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**Between the Revolution and the future
The role of the Chinese Foreign Affairs Ministry before, during and
after the Cultural Revolution**

Trabalho de Conclusão de Curso apresentado ao Instituto de Relações Internacionais da Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio) como requisito parcial para obtenção do título de bacharel em Relações Internacionais

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To my younger sister, without you, life
would be less exciting.

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Abstract

Liberato, Lucy Costa. **Between the Revolution and the future: the role of the Chinese Foreign Affairs Ministry before, during and after the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)**. Rio de Janeiro, 2024. 46 p. Trabalho de Conclusão de Curso – Instituto de Relações Internacionais, Pontifícia Universidade do Rio de Janeiro

The Chinese foreign policy during the Mao Era is remembered in the West for the country's economic isolation, and for the Cultural Revolution that took place between the 1960's until the 1970's, which caused a significant diaspora of Chinese to other parts of the globe. However, there are few works that discuss the relationship between these events, especially when we consider the role of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This work proposes to open up space in this discussion by using an interpolation of a theory of foreign policy analysis with a theory of organizational culture in a national level, from a quantitative and qualitative research perspective.

Keywords

Foreign Policy Analysis; Organizational Culture; National Culture; China; Cultural Revolution; Mao Zedong; Deng Xiaoping; Economic isolation.

Resumo

Liberato, Lucy Costa. **Entre a Revolução e o futuro: o papel do Ministério das Relações Exteriores chinês antes, durante e depois da Revolução Cultural (1966-1976)**. Rio de Janeiro, 2024. 46 p. Trabalho de Conclusão de Curso – Instituto de Relações Internacionais, Pontifícia Universidade do Rio de Janeiro

A política externa chinesa durante a Era Mao é lembrada no Ocidente pelo isolamento econômico do país e pela Revolução cultural que ocorreu entre as décadas de 1960-1970 causando uma significativa diáspora de chineses para outras partes do globo. Entretanto são poucos os trabalhos que discutem a relação desses dois eventos, principalmente quando levamos em consideração o papel do Ministério de Relações Exteriores Chinês. Esse trabalho propõem abrir espaço nesta discussão utilizando uma interpolação de uma teoria de análise de política externa com uma teoria de cultura organizacional a nível nacional, a partir de uma perspectiva de pesquisa quantitativa e qualitativa.

Palavras-chave

Análise de Política Externa; Cultura Organizacional; Cultura Nacional; China; Revolução Cultural; Mao Zedong; Deng Xiaoping; Isolamento econômico.

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Abbreviation List

CCP - Chinese Communist Party

IDV- Individualism versus Collectivism

IRaMuTeQ - Interface de R pour les Analyses Multidimensionnelles de Textes et de Questionnaires

IVR- Indulgence

KMT - Kuomintang Party

LTO - Long Term Orientation

MAS- Masculinity vs Femininity

MFA - (Chinese) Ministry of Foreign Affairs

PCB - Brazilian Communist Party

PDI - Power Distance

PRC - People's Republic of China

ROC - Republic of China

UAI - Uncertainty Avoidance

1. Theoretical framework

As China's growing presence as a key player in the functioning of the International System, questions regarding how the process took place have emerged not only in the discipline of International Relations but as well as in the media. To the International System and its players, it is uncommon that a country that is still considered, by the Old Global Order, as a member of a certain group of States that are known as the Global South to take such a fundamental position in the production chain and manage to keep itself, and its political stance, as a non-submissive country to the other group known as the Global North without suffering economical, diplomatic and territorial consequences in this process. However, in order to be able to analyse China's strategies and Foreign Policy at the present time, one must look at the institutional and cultural organization of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) and its history since the implementation of its current political regime. Taking into account the peculiarities and dynamics that permeated the organization.

The People's Republic of China (PRC) was established in 1949 after the end of the Chinese Civil War (1927-1937; 1946-1949) and ultimately, the winners adopted the socialist regime for the country's new administrative period. Therefore, in that moment China ended up being under the Soviet Union influence during the early years of the Cold War (1947-1991). The political system was adopted due to several reasons; it was taken into consideration not only influence spheres of the time but also the recent history of China in that given moment. Even so, one of the major reasons that led to this choice was a response to the country elites that ruled political realm during the First Chinese Republic (1912-1949). Mao Zedong's and his government preference implied in innumerable changes regarding the domestic and foreign affairs, one of them being, closing their internal market to outsiders in favour of the creation and implementation of a national Chinese industry. A reflection of the Chinese alignment to the Soviets and a response to the liberals and foreign nations that were once present in the country politics during the last 50 to 60 years.

The decision of closing the market had an adverse effect on the Chinese foreign affairs, that were weakened by internal conflicts since the end of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1912) due to the influence of internal and external forces that aimed to either modernize or divide the territory as it was done to the African Continent. The decision-making process in the first years of the PRC was considered radical and by tackling and finishing a process that have been first implemented by the previous administrations. There is an argument based on this history against the old capitalist block also known as the Global North nowadays.

Nevertheless, despite the argument created and the decisions made by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), the PRC had decided that it would in their best interest to open up their market even if they kept their political system, even after decades of economic isolation and a political schism between them and the Soviet Union on the 1960's. This shift was only possible after the death of Mao Zedong e, by consequence, the transition of power of the supreme leader of the CCP between Mr. Mao and Deng Xiaoping. This chain of events allowed the political rapprochement of China and the rest of the International System and cleared the way to the Chinese internal development in the following decades, and the construction of a China that is today led by Xi Jinping since 2013.

Thereby we can affirm that this transition was not an easy one, perduring decades, instabilities in diplomatic position and other internal factors that are characteristic to Chinese politics; except it was a necessary leap for China to become a fundamental player to the International System in its various arrangements. Although, the way that the unfolding events is interpreted was manufactured during the Maoist and Dengist periods. Those interpretations still affect the analysis approach about China in the disciplines that are part of the political sciences scope and in particular International Relations.

Therefore, it is possible to observe that there is no further development in themes outside the historical contextualization and when it does exist, it is limited to addressing Chinese political issues that end up focusing on the current administration of the RPC. Furthermore, is unusual to find academic articles or other work made by Chinese people or that drift away of the dominant interpretation of the market opening up process.

Another issue that is only superficially discussed in International Relations is the role that the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs had in the interpretative development process of its institutional actions as a decisive player to the political stances of the State during and After the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). Over and above that, there is little to no registry of possible internal changes in the ministry e which of those changes were implemented so that the re-education course of the Revolution in the ministry.

There is also a tendency in the discipline to approach the role of post-colonial relations outside the cultural spectrum of States, as it occurs in China and in a great parcel of international players in a qualitative national level. The usage of queer, feminist theories and/or other constructive approaches is considerably present to work with themes and other institutions/organizations of states that were in a colonial dynamic in their cultural spectrum. Accordingly, this fact limits to a certain degree the analysis made with countries such as the PRC, creating a space to be explores trough a quantitative study regarding State-wise cultural analysis of the post-colonial players.

