

The
Special Studies Series

CHINA:
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1970-1980

THE SPECIAL STUDIES SERIES

China: Special Studies, 1970-1980

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REEL INDEX

Reel I

CHINA

Frame

0001 **China's Role in Asia.**

International and Social Studies Division, Institute for Defense Analyses, Arlington, Virginia. Harold C. Hinton. February 1970. 72 pp.

The purpose of the paper is to inquire to what extent and in what ways the image of China as a threat to Asia is founded on reality. The conclusion, in brief, is that there is a Chinese threat to Asia but that it is largely political and psychological rather than military, that it varies substantially in nature and degree from country to country, and that its seriousness depends on developments in the other Asian states and on trends in international politics no less than on Chinese policy.

0073 **Soviet Journalists in China.**

Cambridge Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Barton Whaley. March 1970. 54 pp.

The study is a brief account of one of the minor but still significant aspects of the troubled history of Sino-Soviet relations, namely the role of Soviet journalists in China. It covers the period from 1920 to 1964.

0127 **The Chinese Communist Revolutionary Strategy and the Land Problem, 1921-1927.**

Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California. K.C. Yeh. April 1970. 117 pp.

The report presents the first part of a three-volume analysis of the doctrine and practice of land reform as a tactical measure, with emphasis on its relation to goals of the Chinese Communist Party, political and economic restraints in specific localities, and its effectiveness in enlisting peasant support. From 1921 to 1927, largely as a result of the collapse of the Comintern CCP-KMT coalition policy, the CCP shifted attention from the urban proletariat to the peasant as its principal ally, from revolution from above to revolution from below. And by 1928 radical agrarian reform, at least in Mao Tse-tung's view, became the crucial factor on which a successful revolution would depend. His strategy: confiscate public and private land, redistribute it to the poor and landless peasant, and the peasant will fight a protracted war to protect it.

- 0244 **American-Soviet-Chinese Triangle in Asia.**
International and Social Studies Division, Institute for Defense Analyses, Arlington, Virginia. Fred Greene. April 1970. 125 pp.
 The paper discusses the Asian aspects of the American-Chinese-Soviet triangular relationship, recognizing that two of the states are world powers and that the third has global aspirations, and that many of their policy considerations therefore have a univerealistic coloration.
- 0369 **Chinese Communist Patterns of Strategy and Negotiation.**
Mental Research Institute, Palo Alto, California. John H. Weakland. May 1970. 47 pp.
 The report discusses the potential significance for United States-China relations of a better understanding of Chinese Communist patterns of strategy and negotiation. These patterns are clarified by considering strategic maneuvering in relation to interaction and influence generally, and by viewing Chinese Communist behavior against the background of Chinese models of cooperative and antagonistic relationships. Major strategic themes discerned include avoidance of clinches, keeping the initiative, and utilization of contradictory opposites. Chinese negotiation emphasizes either assumptions of harmony or struggle between adversaries; the premises of Western diplomacy clash with both.
- 0416 **Communist China's Evolving Military Strategy and Doctrine.**
International and Social Studies Division, Institute for Defense Analyses, Arlington, Virginia. Alice Langley Hsieh. June 1970. 72 pp.
 The document analyzes China's evolving military strategy and doctrine, focuses on three main issues in China's military thinking: the question of priorities in national security policy, the degree to which Chinese leadership style in the military sphere is cautious or reckless, and the intent of China's advanced weapons program. With a view to developing new insights into these issues, several recent crisis situations, trends in international politics, and developments in China's military program are explored. The paper proceeds to suggest some major implications for China's military development and to project ways in which Peking might choose to use its evolving nuclear missile capability over the next decade.
- 0488 **Trend Analysis Study of China in Its Relations with the Major Powers and Selected Medium Powers from 1922 until 1968.**
California Studies in International Conflict and Integration, Stanford University. Robert C. North and Nazli Choucri. October 1970. 36 pp.
 A report is made on the second year of a three-year quantitative study of mainland China in its relations with the major powers and selected medium powers from 1922 until 1968. The modes of analysis include data on such factors as population, production, trade, military budgets, men under arms, and territorial expansion and interaction data scaled in terms of implications of violence. The data were scheduled to be gathered at annual intervals and the analyses were to be done in time series. The findings reported are considered preliminary, since a large amount of cross-checking and amplification remains to be done.
- 0524 **Nuances in Chinese Political Culture.**
Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Lucian W. Pye and Nathan Leites. November 1970. 23 pp.

