

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. The Main Argument of the Thesis

The year 2005 was the 30th anniversary of the People's Republic of China (hereafter referred to as PRC) established official diplomatic relations with Thailand. It is also recognized as the year which is worthy of commemoration and retrospection of Sino-Thai diplomatic history over the past few decades. No one realized it would grow and prosper to become one of the most important bilateral relations in Southeast Asia. At this praiseworthy time, it was necessary for Thailand to travel the same path as other countries in recognition of the rise of China as a major player in world politics. Today, Sino-Thai relations have been further strengthened through convergences of political and economic interests. They also serve as a conduit for further diplomatic development in the rest of the region.

Upon reviewing the past few decades of international relations between China and Thailand, it can be said the development of Sino-Thai relationships did not always run successfully and smoothly. What happened 30 years ago in 1975 was a significant turning point for Sino-Thai relations. On the 1st July 1975, the Sino-Thai Governments Joint Communiqué (《中泰政府联合公报》) was signed in Beijing between two countries, and that indicated Sino-Thai friendly relations would be re-established in all areas of political, economic, social, and cultural life from then on. On the other hand, it meant that the door of Sino-Thai relations normalization was opened again and it significantly changed the history of Sino-Thai diplomacy since it added a new dimension to Sino-Thai relations.

During the process, there is a particular person whose role and influence cannot be ignored by either country under any circumstance. It cannot be overstated how

crucial this man's individual power and role was, but in given internal and external political situations both are equally important. Foreign scholars also point out especially while studying Mao Zedong and his role and power, "what the played role of him in the diplomacy realm was not of other people could act (他在外交工作中所发挥的作用无人能替代。).¹" Appreciation as such is indispensable. The man is Zhou Enlai.

The international situation in 1970s revolved around the emergence of the multiplicity of the world. Zhou En Lai was most active in the international political arena in that period. He was the representative of the Chinese government with the famous new foreign policy concept of "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" (和平共处五项原则), which brought new prospects for the development of political relationships to the PRC with America, Soviet Union, Japan, and Southeast Asian countries. The relationships of China with its neighboring countries were changed and developed day by day, and many countries have since become permanent partners of China. The Sino-American Government Shanghai Joint Communiqué (《中美上海联合公报》) between the two countries was declared in 1972 with Nixon Doctrine background. After that, the Thais also desired to establish diplomatic relations with China. Under these circumstances, Thailand's policy toward China started to change.

This thesis intends to investigate and generalize changes in Sino-Thai foreign policies in the 1970s, leading to the normalization and formalization of Sino-Thai official diplomatic relations in 1975. It must be said that all are as a result of Zhou Enlai's pivotal role. Then, the thesis will consider the subsequent extraordinary diplomatic development and partnership between China and Thailand.

Therefore, this thesis serves as a research record and stage on which the impact of Zhou En Lai's art and the skill of his diplomatic wisdom on the People's Republic of

¹ Cao Yingwang, "Mao Zedong Perfect Trust in Zhou Enlai's Diplomacy" in **Zhou Enlai—The Diplomat First of China** (Shanghai: the People Publishing, 2006), pp. 4-8. (曹应旺(著),《中国外交第一人周恩来:毛泽东在外交上对周恩来的倚重》,上海人民出版社,2006,第4-8页。)

China's diplomatic experience can be recognized and acknowledged. It was a challenge to explore the impact of Zhou Enlai's multilateral diplomacy as a key role in reopening the future of Sino-Thai diplomatic relations in such an inevitable transitional period within the context of international politics that moves towards multi-polarization in 1970s, but it was also very rewarding

2. The Objective of the Thesis

The main objective of this thesis is to study the historical significance of Zhou En Lai's role in diplomacy breakthrough around 1975 between China and Thailand. A new aspect regarding Sino-Thai relations is studied utilizing Chinese sources and focuses in particular on the role of Zhou Enlai in Sino-Thai diplomacy in 1970s.

The thesis will look into the international environment which caused China and Thailand to recognize each other again. It will also explain the international situation that led Thailand to re-establish diplomatic relations with PRC.

3. Analytical Framework

There were ideological and socio-political differences of regime between the People's Republic of China and Thailand in the period of the Mao Zedong-Zhou Enlai government in the PRC and the Phibunsongkram-Sarit-Thanom governments in Thailand in the 1950s to 1970s.