Taking those factors into account, there are theoretical approaches in other Social Science disciplines that seek to understand culture though other academic interpolations. An example of that is the National Organizational Culture Theory of Geert Hofstede (2001), that argues that the cultural aspect of a determined group is a collective programming that differentiates them of other groups that may or may not be interacting with each other. Hofstede (2001) approach is similar to the bureaucratic conceptual model of Foreign Policy Analysis of Graham Allison (1971), considering that it was first applied to IBM and its foreign subsidiaries around the world. The author can trace the culture organization profile of each country that had IBM present and therefore, was able to predict reactions from the subsidiaries in which they are a part of.

To Hofsted (2001), culture is still defined by values and widespread images regardless of their individual perspectives that form a group, besides their historical internal and external experiences whom the members suffer from since their formation. Still, Hofstede (2001) creates a methodology to be able to approach the

theme through the definitions explained, and yet, he ends up creating six distinct cultural dimensions in order to make comparative analysis of quantitative nature.

Accordingly, there is a theoretical space to be explored regarding cultural approaches in International Relations, and the need to understand the role of the Chinese MFA in the construction of the PRC up to Xi Jinping administration. The dimensions created by Hofstede (2001) allow us to make a multidisciplinary decoding of the MFA when they are added to Allison's (1971) model.

Therefore, the following research question emerged: "How was the process of opening up the Chinese market to foreign players through perspective cultural changes of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs during the Transition of power between Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping based on the Ministry documents between 1953-1979?".

The goal of this research is to trace a profile (or profiles) of the Chinese MFA taking into consideration the historical cut defined by the research question using telegrams, cables, letters and even official speeches taking into consideration a few parameters: the first would be evaluate what weight the decision-making role the Ministry would have in the Chinese Foreign Policy; and the second would be trying to understand to which point the reforms made during the administration of Mao Zedong affected the profile of the Ministry and its next administration. The relation of those parameters summed with the organizational theory of Hofstede (2001) will be addressed prior to a section dedicated to the analysis of the material collected.

For the application of Hofstede's theory to be applied, the content analysis method described by Laurance Bardin (2011) will be used. The content analysis method that was described by the author in her book aims to use systemize the description of content of different texts taking semantics as a guide. The possibility of quantitative and qualitative analysis was created by Bardin (2011), that enable us to quantify through semantics the dimensions created by Hofsted (2001) exploiting material such as speeches, notes and documents from the MFA and PRC.

2. Methodology

The content analysis applied in this research has the goal to verify the dimensions of Hofstede (2001) applying the methodological process in statements made by the present actors in the historical cut determined by the research question. For it to be possible, the methodological approach is the one described by Laurance Bardin (2011).

Bardin (2011) discusses in her book “Content Analysis”, six different techniques for applying the content analysis methodology. Among those described by the author, evaluation and statement analyses will be applied at different moments of this work. The first to be applied has as a purpose to determine and quantify the described actors’ stances in generational accordance with the historical cut. Meanwhile, the second technique applied has the purposed of quantify the wording deviations still in accordance with the generational actors but inside the Chinese MFA, considering that these are defined when the enunciator accidentally fails to use the subtext to convey their message, usually having a negative effect on the communicative process. The deviations on this research are understood as textual disagreements of the communicators with the Chinese isolationist policy observed in the historical cut. Therefore, there is a pretension of demonstration the possibility of analysis in a quantitative form and to draw this switch or switches in the institution and in the Chinese foreign policy. In this work every word deviation will be treated as a reality deviation, in other words, whenever an individual does or says something that is not in accordance with what the MFA or the CCP has determined as fulfilment of foreign policy, their action will be considered a deviation from the imposed norm.

Both analyses will be made considering the cultural dimensions observed and described by Geert Hofstede (2001), since the goal of this research is to exploit a quantitative approach of culture in the International Relations as a discipline. In the following paragraphs the method and application of the analysis will be exposed in accordance with Bardin (2011), as well as the cultural dimensions of Hofstede

(2001) that will be linked and explained with the bureaucratic of model of foreign policy created by Allison (1971).

Once again, the collected material includes Chinese ambassadors and other members of the diplomatic staff of China that at the time were communicating with the Chinese MFA, supreme Leader Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping during the given historical cut. Besides this, there is also the collection of texts, talks and other materials that the authorship belongs to these specific individuals and ambassadors that participated in those talks or other activities.

2.1. Evaluation Analysis

The evaluation analysis is based in the behaviour of individuals in relation with the objects that they interact with. Those objects may or may not be tangible, and the reaction to them is what makes the evaluation analysis possible. According to Bardin (2011), the reaction is a predisposition that is usually stable and organized by the individuals' opinions or acts in the presence of the object's layout.

In International Relations, those objects com limit themselves to public figures, societies, states, nations, international organization, or any other player that brings somewhat of an inference to the International System. Within this research, we will be able to consider exponential individuals of the Chinese diplomatic staff, political leaders and sectors of the CPP, besides external players to the domestic sphere in the period defined by the research question.; such as foreign ambassadors and political players such as Canada's Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau ¹and the Vietnam politician Ho Chi Minh.

The application of this analysis per passes three steps; the first in which there is an identification and extraction of objects within the propositions of the research question, and afterwords to follow with the second phase, where there is a statement isolation, so it is possible to isolate the behaviour of individuals. After those two

¹ Father of the Prime Minister Justin Trudeau.

steps, the codification of the content can be made, and the data can be applied to the method and dimensions can be created Hofstede (2001).

2.2. Wording analysis

The wording analysis predicts the conception of speeches as the act of speech and this aspect differentiates it from the other techniques. In the wording, the structure is not as formal and, its foundation is on the understanding that communication is a process. The wording analysis can have more than one approach, thematic and actual wording; the first focuses on the themes addressed in a plethora of speeches and evaluates the segmentation of them and its capacity of comparison between them. While the second analyzes the discourse as a case study. Along with these approaches, this technique allows us to analyze alignment and dynamics of the discourse to be studied in both ways. The logical analysis of the discourse bases itself on a chain of affirmations, negations, and stances within a speech. Whereas the sequential analysis conforms to the progression of the discourse, observing the modifications of the content through its ruptures or transitions between observed matters after the preparation of the material.

Conventionally, the wording analysis does not allow the quantitative analysis of the communication content between individuals. However, after the technical application there will be made a sum of the deviations of wording and of thematic made by the generations of staff from the Chinese MFA and other important players of the Chinese foreign policy, in order to be possible to create a categorical comparison between generations and also to be possible the transposition with Hofstede (2001) dimensions. The deviations may indicate how the political isolation was implemented in the PRC up until the opening up of their market in 1979.

2.3. Hofstede's cultural dimensions

Culture according to Geert Hofstede (2001) is a system of collective mental programming that differentiates individuals and their groups. Therefore, culture does is not limited to values, symbols, rituals, figures and national or societal level practices, being possible to expand itself to other groups such as families, genders, and any other form of social organization. Consequently, the conception made by the author is somewhat different from other conceptualizations used in international relations, which tend to restrict themselves in qualitative conceptualizations and theories.

