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% U.S. Consulate  
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New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Rogers:

The international position of Communist China is schizophrenic. The Chinese Communists are strongly nationalistic - except in their attitudes toward the Soviet Union and its allies. The Marxist "internationalism" which characterizes their attitudes toward the Soviet bloc involves serious compromises of nationalism. This split personality has not yet caused many visible tensions in Communist China, but the tensions exist below the surface, and a struggle between the two emotional attitudes can be expected as long as the conflict exists. At present, however, it appears that if one of the two personalities must win out in any complete way, Communist loyalties will probably take precedence over purely nationalist feelings.

China is still in the process of becoming a modern nation, and strong nationalism is a part of the heritage of all Chinese political groups including the Communists. The Communists constantly appeal to nationalism, as for example in their attacks on the Kuomintang for "selling China out to the U. S." One of their most explicit objectives is to rid China of "exploitation by Western imperialism." The U. S., which has played the most active role of all foreign powers in China in recent years, is the main target of attacks. These attacks have received the approval of large numbers of non-Communist intellectuals who, disillusioned over the civil war and continuing chaos in China, have seized upon the U. S. as one of the main scapegoats for China's troubles. The demand that the U.S. "get out of China" has, therefore, appealed to a deep-rooted nationalism which is not confined to the Communists.

Strong nationalism crops up in many forms in Communist China today. One example, which could be multiplied by many similar ones, is the movement to eliminate the use of foreign words in Chinese advertising. In innumerable small ways everything possible is being done to eliminate Western influences, wipe out foreign privileges, both real and imagined, and emphasize all that is purely Chinese. In the field of foreign relations the Chinese Communists have promised to abrogate existing treaties with Western powers because they are "unequal." Their propaganda constantly attacks "the outrageous act of the U. S. in fostering Japanese aggressive forces," and a statement on the anniversary of the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War claimed that the U.S. is converting Japan into "a colony and military base of the U. S." and that "this reactionary policy of the U. S. government directly menaces the Chinese people as well as the Japanese people." The Communists also warn of

"the plot of American aggressors to annex Taiwan," and they support, verbally at least, the cause of Chinese in Hongkong, Southeast Asia and elsewhere, against the "aggression" to which they are allegedly exposed. These appeals to nationalism evoke a response from a great many people, including non-Communists.

The communists' attitude toward the Soviet Union conflicts with this basic nationalism, however. Their current propaganda paints Russia as a sort of paradise on earth which must be the model for China's development. Translated Soviet literature is widely distributed in Communist China, and some Soviet books are textbooks for the Chinese Communist Party. The press in Communist territory devotes a great deal of space to purely Russian affairs and goes to great lengths to praise Russian nationalism. One recent example of this was a long article explaining how the radio was invented in Russia, to the glory of the Russian nation. Pictures of Soviet leaders are almost as prominent in public places in Peiping as those of Chinese Communist leaders. And recently a great number of articles have humbly given thanks for the "decisive" role which the Red Army played in defeating Japan and liberating China.

The Chinese communists defend the treaties and agreements on Port Arthur and Dairen, in which the Nationalist government under pressure gave the Soviet Union bases and special rights in Manchuria, even though these documents follow the classic pattern of "unequal treaties." These treaties, it is claimed, are necessary for "the defence of China against imperialism." No mention is made in Chinese Communist publications of the post-war Russian looting of Manchuria, even though some of the facts are generally known to the Chinese public. All this, obviously, conflicts with the prevalent strong Chinese feeling of nationalism.

"Neutrality is impossible in the world today." This seems to be a fundamental idea underlying the Chinese Communists' international orientation. For example, on July 1 Mao Tse-tung stated, "The Chinese found Marxism through the introduction of the Russians. Before the October Revolution, the Chinese not only did not know Lenin and Stalin but also did not know Marx and Engels. The gunfire of the October Revolution sent us Marx-Leninism. The October Revolution helped the progressive elements of the world and China to use the world outlook of the proletariat as the instrument for observing the destiny of the country and reconsidering our own problems. Travel the road of the Russians - this was the conclusion...the Chinese people either lean to the side of imperialism or to the side of socialism. To sit on the fence is impossible; a third road does not exist...Neutrality is a camouflage..." Recent statements of this sort have shocked some foreign observers who remember wartime Chinese Communist statements. In 1945, Mao wrote that, "Contrary to the expectations of all the reactionaries both in China and abroad, the three big democratic countries, Great Britain, America and the Soviet Union, have been and are firmly united. There have been, and very likely will be, differences between them,

but unity finally rules over all." As in the case of many current Chinese Communist policies, however, if one goes back a decade or more, precedents are numerous. In 1940, for example, Mao said that, "In this world all imperialists are our enemies. We cannot be separated from the Socialist State or from the aid of the international proletariat if we wish to seek for independence...The contest between the socialist Soviet Union and imperialist England and America is being sharpened step by step. If China does not stand on one side, she will have to stand on the other. Does anyone think of remaining neutral? That is fantasy. The whole world is going to be enveloped in these two war camps."