This study will seek a new aspect regarding Sino-Thai relations by utilizing Chinese sources and focusing in particular on the role of Zhou Enlai in Sino-Thai diplomacy in 1970s. The thesis will propose a new perception concerning the role of Zhou Enlai and the re-establishment of Sino-Thai diplomacy at the transition.

In addition, the thesis aims to use a structure analysis. Such analysis is important as diplomatic relationships are structural problems which were in existence long before Zhou Enlai's government. Structural problems in this context include domestic and foreign policies as well as the political, economic, and social conditions of both China and Thailand. These problems are sources of concern to Sino-Thai relations.

In October 1949, Chairman Mao Zedong came to power, and then appointed Zhou Enlai as the Premier of the Government Administration Council* and foreign minister of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. Zhou En Lai's real forte is diplomacy. It was in his first decade as Premier that he concurrently held the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, before turning the job over to Marshal Chen Yi (陈毅元帅)* after the two major international conferences in Geneva and Bandung. In addition, Premier Zhou En Lai was known for his "independence" (独立自主) in domestic policy and "Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence" in foreign policy in dealing with the stress of internal, external and circumambient problems. Differences in perception, ideology and national interests served to intensify the lack of understanding of each other's motivations and historical experience.

Thailand's foreign policy since World War II has been closely linked with the US and the West. Thus, Thailand's international politics and its foreign affairs must take into consideration an inter-relationship between domestic politics and external politics. A change in the internal political structure or a change of regime might affect

* The Government Administration Council (of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China), was renamed the State Council (of the People's Republic of China) in 1954.

* Chen Yi took over from Zhou Enlai at the foreign office right after the Eighth Party Congress held in September 1956, and in February 1958, Zhou Enlai unloaded the post of Foreign Minister to hand it over to Chen Yi. Henceforth, he still had concerned himself with the diplomacy business as a favor, continually going abroad giving interviews, receiving visiting foreign high-ranking officials, friends, and delegations. Ever with sickness, he met visitors in the sickroom.

the country's foreign policy. "Powers check and balance" is, thus, one of the factors which have to be considered in studying foreign relations.

Even though the three Thai leaders governed the country through military regime, the path chosen was very different. Phibunsongkram's foreign policy toward the People's Republic of China was based on both the internal and external situations of that country. Beginning with Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat, economic development was adopted as the key approach for national progress, and external economic ties became the key to this development. In foreign policy, Thailand sided with the "Free World" as an ally of the U.S.A during the Cold War.

From the 1950s to 1970s, US-USSR military equipment was impartial more or less. The People's Republic of China was subjected to dual pressure from the Soviet Union and the United States, both super powers. The relationship of China with these two superpowers has an important influence not only on China's own development, but also the trend of the world. In dealing with the relations between the two superpowers, for Zhou Enlai, the most important theory was to safeguard China's independence and ensure national security. For this reason, there is a need to struggle and a need to cooperate with them. But, along with the transformations of the current political situation, the object of struggle and alliance (US or USSR choose one) has been different, the way and the degree of struggle and cooperation are also different.

In the 1950s, the Soviet Union had a positive relationship with China and was also one of China's main economic trading partners. As a result of the strength of their relationship all unequal treaties that the Kuomintang government had signed with the Soviet Union before the People's Republic of China was established were rescinded. China and the Soviet Union had signed the Treaty of Sino-Soviet Friendly Alliance and Mutual Aid (《中苏友好同盟互助条约》), which included military, political, economic and cultural aspects, in particular giving all possibility of economic assistance to each other

(**Picture 1.1 – 1.2**). Consequently, the Stalin government of the Soviet Union gave loans of low interest in huge amounts to China of the total amount of approximately USD 4.5 hundred million in 1950s.



Picture 1.1



Picture 1.2

Picture 1.1 – 1.2 During December 1949 to February 1950, Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai (after arrive) visited USSR. On the day of 14th February, 1950, and Premier Zhou Enlai signed *Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance* and other agreements in Moscow.

At the beginning of the 1960s, the military capacity of the Soviet Union rose quickly. The Soviet Union started to compete militarily with United States². In

² Dick Wilson, **Chou, the Story of Zhou Enlai 1898—1976** (Great Britain: Hutchinson & Co. Publishers, Ltd, 1984).

international relations, Soviet Union started to express a tendency of great power chauvinism in many ways, attempting to become a hegemony. After Nikita Khrushchev (赫鲁晓夫) came to power, he promoted the strategic policy of "US-Soviet cooperation". The Soviet Union also competed with China everywhere, also attempting to control China on nuclear policy. Unjustifiably China was made to succumb to the Soviet's desires so such as taking Chinese sovereignty at price. On the other hand, the Chinese government always insisted on independence, maintaining the state sovereignty and national interests. As a result, Sino-Soviet relations were left with no compromise and the relationship worsened, finally bringing conflict and confrontation.