Another characteristic of the culture studies made by Hofstede (2001) is its quantitative nature, as explained in the section dedicated to the theoretical framework. In doing so, the author uses a 0-100 scale in which makes it possible to analyse a particular group in six distinct cultural dimensions. Those dimensions are known as the dimensions: of power distance index (PDI), individualism versus collectivism (IDV), masculinity versus femininity (MAS), uncertainty avoidance index (UAI), long- versus short-term orientation (LTO) and finally, the indulgence versus restraint dimension (IVR). All of these dimensions are dichotomous but the PDI. In which means that the high score of dimensions such as the masculinity, for example, means a low score of femininity.

Respectively, the first dimension is defined by the perception of a particular group in relation to the social hierarchy that they are inserted and their definition of power, the latter being a concept that was not defined by Hofsted (2001) in his work. Moving forward, the second dimension is related to the social organization of a group of individuals reckoning their belief/values system. This will ultimately determine if a society is more prone to cherish the collective or individualist nature of its members.

The third dimension, named Masculinity versus Femininity, lead us to believe this is about the relevance of the biological role of the individuals within a culture or organization. However, Hofstede (2001) named the dimension with those terms to distinguish cultures and the ways that they socially perform, since people of different genders tend to be socialized in differently seeing that this tendency is supported by values and obligations distinguishable due to the mental programming of the understanding as psychological feminine and masculine characteristics of an

individual of a particular biological gender. Therefore, a group that tends to masculinity in this specific dimension is also a more competitive not only between themselves but also when there are interacting with individuals external to their group. Whereas a group that tends to femininity prioritizes the social welfare of their members and those are out of their formation.

The three last dimensions refer to, respectively, to the way a group deal with the consequences their actions or from others, and their own perception of the future. From the habit of planning with a long-term or short-term goal, and how introverted or extroverted a society/group is. Although Hofstede (2001) divided culture in different dimensions and created a scale to make analyses possible when the concept is studied, the dimensions are always in contact with one and another and this division is only to supply a didactic demand of his analysis and verification process that was observe during the research process. This is mainly because there the author realizes that when the study is made at the level of individuals only, it demonstrates omissions of the functioning of organizations and their dynamics:

“In studying ‘values’ we compare individuals; in studying ‘culture’ we compare societies. When we base our study of culture on quantified data that have to be statistically treated, we meet a problem that the study of values of individuals did not present: the simultaneous analysis of data at both individual and societal levels.” (Hofstede, 2001, p. 17, author’s griffon)

Finally, the usage of Bardin’s (2011) content analyses techniques summed to Hofstede’s (2001) method, will allow us to transport a new theory to International Relations and, consequently, auxiliary Foreign Policy Analysis from a new perspective.

3.

The role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in China

The Chinese MFA has different facets in accordance with the state administration, varying from the rigidity of the late emperor's stances to almost complete submission to the West during the First Republic Era, to later go back to this rigidity but now coming from the leader of the CCP. Therefore, it is possible to assume that there were a handful of ruptures in their diplomatic tradition. However, to analyse the diplomatic history of a millenary country will not make sense if we consider that the academic purpose of this article is to seek to understand the historical cut defined that is almost the same as the first twenty years of the communist administration in the Ministry. For this reason, it is necessary a brief description of the Chinese history in accordance with their foreign political stances of the previous administrations from 1912-1949, for us to understand better and to later get on with the analyses in the next section.

3.1.

The end of an Empire and western influences in the New China

The Qing Dynasty (1644-1912) was responsible for the end of the Imperial rule in China. During the nineteenth century this dynasty tried to keep their traditions, policies, and ideas in a moment where the European neocolonialism was becoming more present as the days passed in the Asian continent. As a result of this process and other external processes taking place, the Chinese Empire saw the necessity to make concessions to those western nations in their territory through agreements; therefore, the administration handed over significant ports to the country's economy, thus sealing the end of the imperial China.

As this process unleashed in China's social and political spheres, the elites started to value the culture and politics of the West, besides starting to publicly voice themselves in favour of a republic and sending their children to study in Europe. It was in this moment that a philosophical counter movement against Confucianism solidified in the Chinese society, leading people to align themselves with different

philosophies, ideologies and traditions coming from the West. As a result of this a few political main figures from the CCP emerged, such as Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping. Moreover, some years later with the fall of the empire, the Xinhai Revolution and the Republic of China (ROC) established by Sun Zhongshan (known in the West as Sun Yat-sen) and the Kuomintang Party (KMT), China as the rest of the world watched Europe go to war and Russia become the Soviet Union after the October Revolution.

The way that Sun Zhongshan, Yuan Shikai, and other leaders of the KMT that became part of the ROC administration dealt with the internal demands of the country kept the people unsatisfied with the new regime, yet still tolerable due to the prospectives when compared to the imperial administration. However, that was not enough for a parcel of the population that were aligning themselves with communist ideals as the days passed. In a brief time, the KMT and the CCP clashed because of their ideological divergencies and started a civil war in 1927 that was interrupted by the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1949)² and in less than five years the Second World War (1939-1945) started as well. In these conditions the quality of life of the Chinese people dropped exponentially, in consequence making the CCP promises more captivating. The resume of the Civil War in 1945 summed with the end of the end of Second World War allowed for a swift victory of Mao Zedong and his party in Continental China, establishing the PRC.

3.2

The Reforms of Mao Zedong the beginning of the Cultural revolution and the MFA role in it

From the geographical and political consolidation of the PRC, Mao Zedong could finally re-educate the Chinese people to guarantee that would be no other liberal revolutions and also to avoid any western influence that was characteristic to the capitalist block in China's new political and administrative structure. Yet, before he could start the Cultural revolution and governmental actions such as the failed Leap Forward (1958-1960), cutting ties with the Soviet Union and the economical

² At one point after 1945 this war was happening at the same time as the Civil War cited before.

and “diplomatic” isolation, the MFA had a more active role in the International System.

In 1949, the then Foreign Affairs Minister, Zhou Enlai, made a speech in a meeting in Beijing, affirming that diplomacy was composed by two fronts: “One is to unite [...] and the other is to fight.” (Zhou, 1949, apud Jisen, 2004, p. 2). In that moment the minister, as Mao Zedong were pursuing to unite the socialist countries and to combat of the “imperialist forces.” Having said that, the diplomatic soldier movement was initiated, where the staff were seeking to create relations with other countries, more often than not with the ones that were once known as the Third World countries and/or were part of the socialist block. With the arrival of the Cultural Revolution almost twenty years later, the failures of other reforms and a drop of approval of Mao Zedong as supreme leader, those people started to be persecuted simply because they were older diplomatic staff that could be not aligned with the Revolution and possible liabilities due to having contact with foreigners.

Nevertheless, the pragmatic shift imposed by the Revolution did not really affect Zhou Enlai’s proposal. Even if there was a partial paralysis of the external activities of the MFA, as union and “fighting” still guided the Chinese diplomacy.