The purpose of the essay is to identify and explore some themes in Chinese culture that may enrich our understanding of Chinese political behavior.

0547 **The Wuhan Incident: Local Strife and Provincial Rebellion during the Cultural Revolution.**

Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Thomas W. Robinson. December 1970. 32 pp.

The document is concerned with the Wuhan Incident of late July 1967 which is stated to represent the apex of revolutionary violence in 1967 and a turning point in the Cultural Revolution. Only when the level of bloodshed, disorganization, and factionalism threatened the army itself did the Mao-Lin faction decide that it was time to pull back.

0579 **Organizational Perspectives and Decision Making in the Chinese Communist High Command.**

Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California. William W. Whitson. March 1971. 51 pp.

Contents: models of decision making; major formal and informal groupings in the PLA; military generations; the field armies; military regions; the central elite; general political department; the navy; and the air force.

0630 **The Military Significance of the Sino-Soviet Border in Central Asia.**

Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Jesse Wang. March 19, 1971. 102 pp.

Contents: from the Chinese revolution to World War II, the regime of Sheng Shih-ts'ai; the border from World War II until 1970, the Chinese Communist period; and the military significance of the border.

0733 **Foreign Policy of the People's Republic of China (P.R.C.).**

Joint Publications Research Service, Washington, D.C. M.I. Makarov, I. Ya. Bednyak, A.M. Dubinskii, B.N. Zanegin, and A.S. Krasilnikov. June 25, 1971, 182 pp.

Contents: the development of the great power of Mao Tse-tung on the international scene; great Chinese chauvinism and the Socialist nations; the struggle of the Chinese leaders for hegemony in the revolutionary movement of the Asian, African, and Latin American nations; the P.R.C. and the imperialist states; and anti-imperialism or militant chauvinism.

REEL II

0001 **Chinese Views of Sino-Soviet Relations: An Analysis of Operative Factors.**

Research Analysis Corporation, McLean, Virginia. Harold C. Hinton. June 1971. 167 pp.

The problems covered in the document are to appraise, from the Chinese viewpoint, the current status of and likely future trends in Sino-Soviet relations, with special attention to the sources of military tension between Moscow and Peking and the outlook for its escalation to the level of war; and to indicate general lines of U.S. policy that might help to prevent the Sino-Soviet relationship from assuming an undesirably high degree (from the U.S. standpoint) of either hostility or amity.

- 0170 **Land Reform and the Revolutionary War: A Review of Mao Tse-tung's Concepts and Doctrines.**
Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California. K.C. Yeh. December 1971. 137 pp.
 The report is a study of Mao's doctrine of land reform and its relevance to revolutionary warfare. It critically reviews Mao's basic hypotheses concerning the role of land reform in the revolutionary war, examines the conditions that provide the opportunity for the constraints to land redistribution, and draws some policy implications. A revolution is considered as a protracted armed struggle, led by the Communist Party and supported by the masses. Each of three elements—the army, the party, and the masses—has a key role to play.
- 0307 **The Nature of Mainland Chinese Economic Structure, Leadership and Policy (1949-1969) and Prospects for Arms Control and Disarmament. Volume II: Basic Report.**
Columbia University, New York. Richard Diao and Donald Zagoria. February 1972. 241 pp.
 The Cultural Revolution has suspended all assumptions about the structure, operation and personnel of China's administrative system. However, the defense sector has not been disrupted to the degree found in other segments of the society. This suggests that no Chinese leadership will in the foreseeable future be interested in negotiating a comprehensive arms control agreement with the United States until such time when its strategic power becomes more nearly equal to that of the Soviet Union and the United States.
- 0549 **Chinese Leadership after Mao: Revolutionary or Bureaucratic?**
Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. William C. Glisson. March 5, 1972. 67 pp.
 Contents: the great proletarian Cultural Revolution (background and origin, nature and purpose); the great proletarian Cultural Revolution (political, economic, socio-cultural, military); and the successor leadership mode.
- 0616 **Peking and the Problem of Japan, 1968-1972.**
Center for Naval Analyses, Arlington, Virginia. Abraham M. Halpern. July 1972. 51 pp.
 Contents: Peking and the problem of Japan, 1968-72; China's tactics; China on the defensive, 1968-69; regaining the initiative, 1970; digression on trade; China's new tactical design, 1970; people's diplomacy, 1970; the antimilitarism propaganda campaign, 1970-71; the shadow government track, 1971; digression on the JCP; digression on the DPRK; and China's objectives.
- 0667 **Geographic Considerations in Defending Northeast China.**
Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Uzal W. Ent. November 4, 1972. 86 pp.
 The area of China north of 38 degrees 30 minutes north latitude and east of 108 degrees longitude is vital to the survival of China as a nation. It contains important coal and oil deposits, as well as an extensive industrial center. It also contributes other necessary natural resources and agricultural products to the nation. The author refers to this area as northeast China. Northeast China contains a variety of terrain, which poses a number of problems to military operations. The border with the U.S.S.R. and North Korea is extensive. A