Leonid Brezhnev (勃列日涅夫) adjusted the strategic policy of the Soviet Union partly after he had come to power since 1965. The Soviet Union started to carry out the modern plan of conventional and strategic strength, gradually reducing the armament gap between America and the Soviet Union. At the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, the armament levels of the US and the Soviet were relatively equal. Along with the expansion of military force, the Soviet Union had been walking down the road of fighting global hegemony with America openly.

When the People's Republic of China was established, the Jiang Jieshi government of Kuomintang escaped to Taiwan, which was supported by the US government. Since the beginning the US refused to recognize the PRC, and the American government behaved with hostility towards New China following the birth of the PRC.

In the meantime, the American government was involved in the state of war with China after launching the Korean War (朝鲜战争) followed by political isolation, military and economic blockades and other policies.

However, at the Geneva Conference (日内瓦会议) in 1954, Zhou Enlai made an explicit attempt to relax tension with US. China and America started to discuss how to

solve the problem. In spring of 1955 at the Bandung Conference (万隆会议), Zhou Enlai announced once more that Chinese people and American people were friends. He mentioned that the Chinese government would like to sit down to negotiate with the American government, to discuss how to reduce political tension in the Far East, particularly in relation to the Taiwan issue. This speech directly facilitated Sino-America ambassadorial talks.

Nevertheless, even in the sharply antagonistic years between China and the United States, the Chinese policy toward the United States was not only opposition. In fact, the thought about establishment of normal diplomatic relations with the United States have never disappeared from the mind of Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and other Chinese leaders. The actions taken by Premier Zhou Enlai are a far-sighted policy.

The above-mentioned international factors produced a chain reaction of effects on politics, the most obvious being the relationship between China and other countries in Asia. Thailand's Phibun Songkram government always followed the United States government and his policy at the beginning of the 1950s, showed diplomatic policy hostile to China, similar to the US and anti-communist³. Therefore, generally speaking, in this period there was no development on diplomatic and trading relationships between China and Thailand. At the end of the 1960s, the basis of tripartite relations of the PRC, the United States and the Soviet Union changed notably. The situation has provided a mutual possibility for China and America to continue developing the possibility of mutual friendly relations.

After Nixon took office as the President of the United States of America, he discovered that the pressure of the Vietnam War, the heavy burden of United States to their allies, and the price paid getting bigger day by day because of hostile relations

³ Shi Zhifu (eds.), *The Foreign Relations History of the People's Republic of China: 1949.10.—1989.10.* (Bei Jing: Bei Jing University Publishing, 1992), pp. 148-151. (石志夫(主编), 中华人民共和国对外关系史(一九四九.十. — 一九八九.十.), 北京大学出版社, 1994, 第148-151页。)

with China. Under those pressures, the United States made a decision to change its relationship with the PRC. Hence, the United States began to adjust its policy for Asia, eager to get away from the Vietnamese battlefield, the US decided it was important to "honorable" fight to improve relation with China and to contend with the aggressive stance of the Soviet Union.

Up to the late 1960s, although China was still placed under military pressure from the Soviet Union and the United States, the Soviet Union's threat to China was strengthened, particularly after the Soviet Union's troops invaded Czechoslovakia (捷克斯洛伐克).⁴ This provoked yet another Eastern European crisis in April 1968 and a crisis exemplified by a virulent attack of Sino-Soviet Chenpao Island (珍宝的事件)* in March 1969. The Chinese government felt that the national security of China had been directly threatened by Soviet Union. The United States saw that the improvement of Sino-US relations could enhance her power to contend with USSR, to get out from Indochina, as well as China saw that the improvement of Sino-US relations can reduce the threat that a large number of Soviet force press on the border, gradually resolving the Taiwan issue, also help expand China's international exchanges. Therefore, China and America both countries thought it necessary to reduce Sino-US confrontation over a long period of time to meet the common need of anti-USSR. However, it was filled with sharp contradiction and winding in this process, including the Taiwan issue and mutual domestic political influence. Anyhow, the normalization and formalization of Sino-US relation is a general trend.