4. Expectations prior to the analysis considering the parameters set

The parameter to be explored are still superficial in comparison to the expectations of the analysis. It is, therefore, necessary to set expectations so that it is possible to continue with the textual analysis of the content. The Chinese foreign policy stance prior to the consolidation of the CCP as a party rules the PRC is important for making statements prior to analysis when put to the test of Hofstede's (2001) dimensions, such as:

(1) **The high dimension of power is something that is validated by the MFA.**

The expectation is that it will, considering Chinese history and their hierarchical dynamics that existed in Imperial China. As we are discussing a millennial country that was ruled by absolutist emperor during most of its time, the habit of political staff following orders without any reservations is not something that is shifted in less than a hundred years.

(2) **In the individualism versus collectivism dimension, it is expected that the collectivism prevails.** This affirmation is based on the political principal of the CCP and of the PRC, as the communist ideology aims for the collective well-being of the people, and this fact might be true for the MFA.

(3) **There is an expectation of a high femininity score in the Masculinity versus Femininity dimension after the economic isolation.** However, is important to notice that topics such as the Vietnam War, the Kashmir border issue and other hot topics that surfaced during the historic cut might bring this score to either equilibrium or shift the balance for a few years.

(4) The uncertainty avoidance is a dimension that is directly linked to public policies and its results and **is expected to be high during the 1950's** but is uncertain whether it is going to remain as such in the following years of the historical cut.

(5) The long-term orientation is a dimension where **the expectation is that it will remain high through the whole temporal cut**, due to the State planning adopted by the CCP and the PRC; and

(6) Finally, **there is an expectation of equilibrium in the indulgence dimension**, or that there is a tendency to the introversion of the State because of the economic isolation.

Further details and characteristics of each dimension will be added in a dedicated section of the interpolation with the results. Additionally, besides these expectations is also necessary to define how the Chinese diplomatic staff dealt with adversities of international events in which the country got involved in during the historic cut. This process will be aided by the analysis for a more complete evaluation in the future section marked in this paragraph.

5. Analysing the MFA through Hofstede's theory

Before jumping to the analysis, a brief explanation of how the data was collected is going to be made available, then the analysis and the program used to create the qualitative data and finally the results are going to be exposed.

5.1.

The data collection

The data collection was done using the Wilson Center Digital Archive, besides a repository of Deng Xiaoping's speeches called "The selected works of Deng Xiaoping: modern day contributions to Marxism-Leninism" and also the use of a single document under "The American Presidency Project". In the end, it was analysed the total of 80 documents.

From the total of documents available in the digital archive there are 16.095 documents under the "China" tag, that drops to a total of 915 documents when the label is just related to the archives of the MFA. When the tag is changed to "Chinese Foreign Ministry Archives (PRC FMA)" and filtered by the "Year Slider" with the values between "1953-1965" and, the number once again drops to 889 documents.

The Year Slider tag only goes up to the year of 1965 because the documents available are up to this year.

However, when new search is made, and the tag is changed to the “China. Foreign Ministry” tag³, and filtered by the “Year Slider” with the values between “1953-1979”, 175 documents appear as being from these parameters.

Still in the same digital archive, when the search is once again changed to find documents the tags “Mao Zedong” and “Deng Xiaoping”, separately, there was 375 documents and 79 documents, respectively, filtered “Year Slider” with the values between “1953-1979”.

Whereas the documents available in the Wilson Center Digital Archive, and the searches made and its results it totals to 1518 curated. Yet due to the voids and themes that would appear from time to time, besides the telegrams and cables related to the tastes and personal information of people that interacted with the diplomatic staff there was a need to collect data from two other sources that totalled relevant 3 documents, due to the thematic that was lacking from the 1977-1979. Considering that there was a disparity in theme and quantity of documents coming from Deng Xiaoping when he became an important political player after the death of Chairman Mao. Reaching the final number of 1521.

Therefore, a meticulous reading and long collection of the material was needed when using this archive and the added documents due to the quantity of documents curated. The cut of documents was made with international historical events that occurred during the historical cut in mind (listed as Table 1 below). Besides the relevance of the content.

Table 1 - Faceted search of the documents

Year	International Historical Events
1953	Korean War Armistice
1955	Bandung Conference
1962	Sino-Indian War
1966-1976	Cultural Revolution
1971	Ping-Pong Diplomacy

³This tag is directly related to the MFA

1972	Nixon visits mainland China
1975	Support for North Vietnam in the Vietnam War
1978	Sino-Japanese Treaty of Peace and Friendship
1979	Sino-Vietnamese War
1979	Deng Xiaoping visits the USA

Source: elaborated by the author through the material collected

Through this process, considering the themes, timelines, members of staff of the MFA and other players that's how we reach the total of 80 documents to be analysed.

5.2.

The data analysis

The documents were analysed using a program called Interface de R pour les Analyses Multidimensionnelles de Textes et Questionnaires (IRaMuTeQ), utilizing the seventh version of the program. This is a free software that aims the structural analysis and the discourse organization of texts, making it possible to inform relationships between the lexical words that are frequently enunciated by the study participants. (Camargo; Justo, 2013).

The textual analysis is a specific type of data analysis, where texts are treated whether they come from documents, interviews, summaries, amongst others. In the case of this research, 80 documents were analysed by a qualitative perspective, taking into account the Table 2 below. There is a need to emphasize that the documents were categorized in three periods and, for each of those periods, a textual corpus was constituted.

Table 2 - Analysed Documents

Period	N° of documents	Types of documents
1953-1965	41	Telegrams, reports, comments, instructions, letters, memos and minutes.
1966-1976	32	Reports, speeches, minutes, memos, communications, statements, extracts from conversations and letters.
1977-1979	07	Letters, extracts from conversations and telegrams.

Source: elaborated by the author based on research data.

With this data, the textual corpus preparation proceeds, constituting in set of texts that will be analysed using IRaMuTeQ. According to Camargo and Justo (2018), the corpus is built by the researcher. Thus, this material was subjected to spelling correction and adapted according to the criteria required by IRaMuTeQ and described by Camargo and Justo (2018). There is a need to highlight a difficulty that was encountered in relation to the language of the material analysed. These documents were collected from a database in English, however the original language of most documents was in Chinese, if not another language. Therefore, this another factor that made a meticulous analysis need.

Afterwards, the following textual analysis were made: 1) Word Cloud, with the goal of grouping the words and organizing them graphically, having in mind their relevance. Also, taking into account that the bigger ones had more frequency in the corpus; (2) Similitude Analysis, which makes it possible to identify co-occurrences between words and its result provides indications of the connection between them, making it easier to understand the textual corpus analysed.

5.3.

The results

The analysis was made considering the data contained in the 80 documents collected. Between those documents there were telegrams, reports, memoranda, excerpts of conversations, letters, minutes, summaries of reports, speeches and notices, among others, relating to the Chinese government. From these documents, 41 are referred to what was categorized as the First Period (1953-1965), 32 documents are referred to the Second Period (1966-1976) and 7 documents are related to the final and Third Period (1977-1979). The results of the analysis of these data are presented according to the different periods described.

5.3.1.

