

Sino-Soviet Relations: New Perspectives

Carl Gustav Jacobsen*

Carleton University

1. *Introductory Remarks*

The world's media attention during the 1980s has focused on the drama of US-Soviet relations, lurching from Evil Empire epithets and war psychosis to tentative arm cuts and talk of a new era. Yet the biggest story of the decade may in fact be the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations. The normalization process was slow, and characterized by three distinct pauses. Yet it was surprisingly steady, and ever more comprehensive. The relationship has been transformed.

Sino-Soviet misunderstanding, friction, rancor and accord had thousand-year-old roots; their historic relationship (like that of other great powers) mirrored ethnocentric mindsets and sometimes virulent chauvinism — chauvinism that spawned or exacerbated a host of practical problems: economic, territorial, cultural, political, ideological, and military.¹

However, the relationship was never unidimensional. The days of Sino-Soviet alliance were not particularly harmonious: both felt compelled to seek and project an alliance image, for different, though complementary reasons of geopolitics and threat perception. But in the determination and adjustment of terms, pro forma ideological empathy gave way to pragmatic self-interest and often acrimonious give-and-take.

The uncompromising antagonism of later

public postures also masked a far more complex reality. The years 1961 to 1964 were peculiarly affected by the personal animosity between Nikita Khrushchev and Mao Tse-tung. Subsequently, however, and until 1979, the dominant feature of the relationship was that it became hostage to the vicissitudes of the internecine struggles and turmoil that swept through China's Communist Party.

The virulence of Mao's and 'the gang of four's' anti-Sovietism owed something to the experience of earlier decades, but it owed more to the Taiping legacy of revolutionary utopianism (though now in Trotskyite guise), and most of all to the transferral and personification of Trotsky's 'revolution betrayed' theme, to characterize Liu Shao-chi and Deng Xiao-ping. Deng Xiao-ping (and the Chou En-lai constituency, which he inherited) belonged to a different school, largely Soviet-trained and committed to a command economy model, but nationalist and pragmatic and not ideologically doctrinaire.

Deng espoused limited rapprochement with the United States, to gain access to advanced technology, and counter Soviet regional dominance. But he had always also sought normalized relations with the USSR: its 'sufficient' economy complimented China's developmental needs; its ideological model of society was less alien. China's pursuit of better relations with the United States and the West during the 1970s was a compromise. Mao no longer had the authority to enforce quixotic opposition to and alienation of both superpowers, but his

* Dr Carl Gustav Jacobsen is Head of East-West Projects, Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security, and Professor of Soviet and Strategic Studies at Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

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