⁴ Gargi Dutt, "China and the Shifting in Super-power Relations: International Studies-Special Issue on East-west Détente" in *Quarterly Journal of the school of International Studies* (No. 4, Nol.13, Oct-Dec 1974), pp. 655-656.

* The Chenpao Island Event between Sino-USSR border was happened in March 1969. Chenpao Island is Chinese inherent territory, in the frozen Wusuli River at the north end of the Sino-Soviet border. Previously, it was not an island, a part of Shore of Chinese Wusuli River on China side. Afterward, it has been scoured out a tiny island by river water, connected with Chinese river bank in dry-water period, in the frozen Wusuli River at the north end of the Sino-Soviet border.

At the beginning of the 1970s, the international situation underwent tremendous changes. As could have been expected, Zhou Enlai's handling of such a complex and difficult domestic and international situation was not only as a skillful performer⁵ but also as a top-flight preceptor of statecraft. Directives to his staff contained not only precise nuts and bolts but explanations of the whys and wherefores. He was always a man bursting with energy, knowledge and information, who analyzed the war and political situation with rare acumen.

Chairman Mao Zedong and Premier Zhou Enlai considered the situation and took over the gesture of reconciliation with the United States in time and made a decision to open up the Sino-US relations. This led to Nixon visiting China and a thorn in Sino-US relations. This significant development shocked the world and ushered world situation changes, setting off a new upsurge to establish diplomatic relations with China from all over the world.

Mao Zedong launched the normalization of Sino-US relations in the process of great strategic decisions. This decision was a collective of the older generation proletarian revolutionists' wisdom. In the process of making and implementation this decision-making, Zhou Enlai always played a decisive role.

First, Zhou Enlai was not only involved in decision-making directly, but also in the decision-making process by playing the role of organizer. He instructed Marshal Chen Yi, Ye Jianying, Nie Rongzhen, Xu Xiangqian (陈毅、叶剑英、聂荣臻、徐向前元帅)*, four Marshals to discuss the international situation, and to propose to the central

⁵ Richard Nixon was impressed with Zhou Enlai's "brilliance and dynamism" and "the combination of elegance and toughness, a very unusual one in the world today" (**The Memoirs of Richard Nixon**, Vol. II, pp. 49 and 101). His National Security Adviser (later Secretary of States) Henry Kissinger found Zhou "one of the two or three most impressive men" he had ever met. To quote Kissinger: "Urbane, infinitely patient, extraordinarily intelligent, subtle, he moved through our discussions with an easy grace that penetrated to the essence of our new relationship as if there were no sensible alternative." (**White House Years**, p. 745).

* In January 1950, according to Chairman Mao Zedong's instructions of "starting anew" on New China's diplomacy, the Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Zhou Enlai personally

government of the PRC.* He also instructed the relevant departments to further study the political activities to find out the strategic intentions of the United States, exploring the possibility of contacting the US.

Secondly, Zhou Enlai made use of the conflicts of the United States and the Soviet Union. He talked with Kosigin (柯西金), chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers (苏联部长会议主席), thus easing the relations between China and the Soviet Union. China showed a more proactive position to the United States.*

Thirdly, he assisted Mao Zedong, in launching step-by-step the start-up of the Sino-US relations normalization, looking after each and every detail. On the Chinese National Day he arranged the appearance of Edgar Snow (埃德加·斯诺)* and Chairman

selected the 10 military cadres to engage in diplomatic work. They mostly are high-ranking cadres which drafted from the army, all generals. For these cadres no any diplomatic experience, Premier Zhou Enlai personally taught the diplomatic responsibilities, duties, organizations, authorized principles, policy and methods of work.

* In 1955 the PLA of China first conferred military ranks in the Army. Mao Zedong conferred the rank of Marshal on Zhu De and other 9 peoples, as well as Zhou Enlai conferred Senior General on Su Yu and other 9 people at Zhong Nan Hai, Beijing. Then the famous Ten Marshals and Ten Senior Generals in Chinese Army were established from here. The Ten Marshals they were Zhu De, Peng Dehuai, Che Yi, Ye Jianying, Nie Rongzhen, Xu Xiangqian, Liu Bocheng, Luo Ronghuan, He Long, and Lin Biao.