number of avenues of invasion enter the region from these two countries. The paper examines the impact of geographic and weather conditions of the area on Chinese defensive considerations.

- 0761 **U.S.-China Relations, 1941-1947: Myths, Misconceptions, Miscalculations.**
Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Hugh S. Aitken. April 30, 1973. 61 pp.

The basic premise is that a series of myths and misperceptions surrounded America's China policy during the first five decades of the twentieth century. Many of these myths and misperceptions developed prior to World War II and, while they impacted on prewar policies, the more serious miscalculations occurred during the period 1941-1947 when the United States became heavily involved in China's internal affairs. Three major endeavors, i.e., the U.S. plan to make China a great power, the efforts to reform the Nationalist Army, and the attempt to convince Chiang Kai-shek to bring the Chinese Communists into a coalition government are discussed from the standpoints of how the U.S. misperceived the issues and miscalculated her actions. In addition, U.S. images of the Nationalists and Chinese Communists are highlighted. The realities of each situation are compared to the illusions held at the time.

- 0822 **Communist China's Trade Patterns and Economic Capability.**
Strategic Studies Center, Stanford Research Institute, Menlo Park, California. Yuan-Li Wu. July 1973. 156 pp.

The paper contains an analysis of the foreign trade patterns and economic policies of the People's Republic of China. Insights into both foreign policy and defense policy objectives are sought by examining the content, quantity, and direction of P.R.C. foreign trade. P.R.C. political choices with respect to the nature of trading partners as well as defense choices with respect to the most efficient means of obtaining the necessary materials for defense requirements are investigated with a view toward establishing their interrelationships.

REEL III

- 0001 **Chinese Military and Political Leaders and the Distribution of Power in China, 1956-1971.**
Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California. W.W. Whitson. June 1973. 493 pp.

The study focuses on alternative ways of defining Chinese interest groups, and on describing their behavior. It covers the period from 1956 to late 1971.

- 0494 **Border Conflict as a Factor in Sino-Soviet Rivalry.**
Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Eugene A. Taylor. December 27, 1973. 56 pp.

The question under consideration is the significance and role of the territorial boundary dispute existing between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, and its impact on the two principals as well as the ramifications for the United States. A detailed analysis and enumeration of Sino-Soviet border-relevant actions is presented for the period 1969-1973.