The First Period - The Chinese MFA before the Cultural Revolution (1953-1965)

The “Image 1” was constructed with the documents regarding the 1953-1965 time period. Is possible to observe in this image that the words “party”. “country”,

meetings will not be as quibbling as that of the Geneva Conference, but the discussions and activities outside the meetings will be more frequent. Because of this reason, our delegation must have enough personnel for carrying out such activities” (Draft of the Tentative Working Plan for Participating in the Asian-African Conference, 1955, author’s griffon).

The passage that was presented above refers to a Report of the MFA in 1955, where it was affirmed that the Asian-African Conference could be a great contribution to the establishment of world peace. In this document the following parts were identified: Chinese allies, neutral countries and American allies. Yet, China saw the need to isolate the American power in the Conference and the need to act on forming friendships with the neutral countries.

Still in 1955. Another report of the MFA discusses some existing problems and make suggestions for the Asian-African Conference. IN this document, besides other issues, the MFA make stances in three categories of issues, between them, economic issues:

Economy: Our principle is: conduct trade and develop technical and economic cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual benefit in order to consolidate and promote the peace and development of independent economy. In discussion we may mention the opposition to embargo, but don't demand to reach an agreement on it (Report by the Chinese Foreign Ministry, Some Existing Issues in and Suggestions for the Asia-Africa Conference, 1955).

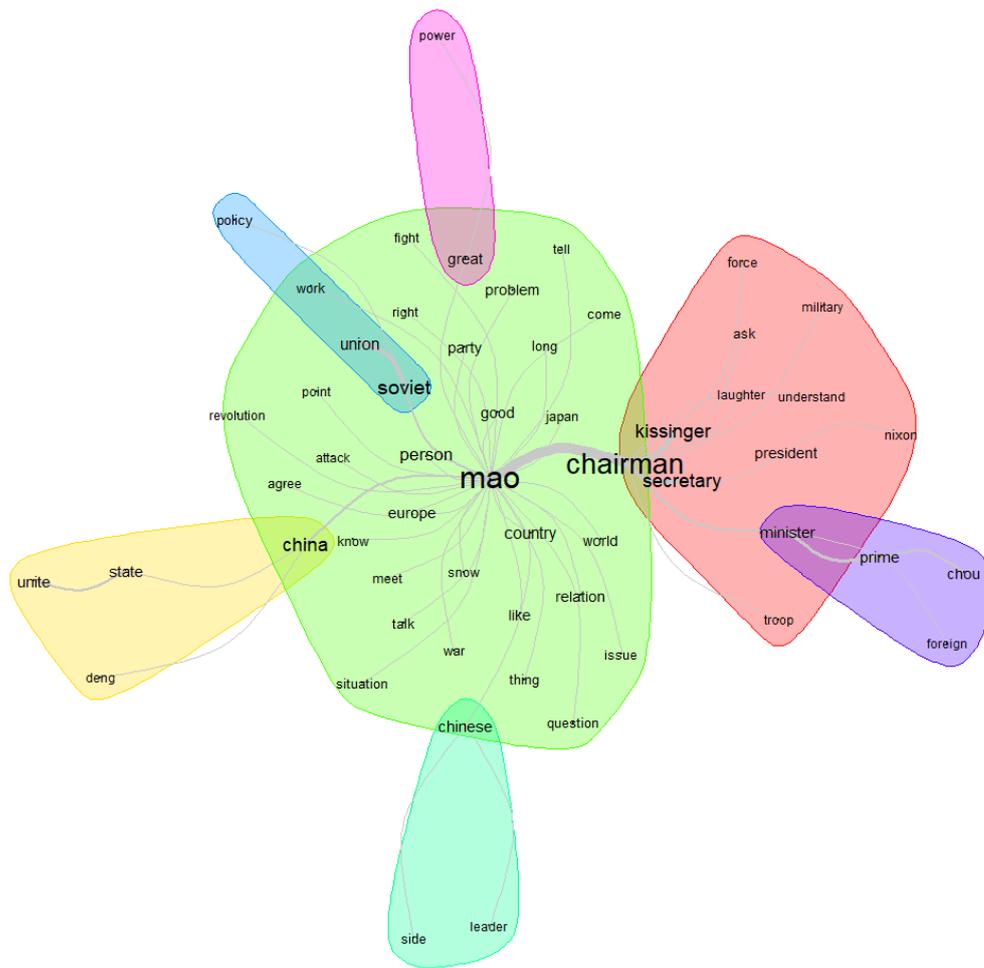
5.3.2.

The Second Period - The Chinese MFA during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)

“Image 2” shows the results of the Similarity Analysis, which is based on graph theory. Graph theory is a branch of mathematics. It is widely used by social representation researchers and focuses on studies that address the relationships of objects in a given set (Camargo; Justo, 2018). Graphs help to characterise and graphically visualise the corpus, aiding in the interpretation of the text's content.

Therefore, this analysis is in accordance with the documents of the Second Period (1966-1976) and, it highlights the co-occurrences between words and the indications of connection between terms, where the main ones that appeared in the set of documents were: “Mao”; “chairman” and “Kissinger”.

Image 2- Similarity analysis of documents from 1966 to 1976



Source: prepared by the author using IRaMuTeQ software (2024).

The word “Mao” occupies a central place and is strongly connected to the following words: “chairman”, “secretary”, “minister” and “Kissinger”. Thus, an extracted passage is highlighted from a report emitted in 1969 by Zhou Enlai, then Prime Minister of the PRC, where he reports a suspicious non-formal behaviour from the soviet embassy, which prompted the Chinese side to present a formal diplomatic note to the Soviet side about this behaviour. Is possible to observe that Mao Zedong agrees with the stance taken by Prime Minister, which can be confirmed by the following passage:

“Zhou Enlai's report: During the night of [March] 22, the Soviet side asked several times for Chairman [Mao's] telephone number. The Soviet embassy in China also visited our Ministry of Foreign Affairs several times, stating that "following the instructions of the Soviet Council of Ministers, [we] have messages to convey." Meanwhile, our side discovered that the Soviet Army was moving in the area of

Zhenbao Island, and through reconnaissance we learned that superiors on the Soviet side had been pressuring [units on] the front line to take action. It is estimated that today it is possible for the enemy to occupy Zhenbao Island by force and that what they have done is nothing more than an empty gesture. After discussions with comrades in relevant positions, we made the decision to reinforce our position of troops and weapons on the river bank, wait for the enemy's fatigue, and prepare to defeat the enemy by letting him initiate offensive action. In the meantime, we will present a formal diplomatic note to the Soviet side at a meeting with the Soviet chargé d'affaires. The note will highlight that, considering the current state of relations between China and the Soviet Union, it is no longer appropriate for the two parties to maintain telephone contact. If the Soviet government has something to say, it should present its views to the Chinese government through formal diplomatic channels. Mao Zedong's comments on Zhou Enlai's report: [I] agree with the position of the moment. Prepare immediately to conduct diplomatic negotiations (Zhou Enlai's Report to Mao Zedong and Mao's Comments, 1969, author's griffon)."