One of the most comprehensive statements by the Chinese Communists on their present international position appeared in a New China News Agency editorial on March 18 of this year. The following extracts from that statement reveal the general views now sponsored by the party. "The American imperialistic government refuses to conduct peace talks with the Soviet Union....A serious and developing economic as well as political crisis exists within the entire imperialistic front. International reactionaries led by the American imperialists are dreaming of seeking an escape from the crisis through war....All peace-loving people in the world must unite to struggle against the danger of a new war....the people of all nations throughout the world not only have a desire for peace, but they also have the organized strength to fight for peace, and the nucleus of this strength consists of the socialistic nation, the USSR, the various people's democratic states, the Communist parties in all the capitalistic nations in the world, and the revolutionary labor unions as well as other revolutionary people's organizations in various nations....We Chinese people undoubtedly will make every effort to support the appeal of the forces of world peace. China is a nation which has suffered deeply from aggression by imperialism and from the havoc of imperialistic wars. The imperialists not only imposed a protracted and direct armed aggression upon China, but for a long time they have been directing Chinese reactionaries in their conduct of a counter-revolutionary civil war. Up to this moment the armed forces of American imperialism are still being stationed, and military bases are being built, with no reason whatever, on Chinese territory....In addition, American imperialism is still energetically supporting the revival of Japanese aggressive forces. From personally experienced tragedies and sufferings the Chinese people cannot fail to recognize the imperialistic war provocateurs as our deadly enemy...We cannot fail to recognize that the bellicose elements of American imperialism, the leader of war provocateurs, are our deadly enemy. At the same time, we cannot fail to realize that the great socialistic state, the USSR, leader of the world anti-imperialism front, is our unfailing ally. Ever since its birth the Soviet Union has been sympathetic to the suffering of the Chinese people. It has extended support to the Chinese people with an equal and brotherly friendship...Before and after the Japanese surrender, the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance and the Agreements Concerning Port Arthur and Dairen, concluded between the Soviet Union and China with a view to jointly opposing and checking Japanese aggression, have constituted a severe blow to imperialistic aggression in the Far East and offered a far-reaching guarantee to the anti-aggressive interests of the Chinese people. In the present day and future struggles of the Chinese people to oppose imperialistic

aggression and to achieve a great victory for their own people's democratic reconstruction movement, the friendship of the Soviet Union undoubtedly is an important and precious factor...the people of China have acquired another important bit of experience from their own struggle. This experience reveals that any 'powerful' imperialism can be defeated and that any military invasion or plot of any imperialism can be frustrated and shattered. During the three years of difficult times since the Japanese surrender the Chinese people have sustained the fierce attack made by American imperialism and its running dog the Kuomintang reactionary government. The Chinese people have resisted the attack with the same methods they used to oppose Japanese imperialism. Moreover they have achieved victory. The Chinese people have seen clearly that American imperialism is a paper tiger....The Chinese people certainly will participate energetically in the front against the danger of a new war."

On April 4 Mao Tse-tung followed the example of many Communist leaders in other parts of the world and made a definite commitment pledging the complete support of his party to the Soviet Union. "If the aggressive imperialistic bloc dares to provoke this reactionary war threatening the people of the whole world," he said, "then we will unite all the people in the country to observe Sun Yat-sen's imperishable will and adopt the necessary methods to go forward hand in hand with China's ally, the Soviet Union, and the other peaceful democratic forces of all nations, to fight with determination against the provocateurs of an aggressive war." The bravado of statements such as these indicate that Mao has been trying to follow his own advice in which he said, "In front of a wild beast (i.e. "imperialism") you cannot show the slightest cowardice."

The Chinese Communists have not openly disagreed with the Russian line on any important international issue in recent years. They have followed Moscow faithfully on foreign issues. This, among other things, has involved violent condemnation of Tito, which is still continuing at the present time in the propaganda appearing in Communist China.

