In the Name of Pauk-Phaw
The Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) was established as an autonomous organization in 1968. It is a regional centre dedicated to the study of socio-political, security and economic trends and developments in Southeast Asia and its wider geostrategic and economic environment. The Institute’s research programmes are the Regional Economic Studies (RES, including ASEAN and APEC), Regional Strategic and Political Studies (RSPS), and Regional Social and Cultural Studies (RSCS).

ISEAS Publishing, an established academic press, has issued more than 2,000 books and journals. It is the largest scholarly publisher of research about Southeast Asia from within the region. ISEAS Publishing works with many other academic and trade publishers and distributors to disseminate important research and analyses from and about Southeast Asia to the rest of the world.
In the Name of Pauk-Phaw

Myanmar’s China Policy
Since 1948

MAUNG AUNG MYOE
This work is dedicated to the International Relations Programme (IRP) at the International University of Japan.
CONTENTS

About the Cover ix
Acknowledgements xi
Chinese Names xiii

1. Introduction 1


5. Conclusion 179

Appendices 191
Appendix I 193
Appendix II 210

Bibliography 213
Index 219
About the Author 238
ABOUT THE COVER

The pictures of the plate and the cloth that appear on the cover are gifts presented by the Chinese Government to the people of Myanmar in the early 1960s, after the successful completion of the demarcation of Sino-Myanmar boundary and the conclusion of the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression. These items were commonly known in Myanmar as “loving kindness plate (လက်ပန်းကန်း) and loving kindness cloth (လက်ပန်းတို)”. The Chinese characters printed on the plate (中缅友好) were ancient Chinese calligraphies written to mean “China-Myanmar Friendship” and they read as 中缅友好 (Zhong Mian Youhao). I should leave a note of thanks to Thone Thone from Green Book Store for helping me to design this cover.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I was fortunate to receive exceptional help from a number of people in Myanmar who deserve to be mentioned here but would prefer to remain anonymous. Without their kindness, support and encouragement, this book could not have been accomplished. They have my heartfelt gratitude and thanks. I am particularly grateful to Professor John Welfield for his various insightful comments and suggestions and his painstaking effort in reading through the manuscript. I am benefitted enormously from his wisdom and intellectual motivation. However, I alone take full responsibility for its content. I would like to express my deep appreciation to Asian Research Institute (ARI) and Professor Anthony Reid, former Director of ARI, for giving me an opportunity to work on this manuscript. I should also express my sincere thanks to the ISEAS library and the EAI library in Singapore. I am also grateful to Dr Geoff Wade who has helped me in many ways. Last, not the least, infinite gratitude and special thanks are owed to my family.
CHINESE NAMES

Buhe (布赫)
Cao Gangchuang (曹刚川)
Chen Bingde (陈炳德)
Chen Muhua (陈慕华)
Chen Yi (陈毅)
Chen Zaidao (陈再道)
Chi Haotian (迟浩田)
Deng Xiaoping (邓小平)
Deng Yingchao (邓颖超)
Feng Zhenglin (冯正霖)
Fu Quangyou (傅全有)
Ge Zhenfeng (葛振峰)
Geng Biao (耿飚)
Guo Boxiong (郭伯雄)
Guo Moruo (郭沫若)
He Long (贺龙)
He Qizong (何其宗)
Hu Jintao (胡锦涛)
Hu Yaobang (胡耀邦)
Hua Guofeng (华国锋)
Huang Hua (黄华)
Ismail Amat (司马义•艾买提)
Jiang Zemin (江泽民)
Keng Sheng (康生)
Li Changchun (李长春)
Chinese Names

Li Jiulong (李九龙)
Li Mi (李弥)
Li Peng (李鹏)
Li Ruihuan (李瑞环)
Li Xiannian (李先念)
Li Zhaoxing (李肇星)
Liang Guanglie (梁光烈)
Lin Biao (林彪)
Liu Dongdong (刘冬冬)
Liu Shaoqi (刘少奇)
Liu Yalou (刘亚楼)
Lu Xuejian
Luo Gan (罗干)
Mao Zedong (毛泽东)
Peng Dehuai (彭德怀)
Peng Zhen (彭真)
Qian Qichen (钱其琛)
Qiao Shi (乔石)
Qin Jiwei (秦基伟)
Soong Ching Ling (宋庆龄)
Su Yu (粟裕)
Sun Yat-sen (孙逸仙)
Sun Zhiqiang (孙志强)
Tan Zhenlin (谭震林)
Tang Jiaxuan (唐家璇)
Wan Li (万里)
Wang Dongxing (汪东兴)
Wang Guangmei (王光美)
Wang Yi (王毅)
Wang Zhen (王震)
Wen Jiabao (温家宝)
Wu Bangguo (吴邦国)
Wu De (吴德)
Wu Xueqian (吴学谦)
Wu Yi (吴仪)
Xi Jinping (习近平)
Xiao Jingguang (萧劲光)
Xie Fuzhi (谢富治)
Xu Xin (徐信)
Yang Jiechi (杨洁篪)
Yang Shangkun (杨尚昆)
Yeo Wenyuan (姚文元)
Zhang Chunqiao (张春桥)
Zhang Gaoli (张高丽)
Zhang Li (张黎)
Zhang Qian (张茜)
Zhang Wannian (张万年)
Zhao Erlu (赵尔陆)
Zhao Ziyang (赵紫阳)
Zhou Enlai (周恩来)
Zhou Tienong (周铁农)
Zhu De (朱德)
Zhu Rongji (朱镕基)