Later, in 1972, through a joint communiqué between the United States and China, widely known as the "Shanghai Communiqué", identified an attempt to reduce political tensions between the two countries and (re)approximate their economic relations, as the following text shows:

"There are essential differences between China and the United States in their social systems and foreign policies. However, the two sides agreed that countries, regardless of their social systems, should conduct their relations on the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, non-aggression against other states, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. International disputes should be settled on this basis, without resorting to the use or threat of force. The United States and the People's Republic of China are prepared to apply these principles to their mutual relations. With these principles of international relations in mind the two sides stated that:

-- progress toward the normalization of relations between China and the United States is in the interests of all countries;

-- both wish to reduce the danger of international military conflict;

-- neither should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony;

-- neither is prepared to negotiate on behalf of any third party or to enter into agreements or understandings with the other directed at other states.

Both sides view bilateral trade as another area from which mutual benefit can be derived, and agreed that economic relations based on equality and mutual benefit are in the interest of the peoples of the two countries. They agree to facilitate the progressive development of trade between their two countries.

The two sides agreed that they will stay in contact through various channels, including the sending of a senior US representative to Peking

from time to time for concrete consultations to further the normalization of relations between the two countries and continue to exchange views on issues of common interest.

The two sides expressed the hope that the gains achieved during this visit would open up new prospects for the relations between the two countries. They believe that the normalization of relations between the two countries is not only in the interest of the Chinese and American peoples but also contributes to the relaxation of tension in Asia and the world. President Nixon, Mrs. Nixon and the American party expressed their appreciation for the gracious hospitality shown them by the Government and people of the People's Republic of China." (Joint Communiqué between the United States and China, 1972).

In the end of the Second Period, more specifically in the year of 1976, Mao Zedong health had considerably declined, becoming very ill. IN those conditions, in 30 of April of 1976, Mao meet the New Zealand Prime Minister, Robert Muldoon, aiming to discuss the recent nuclear tests of China. Both politicians shared the same opinion about the Soviet Union, considering it a threat, not only for China but also to New Zealand. The following excerpt is this meeting, it shows the health conditions of Chairman Mao and is also possible to observe the stance that they had about the Soviet Union:

“Mao: My legs are not too good. How did the talks go?

Muldoon: They went well. We found a great measure of agreement and everyone has shown friendship and understanding.

Mao: The world is in confusion.

Muldoon: I am convinced that through their courage and strength the will of the people will prevail.

Mao: No, no.

Muldoon: If the people have good leadership.

Mao: There is Russia.

Muldoon: But Russia will never prevail.

Mao: Japan and New Zealand don't like our tests. You should curse us.

Muldoon: We understand the circumstances in which you are placed. We are opposed to nuclear war and nuclear tests and must protest. But we understand your situation.

Mao: After a few years tests will be underground. That will be better.

Muldoon: Yes.

Mao: How were your discussions in Japan?

Muldoon: Very friendly. New Zealand now has good relations with Japan. There are very few problems between us. We see the future of our peoples as friendly. We share the fear of the Soviet Union, as does China.

Mao: Japan, New Zealand, Australia, the United States, Europe, all fear the Soviet Union.

Muldoon: Yes” (Meeting between Mr. Muldoon and Mao Zedong at Chairman Mao's Residence, 30 April 1976).

This conversation is important to demonstrate that even if China had, and still has, a nuclear program, it still values the collective good. Leaning towards the indicator of collectivism created by Hofstede (2001).

After Chairman Mao death in 1976, Deng Xiao ping wrote a letter offering support of Hua Guofeng nomination as the CCP leader and as leader of the Central Military Commission. He mentions the victory of the group that took control after Mao Zedong’s death and emphasizes that Hua Guofeng is the most successful to follow Mao Zedong’s political stance:

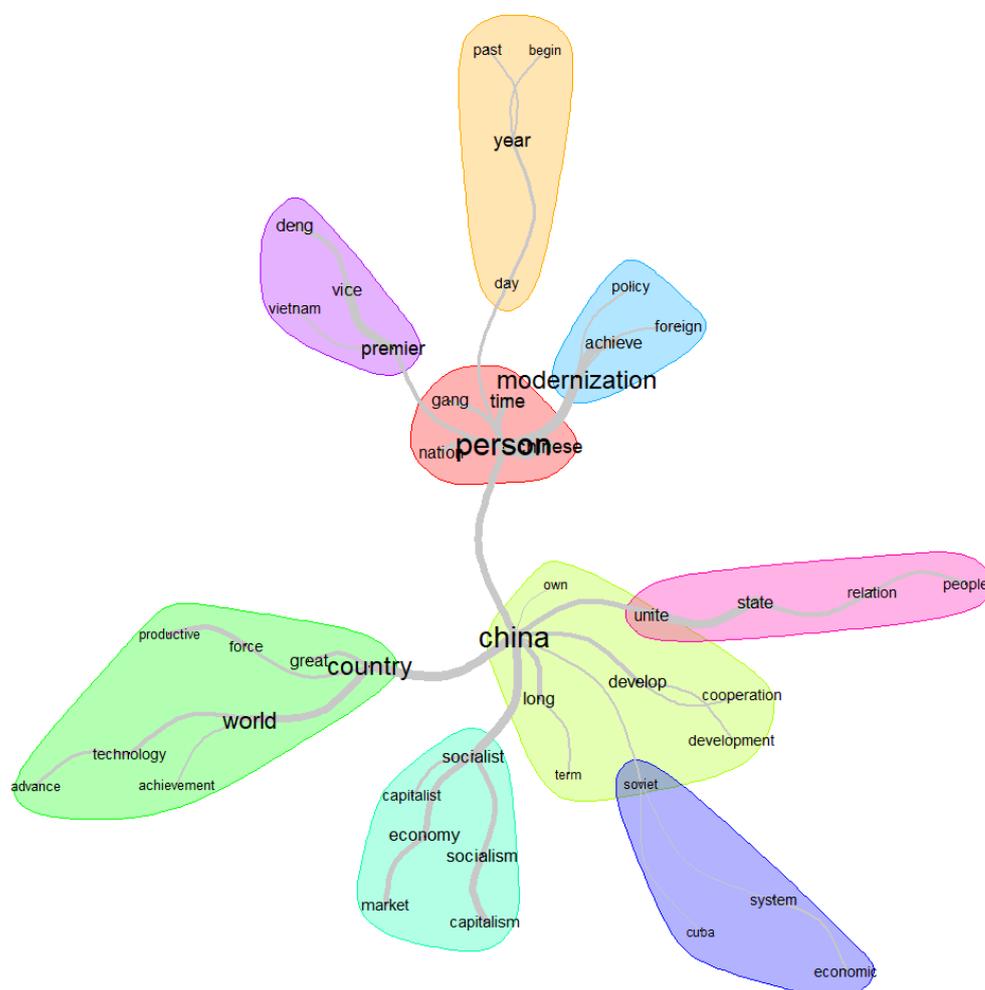
The recent struggle against ambitious schemers and conspirators who tried to usurp power occurred during the crucial period immediately following the demise of our great leader Chairman Mao. The Central Committee led by Comrade Guofeng triumphed over these bad eggs and scored a great victory. This is a triumph of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and that of the socialist road over the capitalist road. This is a victory that reinforces the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevents capitalism from making a comeback, and it is a victory that underpins the Party’s great cause. This is the victory of Mao Zedong Thought and Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line. Like the people of our country, my heart is brimming with joy at the victory achieved in this great struggle, and I cannot help but shout hurrah, hurrah, hip hip hurrah/long live, long live, long live our Party! I express my heartfelt and sincere feelings in this brief letter (Letter from Deng Xiaoping to Hua Guofeng and the CCP Central Committee, October 10, 1976).