* In February 1965, Kosigin visited Vietnam return by Beijing. Zhou Enlai made six rounds of talk with Kosigin. On September 11, 1969, Kosigin went to Vietnam condolence President Ho Chi Minh "via" Beijing, meeting with Premier Zhou Enlai at Beijing airport. Over three and a half hours meeting, heads of the two governments exchanged views on major issues of bilateral relations with some urgency. The suggestion of Zhou Enlai's "cold treatment" (冷处理) relaxing the boundary tense situation was explicitly expressed consent by Kosigin. Kosigin achieved an understanding with Chinese Premier. It had a noticeable effect that China stands to promote the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union.

* Edgar Snow, the son of a printer, was born in Kansas City, Missouri on 17 July 1905. After graduating from the University of Missouri School of Journalism at Columbia University, died of illness on 15 February 1972 in Genève, Switzerland. In New York, Snow worked for several newspapers. As an American journalist, Snow was known for his books and articles on Communism in China and the Chinese Communist revolution. He is believed to be the first Western journalist to interview Chinese Communist leader Mao Zedong. In 1936 Snow come to northern Shanxi Province where he conducted interviewed the leaders of the revolutionary Red Army Mao Zedong. The following year he published **Red Star over China**. In this book, he described much of the contents in Yan'an, introducing the world to the Communist Party of China under Mao Zedong's leadership, which was best-known for an account of the Chinese Communist movement from its foundation until the late 1930s.

Mao Zedong at Tian'anmen Gate Tower in October 1970 (**Picture 1.3**). As an American citizen standing by the side of Chairman Mao Zedong at Tian'anmen Gate Tower (天安门城楼), such a thing has never been in the Chinese history, thus it can be seen that Zhou Enlai, wanted to make it known that China was in favor of starting a high-level dialogue between China and US.



Picture 1.3 On Chinese National Day, October 1970, Mr. Edgar Snow (left) and Chairman Mao Zedong at Tiananmen Gate Tower.

Finally, in the mid-July 1971, Zhou Enlai held secret talks with Dr. Henry Kissinger, special envoy of Nixon in Beijing, and reached an agreement on the content

Mao Zedong and Snow sincere friendship from 1936 to 1972, 36 years continued. In the morning of October 1, 1970, Premier Zhou Enlai invited American journalists to get on the Tian'anmen Gate Tower, Snow and his wife, from Chairman Mao's former aides, reviewing the Chinese Military National Day procession. At Tian'anmen Gate Tower, Mao Zedong met with Mr. Edgar Snows', and took a photograph with them. The next day, **People Daily** newspaper published this photograph in the location of front-page headline. That Snow met with Chairman Mao Zedong in Tiananmen, this publication of the photographs, an important message was conveyed to American President Nixon and the world, attracting widespread attention in the world media, atmosphere of which is self-evident. Snow's arrival has opened up the window of Chinese communists' foreign publicity and exchanges in the difficult struggle have become important component of Chinese communists' the initial diplomatic work.

*(Red Star over China, a famous book in the history of world news, was published in London, England. Chinese and foreign progressive readers have made a great stir. In February 1938, the Chinese translation, rename **Random Notes on Westing** also published in Shanghai, more people in the world has seen the true images of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the Chinese Red Army. Roosevelt and many American politicians have praised this book at that time. Mao Zedong Zhou Enlai, Peng Dehuai and others Chinese leaders' name started to be known in the Western world. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, Snow had come to China three times again to introduce a detailed briefing of the neo-Chinese face to the west.)*

of Nixon's visit to China. It can be said that it is through the various training and operations of Zhou Enlai and Chairman Mao Zedong's strategies with consideration of national security, that a genuine sense of the diplomatic strategy was derived and put into practice.

At this time in Thailand, even though, the three Thai leaders governed the country through military regime, the path chosen was very different. Phibunsongkram's foreign policy toward the People's Republic of China was based on the situation both internal and external of that country. Beginning with Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat, economic development was adopted as the key approach for national progress, and external economic ties became the key to this development. In foreign policy, Thailand sided with the "Free World" as an ally of the US during Cold War. The end of the Cold War changed all this. With the disappearance of the communist threat, Thailand was less interested in maintaining its traditional policy of using ethnic minority groups as buffer.