This summer great fanfare accompanied the formation of a Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in Peiping. The sponsors of this association, which is intended to cement relations between China and Russia, included top Chinese Communist Party leaders. At the inauguration of the body, these leaders reiterated their solidarity with Russia and their acceptance of Soviet leadership.

Recent reports from Manchuria indicate that Russian economic influence there is growing all the time. The number of Russian technicians, not only on the railway but in key heavy industries, is said to be increasing. There is a strong possibility of a special relationship developing between the Soviet Union and Manchuria, which has long been an area of special Russian interest, both economic and strategic. This is indicated not only by the Russian position in Dairen, Port Arthur and the major rail line, and by the increasing economic influence exerted through technicians, but also by the recent local barter trade

agreement signed by Kao Kang, head of the Manchurian Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, and the Russian government. This Soviet-Manchurian trade agreement was signed despite the fact that the Russians still recognize the Chinese Nationalist Government and have been extremely cautious and careful in the past to avoid compromising "correct" diplomatic relations with China.

Historically, Sino-Russian relations have been characterized by recurring conflict and friction along the longest land frontier in the world. The Chinese Communists are now reversing historical precedents, however, and are trying to reorient China to a strongly pro-Russian position. Soviet influence in China is increasing all the time as a result, and the Chinese Communists are playing a game of international follow-the-leader.

The pattern of relations between Communist China and the Soviet Union seems to be different, however, from that reported to exist in Eastern Europe. In Peiping, provisional capital of Communist China, there is almost no tangible evidence (as far as the general public can see) of direct Russian dictation or interference in Chinese affairs. It is possible that some exists in concealed forms, but there are no Russian troops and secret police dictating to the Communists in Peiping. The Chinese Communists, furthermore, possess their own armies and strength independent of Russia.

The completely pro-Soviet orientation on the part of the Chinese Communists must be voluntary to a large degree, therefore, even though it involves acceptance of compromises of Chinese sovereignty in Manchuria. The question "why?" bothers many people. Why have the Chinese Communists committed themselves so completely to the Soviet Union's international bloc? Although the Communist Party in China was assisted by the Soviet Union in its early days, its real growth from 1927 on took place on the basis of domestic support, and at present the Chinese Communists have the strongest independent status, judged in terms of the power which they themselves possess and control, of any Communist Party outside of the Soviet Union. Why, then, have they relinquished their freedom to follow an independent course, in international affairs, to such a great degree. No one can answer that question, of course, except the leaders of the Communist Party. One can guess, however, and it seems probable that their motives are diverse and complex. The fact that both parties accept the same Marxist ideology is one of the simplest yet most important explanations, and the fact that many top Communist leaders have been educated in Russia (more than some foreign observers have known about) is an important reason for close emotional ties to the Soviet Union. But these reasons alone are not adequate. Perhaps a further explanation may be that the Chinese Communists sincerely believe another world war is approaching. If they do, their belief in the world's "bi-polarity" and the "impossibility of being neutral" may lead them to feel they must have close allies even at the price of concessions. One cannot ignore, either, the fact that the Soviet Union has a real appeal to many "backward" countries. It is difficult to know exactly what the

magic of this appeal is based upon, but the belief that Russia is moving toward a sort of Socialist Utopia is undoubtedly a factor. The rapid development of the Soviet Union to its status as one of the two major world powers has impressed a great many people also. In addition to all these factors there is, of course, the possibility that a fear of Soviet power and Soviet pressure of various sorts may definitely play a role in determining the present line adopted by Chinese Communist leaders. This remains an assumption because tangible evidence is lacking, but influences of this sort would probably not be revealed unless a break occurred between the Chinese and the Russians.

Whatever its motivation, the complete pro-Soviet orientation of the Chinese Communists is an undeniable fact at the present time. The prevailing anti-American stand is a negative corollary of this fact, as well as an expression of Chinese nationalism.