Is important to note that there was no identification of the death of the Chairman between the documents collected during the curation time. Only documents referring to his illness and the following events after his death in 1976.

The extracts presented here demonstrate that in this Period, the MFA profile is very much oriented towards femininity, In Hofstede’s perspective (2001). Allison

Afterwards, a Similarity Analysis was carried out, which makes it possible to identify co-occurrences between words, as can be seen in Figure 4.

Image 4 - Similarity analysis of documents from 1977 to 1979



Source: prepared by the author using IRaMuTeQ software (2024).

Through this analysis it was possible to verify that the words “person” and “China” also stood out. From them, other words are ramified and suggest more detailed meanings. The word “China” shows a high connectivity with the words “socialist”, “capitalist”, “economy”, and “market”. However, the word also strongly connects with the following words: “person”, “modernization”, “country” and “world”.

Considering that the main words identified by the Word Cloud and also taking into account the more central words in the maximum tree in the Similarity Analysis, some aspects identified can be described.

The data obtained from the documents of the 1977-1979 period are, generally, evidence of a shift in the MFA stance, when compared to the previous periods. Specifically, in respect of its commercial relations with other countries, there is an indication of a possible economic opening. Furthermore, as the following extract from a conversation between Deng Xiaoping and an Economic and Trade Delegation from the government of Madagascar shows, Deng Xiaoping emphasises that both the Party and the people have been united since the Fall of the "Gang of Four":

The entire Chinese nation rejoiced over the downfall of the Gang of Four. Things are better now and the mood of the people has improved. We are aware that it is an arduous task to achieve the four **modernizations**, but we can manage. First of all, the entire Party is **united**, as are the people of whole nation. Our people are hard-working and have a tradition of hard struggle. Second, we have laid a solid material foundation. Third, we have defined principles whereby we shall make use of all the advanced technologies and achievements from around the **world**. The Gang of Four did nous to do so, calling this a slavish comprador philosophy. Science and technology have no class nature; capitalists make them serve capitalism, and socialist countries make them serve socialism. Ancient China had four great inventions (paper, printing, gunpowder and the compass — Tr.), which found their way to countries around the world (Excerpt from a talk of Deng Xiaoping with an economic and trade delegation of the government of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, May 7, 1978).

The following excerpts refer to a dialogue between President Jimmy Carter and Chinese Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping, which took place in 1979. They discussed the resumption of trade relations between China and the US, as shown below

The United States of America has major interests in the Asian and in the Pacific regions. We expect that normalization of **relations** between our two countries will help to produce an atmosphere in the Asian and Pacific area in which the right of all peoples to live in peace will be enhanced.

We expect that normalization will help to move us together toward a world of diversity and of peace. For too long, our two peoples were cut off from one another. Now we share the prospect of a fresh flow of commerce, ideas, and people, which will benefit both our countries.

Under the leadership of Premier Hua Guo feng and of your Vice Premier, the People's Republic of China has begun to move boldly toward **modernization**. You have chosen to broaden your cultural, trade, and diplomatic ties with other nations. We welcome this openness. As a people, we firmly believe in open discussion with others and a free exchange of ideas with others (Jimmy Carter, President in EUA, January 29, 1979).

Great possibilities lie ahead for developing amicable cooperation between China and the United States. In the next few days, we will be exploring with your Government leaders and with friends in all walks of life ways to develop our contacts and **cooperation** in the political, **economic**, scientific, technological, and cultural fields.

Normalization opens up broad vistas for developing these contacts and cooperation to our mutual benefit. We have every reason to expect fruitful results.

The significance of normalization extends far beyond our bilateral relations. Amicable **cooperation** between two major countries, situated on opposite shores of the Pacific, is undoubtedly an important factor working for peace in this area and in the world as a whole. The world today is far from tranquil. There are not only threats to peace, but the factors making for war are visibly growing. The people of the world have the urgent task of redoubling their efforts to maintain world peace, security, and stability. And our two countries are duty-bound to work together and make our due contribution to that end (Deng Xiaoping, Vice Premier of the People's Republic of China, January 29, 1979).

From this dialogue between the two political figures, one realizes that there is a mutual interest in re-establishing relations, something that stagnated long ago mostly due to the Chinese political scene.

In the period comprehended as 1977-1979 the documents analysed demonstrated an MFA presented a discourse of seeking better conditions for its people and overcoming the Party's internal differences, which occurred after Mao Zedong's death.

In the previous subsections analysis were made through the collected documents. And the data, when evaluated through Hofstede's (2001) perspective allow the periods to be classified in profiles. Given this understanding, in "Table 3" is presented a brief description of the main documents analysed during the different periods, as well as its dimensions. Afterwards, in "Table 4" a summary of the main dimension of Hofstede are observed in the three periods analysed and listed previously.

Table 3 - Description of the main documents in the periods analysed and Hofstede's (2001) dimensions identified

Period	Document	Enunciated or Memorable event	Hofstede's Dimension
Before the Cultural	Mao Zedong's comments at the banquet for the	Mao Zedong discusses the significance of the signing of the Sino-	High femininity dimension

<p>Revolution (1953-1965)</p>	<p>North Korean government delegation (23/11/1953)</p>	<p>North Korean Economic and Cultural Co-operation Agreement at a banquet for a North Korean government delegation. Disregarding the fact that China's aid to North Korea is unilateral, Mao notes that North Korea has helped China by being at the forefront of the struggle against Chinese imperialism. North Korea protected China by preventing the imperialists from crossing the Yale River.</p>	
	<p>Report of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China, Draft Interim Work Plan for Participation in the Asian-African Conference (1955)</p>	<p>The note stated that the Asian-African Conference could be a major contribution to the establishment of international peace. Participants included Chinese allies, neutral countries and American allies. China had to isolate American power at the Conference and make friends with neutral countries. The Chinese Foreign Ministry therefore drew up the plan accordingly.</p>	<p>High power dimension</p>
	<p>Meeting of Mao Zedong and the Delegation of the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB) (18/04/1963)</p>	<p>Chairman Mao and Telles discuss the prospects of the revolution, the 1927 revolution and US imperialism, among other shared concerns.</p>	<p>High power dimension</p>
<p>During the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)</p>	<p>Mao Zedong's speech at a meeting of the Central Group of the Cultural</p>	<p>Mao Zedong said that the whole country should be prepared against an invasion by the Soviet Union.</p>	<p>High power dimension</p>