Post-World War II, the People's Republic of China was established on October 1, 1949. The Neo-Chinese government had chosen Communism as the political path that differed from the United States and Thailand. And Thai government has always kept close relation with US historically, relying upon and even following on international policies⁶. Therefore, the road of Sino-Thai friendship had not been peaceful and smooth. Thai government strongly objected communism. As a result, Thai government forbade all exchange with China, even the just-established relations between China and Thailand after the Bandung Conference* was blocked. The following 16 years from October 1957 to August 1973 in the Field Marshals Thanarat

⁶ Percy Jucheng Fang & Lucy Guinong J.Fang, **Zhou Enlai—A Profile** (BeiJing: Foreign Languages Press, 1986). (方聚成 (Percy)、方贵农 (Lucy) (著), 《周恩来传》, 北京外国语出版社, 1986。)

* The Bandung Asian-African Conference, April 18th to 24th in 1955, was convened to hold a meeting in the capital of Indonesia—Bandung by the government delegations of 29 nations and regions in Asian and African, the history called Bandung Conference.

and Kittikachorn governments' period, the exchange and communication between governments and people of China and Thailand all stopped.

In October 1971, the 26th General Assembly of the United Nations (第26届联合国大会) passed a decision by the overwhelming majority vote to restore the People's Republic of China's legitimate seat on the UN Security Council (联合国安全理事会), with the right to veto any country's bid for UN membership, a thorough breaking of the iniquity that China had been rejected out of the important international organization.

The relations of China with neighboring countries were friendly developed day by day; more and more countries have become the partners of PRC. And, in February 1972, President of Nixon visited the People's Republic of China (**Picture 1.4**), and the Sino-US Government Shanghai Joint Communiqué (《中美政府上海联合公报》) between the two countries was signed. The People's Republic of China was accepted as the sole true representative of China, and Sino-American relation started to develop.



Picture 1.4 In February 1972, Premier Zhou Enlai welcomed the President of the United States Richard Nixon at Beijing airport. This was the first President who visits an unestablished relations nation in American history.

The successive events made Thailand shift her policies to cope with changes in the region and the world. After Nixon Doctrine, Thailand began to show more independence in its foreign policy and more flexibility toward China. It was a success of former Foreign Minister Thanat that he initiated conduct with Beijing to consider better relations. Also, China increased its friendliness toward Thailand. Once the PRC became the permanent representative of China at UN in October 1971, “Thai Foreign Minister Thanat declared that Bangkok accepted the PRC as member of the UN. It was a dramatic change in Thai attitudes toward China, from strong opposition to outright accommodation”⁷. Thai people also desired to establish diplomatic relations with China. Under this circumstance, Thailand’s policy toward China changed.

China and Thailand established the official diplomatic relation in 1975. On June 30, 1975, Prime Minister of Thailand M.R. Kukrit Pramoj accepted the invitation of Premier of China, Zhou Enlai, to visit China. On 1st July, 1975, Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai and his counterpart, Thai Prime Minister M.R. Kukrit Pramoj signed a joint declaration in Beijing, and then two governments consensually agreed to recognize each other and establish diplomatic relations from July 1, 1975. The official name of this joint declaration is called Sino-Thai Joint Communiqué. The Joint Communiqué resolved long-standing controversial issues of both countries. Since then, this partnership has grown leaps and bounds.

4. Methodology

This paper relies on a historical approach based mainly on the Chinese sources. Various types of sources are used to analyze the thesis based on the political, economic, and diplomatic relationships development of both China and Thailand. Thus, the data mainly is based on documentary material. Primary sources used in this thesis are government documents, meeting transcripts of various committees, as well as reports

⁷ Pana Janviroj, “A Winding Road to Friendship” in **Thai-Chinese Relations: 3 Decades of Trust**, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Thailand (Bangkok: the Nation publication, 2005), pp. 10-11.

from various academic seminars. Secondary sources include pre-existing research materials, news clippings, media reports, and other publications, such as online documents. More details are as follows:

5. Research Materials

The book review mainly focuses on the Chinese sources concerning Zhou Enlai's biography, his role in establishing Chinese foreign policy, and Zhou Enlai's historical speech records in various big international and domestic conferences.

Go into particulars, these sources also include: First, Thai studies and SEA studies articles provided by Thai studies and SEA studies Centre in Chulalongkorn University. Second, some books, magazines, columns, and photos come from the Thai Embassy and Consulate in Peking and Kunming*. Third, the speech records concerning Zhou Enlai mostly quote from Chinese Foreign Affairs Department. At last, some of Chinese and Thai websites (Chinese/Thai/English languages), and textural analysis available in Thai, Chinese, and English will be used as complementary sources.