The Chinese Communists are having difficulty selling such a completely pro-Soviet, anti-American line to the public at large, even though their strong supporters don't seem to question it. The official endorsement of Russian concessions in Manchuria is especially difficult for many, including pro-Communist "liberals," to swallow. Furthermore, the American reservoir of goodwill among both educated classes and common people is still considerable, although it has decreased in recent years and continues to decrease under the barrage of Communist propaganda. It is probable, however, that an increasing number of people will accept the Communists' line the longer they are exposed to an intensive propaganda campaign - if Communist propaganda can convince them of the reality of an American "threat" to the Chinese people. Communists say that after they set up a national government they want to establish relations with the Western Powers if the latter withdraw completely from China. On April 30, for example, a spokesman for the People's Liberation Army in Shanghai said, "The Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Committee and the People's Government are willing to consider the establishment of diplomatic relations with foreign countries. These relations should be established on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for each others' independence and integrity of territorial sovereignty, and first of all, foreign countries must not aid the Kuomintang reactionaries. The Chinese People's Revolutionary Committee and the People's Government will not accept any action of an intimidating nature from any foreign government. If foreign governments are willing to consider the establishment of diplomatic relations with us, they must first sever their relations with remnant Kuomintang forces and withdraw their armed forces from China." There have been other official statements similar to this one.

Repeated incidents and acts during the past half year, however, have indicated that the Communists are not yet ready to make any concessions on their part to obtain recognition, at least until the Western powers stop their support to the Kuomintang. Foreign consulates in Communist territory have been officially ignored and subjected to many minor indignities and annoyances. Foreign correspondents have been

banned in North China and placed under censorship elsewhere. All foreigners have been severely limited in their movements and placed under various sorts of special restrictions. In the manhandling of U.S. Vice-Consul Olive in Shanghai, the closing of all U.S. Information Offices, the confiscation of American ECA supplies in North China, the house arrest of U. S. consulate personnel in Mukden, and the treatment of the British ship Amethyst the Communists have shown little concern for the possible effects of such acts. No ranking Communist has been willing to talk about foreign relations, even unofficially, with foreign representatives in their territory. And despite the "protection of foreigners' lives and property" in a strictly legal sense (except in a few isolated cases), the combination of official hostility and vitriolic propaganda has made it increasingly difficult for foreigners to live and work in Communist territory, and the result has been a steady exodus.

After listening to foreigners in Peiping complain about the situation one Chinese whom I know said to me, "You foreigners talk about your difficulties, and the restrictions on you. Instead you ought to be amazed and thankful for the fact that anti-foreignism hasn't burst out in violent form as it did during the Boxer Rebellion. Your government continues to oppose the Communists by giving support to the Kuomintang, so what do you expect from the Communists? It's really remarkable you haven't been subjected to mistreatment and violence." There is, of course, something in what this man, a non-Communist, said. "Irritations" and "inconveniences" are not surprising in the midst of a revolution. Nonetheless, the Communists' attitude has been one of official hostility (even if they have been retrained about translating hostility into violent action) toward foreigners in general, and to their representatives in Communist China. Some people have interpreted incidents such as the temporary "blockade" of the U. S. Consulate in Shanghai as a conscious attempt to prove to the U.S. that it could only stay in China in the long run by recognizing the Communist government (once it is set up) and dealing with it. This may have been the motive behind some of the incidents which have taken place, but it is doubtful if they brought such recognition any closer.

To-date, therefore the Chinese Communists have not shown any signs of adopting a conciliatory attitude toward the Western powers. Nor has there been any hint of "Titoism" in the ranks of the Chinese Communists. The party leaders seem to be making every effort, as a matter of fact, to avoid "deviationism" of the kind which caused the break between Belgrade and Moscow. The theoretical possibility of "Titoism," or at least a modification of policy on the part of the Chinese Communists, still remains, however. Not only does the present slavishly pro-Soviet attitude conflict with Chinese nationalism; it also involves economic sacrifices. The economic orientation of China in modern times has been maritime rather than continental, and China still needs good economic relations with the West. It is difficult to see how China can develop its economy in the direction which the communists hope for

without close economic relations with the West. It is impossible to foresee the Chinese Communists getting what the country needs from the West as long as official attitudes are based on hostility. If the bad economic situation in China continues to deteriorate, economic pressures may work to undermine the present Chinese Communist international stand. Even at the present time, in fact, there is speculation about reported differences of opinion in the highest councils of the party based largely on factors such as these. The party maintains a united front toward the public, but it is certainly possible that internally there are differences of opinion.

There is no certainty that the Chinese Communist Party's schizophrenic tensions, inherent in the conflict of nationalism and national interests with the party's present international position, will ever break out in the form of political struggles over policy. Nor is there any indication, at present, of tendencies toward "Titoism". The available evidence points to the fact that the dominant leadership of the party is doing everything possible to avoid such tendencies. Nevertheless, economic factors, together with native nationalism, make "Titoism" a theoretical possibility in China.

Sincerely yours,

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