	Revolution (15/03/1969)		
	Joint communiqué between the United States and China (27/02/1972)	The United States and China promised to improve relations in the famous "Shanghai Communiqué".	High Long-term Orientation
	Statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China (03/11/1973)	A "slow but articulate" Mao discusses nuclear weapons tests, Taiwan and the Lin Biao affair with EG Whitla.	High power dimension
	Meeting between Mr Muldoon and Mao Zedong at Chairman Mao's residence. (30/04/1976)	The ailing Mao Zedong and Robert Muldoon discuss China's recent nuclear tests and agree that the Soviet Union is a common threat to both China and New Zealand. Both Mao himself and the New Zealand annotators make frequent mention of the Chairman's deteriorating health.	Average Uncertainty Avoidance
After the Cultural Revolution (1976-1979)	Letter from Deng Xiaoping to President Hua Guofeng, Vice President Ye Jiaying and the Central Committee of the CP. (10/04/1977)	Deng Xiaoping is self- critical and says that he endorses Hua Guofeng's policies.	High power dimension
	Visit by Vice- Premier Deng Xiaoping of the People's Republic of China. Speech at the Welcome Ceremony. (29/01/1979)	We hope that normalisation will help move us together towards a world of diversity and peace. For a long time, our two peoples were separated from each other. Now we share the prospect of a new flow of trade, ideas and people, which	High Long-term Orientation

		will benefit both our countries.	
	Excerpt from a conversation between Deng Xiaoping with Frank B. Gibney, Vice-Chairman of the Compilation Committee of Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc. of the United States, Lin, Director of the East Asia Institute at McGill University in Canada, and others (26/11/1979).	We can develop a market economy under socialism.	High Long-term Orientation

Source: elaborated by the author based on research data.

Table 4 - MFA profiles in Hofstede's (2001) perspectives

Period	PDI	IDV	MAS	UAI	LTO	IVR
Before the Cultural Revolution (1953-1965)	High PDI	High collectivism	High Femininity	Average UAI	Average orientation to LTO	Low IVR
During the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)	High PDI	High collectivism	High Femininity	Average UAI	High orientation to LTO	Low IVR
After the Cultural Revolution (1976-1979)	High PDI	High collectivism	High Femininity	Average UAI	High orientation to LTO	Average IVR

Source: elaborated by the author based on research data.

Through the data contained in the documents analysed is possible to observe that the MFA had changes related to their political stance with regard to various aspects of relations with other countries.

It is important to emphasise that some of the expectations raised before the analysis can be confirmed after evaluating the documents. In the time frame analysed, a **high-power dimension** was observed in all periods, with a well-defined social hierarchy. With regard to **collectivism**, which was also considered high in all periods, it is understood that this is closely related to the characteristics of a society that values the collectivism of its members. The **femininity** dimension was also considered high in all three periods, as it is understood that the attitudes of the Chinese MFA, as a group, showed greater prioritisation of its members. In addition to the dimensions mentioned above, **long-term orientation** was also judged to be high in all periods, as the data in the documents indicates more cautious planning attitudes.

Finally, it is suggested that this thematic could be explored further in a master's degree research project, as the data contained in the documents referring to the different profiles of the Chinese MFA could be analysed in more detail, thus being able to identify aspects that this analysis may not have presented due to the length of the research. In addition, other documents could be collected in order to compare different sources.

6.

Interpolation between Alisson and Hofstede through the analysis

The Bureaucratic Model of Graham Allison (1971) is a theory that gets close to analysing the people making politics and the actions of the State that they rule. The author argues that "...leaders are not a monolithic group, rather, each is, in his own right, a player in a central, competitive game." (Allison, 1971, p. 707) Therefore, analysing the policy makers is important in Foreign Policy and, when summed to National Cultural Organizational theory, such as Hofstede's (2001) is more important because the matter of dynamics of power and bargaining to achieve something can shape International Politics and its System.

Their policy makers actions, shaping the foreign policy can determine the next steps of a whole era of diplomacy of a country, political/economic block or the International System as a whole. When analysing China and, more specifically, the historical cut given by our research question is possible to verify this relationship and the importance of a multidisciplinary approach to Foreign Relations.

Looking at "Table 4" of the previous section we can observe that some dimensions stay the same throughout the whole Revolution. Perhaps the policy makers such as Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping and the diplomatic staff thought, unconsciously, that keeping some stances were for the best despite claiming a re-education in the MFA and letting the Red Guards do a "cleanse" in the Ministry. The significant change was observed during Deng's administration due to the economic opening and the modernization development state model that he created.

Thus, this interpolation between Allison (1971) and Hofstede (2001) not only verifies the possible usage of National Cultural Organizational theory as an alternative Foreign Policy approach and as qualitative and somewhat quantitative way of studying culture in International Relations.

7. considerations

Final

In conclusion, Hofstede's (2001) shines a new limelight in foreign policy, allowing us to wonder about the role of international organizations, institutions and other international level entities. Yet is important to notice a need to create expectations prior to the analysis. Where we are not supposed to aim at a certain dimension score goal but only speculate to create the right research environment.

Still on the matter of the expectations, the ones described in the fourth section of this work, they can be commented now as the results were revealed and the interpolation made. The first expectation was that the PDI would be high in this dimension throughout the timeline given by the research question due to the political nature of the MFA and the historical and hierarchical dynamics that China has between its people that were cultivated since the country was founded in 221 B.C.E. This expectation turned out to be true in all the periods analysed.

The second expectation was related to the IDV, where it was expected to have high collectivism during all the periods. And this assumption made verified itself. The political ideology managed to maintain this dimension high in the MFA and is the same in Hofstede's study.

In the MAS dimension there was an expectation of a high femininity score due to the economic isolation, yet it was also expected some instability in this score tending to a high masculinity due to some military international events that took place and had the participation of the PRC as time passed. However, the high femininity score maintained itself high, demonstrating a tendency of diplomatic resolutions to its military disputes

The fourth expectation was the UAI dimension, where it was assumed that the first period would be high and there also was some uncertainty about the following years. Even so, the score kept an average during all the periods. This could indicate a pragmatic approach to the isolation, knowing that it was not necessarily good for the country, but due to political views and the International System at the time there was no rush in the process till the opening of the Chinese market.

In the LTO dimension was the fifth speculation made and the expectation was a high LTO during all periods because of the State planification policy that the central government of the PRC and the CCP uses. This expectation only verified itself during the Second and Third Periods analysed, the First Period had an average score. The assumption for such is due to the establishment of the country a few years prior to the historical cut and, therefore, the planification of the country had to be rushed due to the high demands of the people. This dimension can be worked on in future works, such as a master's degree thesis.

The last IVR was the last dimension that was speculated, maintaining an average IVR score due to the introversion of a state that is solation itself. However, the score was low in the First and Second Period and average in the Third Period. This dimension leaves a question on why such scores and is also something that can be worked on the future.

About the analysis itself it is important to notice that although there was the collection of the data and result, besides an answer to our research question, there are still a question that have not been answered in this study. This question is related to the political weight of the MFA in the Foreign Policy decision-making. Even if now, there is a profile made, there is a need to make the profiles of other organisations of the political scopes of China and compare them to verify this. As it was said before, this is a question to be answered in a future academic work, perhaps with the two dimensions that were partially unclear at the present moment.

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