6. The Structure of Thesis

This thesis is composed of 6 chapter organized as follows:

Chapter I Introduction

1. The Main Argument of the Thesis
2. The Objective of the Thesis
3. Analytical Framework
4. Methodology
5. Research Materials
6. The Structure of the Thesis

* Kunming City, the capital of Yunnan Province. Yunnan province is a province where locate at the southwest China, and she is the nearest province to Thailand whole China. Thai Foreign Affairs Ministry has set a consulate for a decade there in order to benefit and improve the intercourse between Thailand and the provinces in south and southwest PRC.

Chapter II PRC's Foreign Policies: summarization about Chinese diplomatic historical background and changes of international situation post-world war II.

1. PRC's Foreign Policy in 1949
 - 1.1 "Starting Anew"
 - 1.2 "Sweeping the House Clean and Prepare Invitations to the Guests"
 - 1.3 "Leaning to One Side"
2. Development of China's Diplomatic Relations (1950's – 1960's)
3. PRC's Approach to Korean and Indochina's Problems
4. Characteristics of Zhou Enlai's Chinese Foreign Policy
 - 4.1 The Formulation of the PRC's Diplomatic Policy
 - 4.2 A Unique Style of Diplomacy
 - 4.2.1 A Principle of Independent Self-Reliance
 - 4.2.2 Seeking Common Ground While Reserving Differences
 - 4.2.3 Equal Treatment
 - 4.2.4 A Moral of Doing What Is Said
 - 4.2.5 A Practical and Realistic Style of Work
 - 4.2.6 An Attitude of Making Friends Extensively
5. The Beginning of Zhou Enlai's Diplomacy Era: The Bandung Conference
 - 5.1 The Origin of Bandung Conference
 - 5.2 The International Atmosphere at Bandung Conference
 - 5.3 The Success of Zhou Enlai's Speech
 - 5.4 The Attractiveness of Zhou Enlai and Five Principles
6. Conclusion

Chapter III Thailand's Foreign Policy: this chapter will mainly summarize the socio-economic development of Thailand and diplomatic policies to 1990's in Thai diplomatic history.

1. Traditional Thai Diplomacy and Characters
 - 1.1 Establishment of Contact Worldwide
 - 1.2 Flexibility of Policy
 - 1.3 Practical Approach
2. The Shift of Thai Foreign Policy in Post-War World II
 - 2.1 The First Stage (1945-1949)
 - 2.2 The Second Stage (1950s)
 - 2.3 The Third Stage (1960s)
 - 2.4 The Fourth Stage (1970s)
 - 2.5 The Fifth Stage (1980s)

2.6 The Sixth Stage (1990s)

3. Conclusion

Chapter IV Zhou Enlai's Role in Sino-Thai Diplomacy: This chapter will describe the breakthrough in diplomatic relations between the PRC and Thailand both countries by Zhou Enlai under international circumstance.

1. Sino-Thai Relations after the Creation of the PRC
 - 1.1 Sino-Thai Winding Road Development in 1950s and 1960s
 - 1.2 Sino-Thai Relations under international Situation Changes in 1970s
2. The Shift in Thai Relations with PRC
 - 2.1 Nixon Doctrine and Impact on Thailand
 - 2.2 Sino-Thai Relations after Nixon Doctrine
 - 2.3 The Problem of US Force in Thailand in 1975
3. Zhou Enlai's Role in Sino-Thai Relations
 - 4.1 Sincere Negotiation
 - 4.2 The Founder of Sino-Thai Friendship
 - 4.3 Promotion the Normalization of Sino-Thai Diplomatic Relations
4. Conclusion

Chapter V The New Sino-Thai Relationship: Sino-Thai relation step into a new historical stage.

1. The Establishment of Sino-Thai Diplomatic Relations in 1975
 - 1.1 The Signature of Sino-Thai Joint Communiqué
 - 1.2 The Significance of Sino-Thai Relations Establishment
2. A New Stage of Sino-Thai Relations
 - 2.1 Development of Sino-Thai Political Relations
 - 2.2 Improvement of Sino-Thai Economic Relations
 - 2.2.1 Bilateral Trade
 - 2.2.2 Mutual Investment
 - 2.2.3 Technology and Work Cooperation
3. Conclusion

Chapter VI Conclusion