it as somehow devilish and out to exploit the continent."¹³⁴ Kaunda's viewpoint places responsibility on the Zambian government to uphold Chinese companies to Zambian labor standards, and while he admits that some problems have arisen, sees the overall trajectory of

¹³³ "'Africa can learn from Zambia's unity,' says Kenneth Kaunda, and he has no regrets," *Mail & Guardian Africa*, October 2014, URL: <http://mgafrica.com/article/2014-10-22-kenneth-kaunda-interview-full-for-excerpts>.

¹³⁴ Mary Fitzgerald, "Kaunda lauds Chinese role as 'force for good' in continent," *The Irish Times*, August 25, 2008, URL: <http://www.irishtimes.com/news/kaunda-lauds-chinese-role-as-force-for-good-in-continent-1.934172>.

China's African policies as a force for good. "If they helped us [in the 1970s] at a time when no one else would, what reasons have I got to doubt them now?"¹³⁵ From the perspective of many leaders, China's relations with Africa not only have a historical basis, but also provide a real hope for independent development in Africa free from the foreign specters of Western imperialism. Some popular opinion polls regarding China reflect a popular positive association between African people and China. A 2007 Pew Report found that "the balance of opinion regarding China is decidedly positive, reflection, to a large extent, the widespread view that 'China's growing economic power has a positive effect on respondents' own countries, especially in the developing world."¹³⁶ While a bit dated, these associations

To some, fears of Chinese neocolonialism are little more than a myth perpetuated by the West, who is quickly losing ground to Chinese funded aid projects with no strings attached. While China may be establishing deep economic ties and siphoning resources, Dambisa Moyo asserts, "Bartering infrastructure for energy reserves is well understood by the Chinese and Africans alike. It's a trade-off, and there are no illusions as to who does what, to whom and why."¹³⁷ China needs resources from Africa to support their growing economy and population, while Africa needs infrastructure, investment, and capital to create growth and development.

Sino-African relations are unique in that their origins ultimately lie in the revolutionary natures of Maoist Internationalism and African liberation struggles. However, the true binding element to these similar, yet ultimately very different ideologies was the commitment to anti-imperialism and Peaceful Coexistence. While leaders of both regions

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Moyo, Dambisa *Dead Aid*, 277.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 283.

can look back to the Mao Era or the time of liberation as a reminder of the ties that bind China and Africa together, one must be careful to consider that the actions and beliefs of individuals within these nations could create substantial rifts. While Maoist Internationalist ideology mixed with nationalism propelled many Chinese in the Mao Era to support their fraternal socialist allies, today economics are the key driving force for an individual's happiness. While Africans at the dawn of liberation and independence required Chinese aid to help fuel their guerrilla fighters and jumpstart their nation's infrastructure, racism and reliance upon the Chinese economy may hamper efforts to boost human capital development and negatively affect the image of Sino-African goodwill. Leaders in China and Africa must not be so naïve to believe that the norms of the 1960s and 1970s will remain the same forever. However, it is also apparent that China's dedication to Zhou Enlai's Principles of Peaceful Coexistence are still very much a key aspect of Chinese foreign policy. While this perspective has facilitated opportunities for African growth and development without strings attached, it also runs the risk of enabling and reinforcing human rights violations.

The most volatile threat to the Sino-African relationship, in quite the Maoist fashion, lies in the hands of the masses. African people must influence their leaders to forge deals with China that have a chance to create infrastructure alongside African employment and human capital development. More organizations and acts such as Zambia's "Citizens Empowerment Act" of 2006 should be adopted and utilized to protect African workers and help ensure that Chinese investment in Africa breeds long-term economic independence by dedicating a portion of workers on any FDI project to local Africans.¹³⁸ In addition, Chinese leaders must take care to avoid investment in regions where human rights violations are

¹³⁸ "The Citizens Economic Empowerment Act, 2006," URL: <http://www.zambialii.org/files/zm/legislation/act/2006/9/cea2006284.pdf>

being carried out on a large scale. While sticking to their policies of no strings attached aid and nonintervention in political affairs are an essential aspect of preserving Sino-African relations, a line must still be drawn somewhere. Finally, Chinese leaders must also take care to promote a *cultural* sense of equality alongside their political egalitarianism. While Confucius Institutes have been set up throughout Africa to promote Chinese culture, some action must be taken to promote African culture and society to Chinese migrants, in order to assist in stemming the racist prejudices that many Chinese bring with them to Africa.¹³⁹ I believe greater integration of African and Chinese workforces on Chinese FDI projects has a good chance of fulfilling this goal while simultaneously promoting local human capital development. The force that began as Maoist Internationalism helped create contemporary Sino-African relations. Influence from the desires African leaders wanted out of this relationship, and a shifting Chinese political scene helped transform this relationship into one that is held together by neither the ideologies of Maoism or African Socialism, but by the shared historical dedication to anti-imperialism and respect for national sovereignty from both parties. Today, despite the economic drivers that fuel Chinese investment in Africa, I believe that these commitments to Peaceful Coexistence remain a major foreign policy ideal of both the China and Africa regions. Reforms, concessions, and difficult negotiations will have to be made, yet the potential benefits are simply too great to give up. As such, despite a wide array of looming challenges for both parties to navigate, the leaders and masses of China and Africa will continue working together to find a route that enables mutual development and growth.

¹³⁹ “What does China want in Africa?” Insight: The World Investigates, Youtube.com, URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f8XzR-vTLww>

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