- 0551 **Anti-Marxist Essence of Maoist Military Policy.**
Joint Publications Research Service, Arlington, Virginia. V.N. Alekseev. February 19, 1974. 91 pp.
 The report contains a collection of articles exposing the anti-Marxist ideological-political essence of military-strategic concepts of the present Maoist leadership of the P.R.C., and reveals the anti-Soviet, anti-Communist direction and hegemonistic, great-power aspirations in its domestic and foreign policies.
- 0642 **Economic, Social, and Political Programs in the People's Republic of China.**
Defense Documentation Center, Alexandria, Virginia. May 1974. 194 pp.
 The bibliography contains 161 annotated references to reports pertaining to the social and economic relations of China with other countries as well as political programs within their own country. The indexes included are Corporate Author-Monitoring Agency and Subject.
- 0836 **China's Regional Politics: A Biographical Approach.**
Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California. George C.S. Sung. August 1974. 31 pp.
 Statistical analysis of biographical data is a relatively new technique in the study of Chinese political behavior. This paper utilizes this method to examine the state of Chinese provincial politics in 1971, by analyzing the background of those persons who were elected to secretarial positions (i.e., first secretary, second secretary, secretary or deputy secretary) in the Chinese Communist Party provincial committees between December 1970 and August 1971. This group is also compared with the provincial party secretaries who held office in 1966, and from this some conclusions may be drawn about the changes in provincial leadership since the Cultural Revolution.
- 0867 **The U.S.A.-P.R.C.-Taiwan Triangle.**
Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Thomas F. McBride, Jr. October 18, 1974. 23 pp.
 The essay provides a brief history of P.R.C. (People's Republic of China)-Taiwan relations particularly as developed since World War II. The views of each country toward the other are presented. The impact of U.S. policy to normalize relations with the P.R.C. is considered as a triangular relationship among the U.S.A.-P.R.C.-Taiwan. The prospects for each member of the triangle are examined to help establish a course for future U.S. policies that would result in stability for all concerned.
- 0890 **SALT on the Dragon: Chinese Views of the Soviet-American Strategic Balance.**
Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Michael Pillsbury. April 1975. 86 pp.
 This study is drawn from a report submitted in March 1975 to the Department of Defense, Bureau of International Security Affairs. It considers questions concerning the perceptions the People's Republic of China holds about SALT and the strategic military balance between the Soviet Union and the United States. It also examines how sensitive these Chinese perceptions are to real or potential shifts in the Soviet-American strategic balance.

REEL IV

- 0001 **P.R.C.-Japan Relationship: Possibility for the Future.**
Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. James W. Hunt. October 22, 1974. 23 pp.
The basic question is to determine what type of relationship between the P.R.C. and Japan can be expected. Data were obtained primarily by review of several books, periodicals and Japanese newspaper articles. Review and analysis of past activities and present trends, especially concerning the Taiwan problem, American influence, Soviet interests, and the overall attitude especially of the Japanese people provide evidence that a close relationship between the P.R.C. and Japan will develop. Japanese business interests and the Chinese need for consumer goods and technological assistance support this thesis. The United States should consider the various possible affects of a close Sino-Japanese relationship in ongoing and future foreign policy planning.
- 0024 **The Chinese Perception of the Spectrum of the Sino-Soviet Territorial Conflict.**
Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Jess Thompson Goodman. March 1975. 272 pp.
The thesis examines the Sino-Soviet territorial conflict from its origin through March of 1975. An attempt has been made to use the most up-to-date and authoritative source materials available with the majority of the citations dated since 1974. The conflict is examined in depth and its expected future course is projected as are its strategic implications for American national security planners and naval strategists.
- 0300 **The People's Republic of China. A New Industrial Power with a Strong Mineral Base.**
Bureau of Mines, Washington, D.C. Kung Ping Want. November 1975. 123 pp.
This publication evaluates the world significance of Chinese minerals. The history of growth and the mineral supply position of the People's Republic of China are reviewed. Evaluations are made on policy considerations and regional and technical factors affecting mineral development. The People's Republic of China's mineral trade and efforts to obtain equipment, supplies, and know-how are assessed. Specific reviews are made on major mineral sectors, including coal and power, oil and gas, iron and steel, nonferrous metals, industrial minerals, and fertilizers and chemicals. The overall outlook is summarized.
- 0422 **Current Practice of the People's Republic of China with Regard to International Law.**
Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Benjamin M. Wall. December 8, 1975. 42 pp.
The basic question is whether the practice of the People's Republic of China with respect to international law has changed since it was seated in the U.N. in 1971. A subquestion is what it regards as having useful precedential value in the field. The essay explores sovereignty and territorial acquisition, China and the U.N., the law of treaties, extraterritoriality, and doing business with China. The paper concludes that as an emerging major power, the P.R.C. will more and more adopt modern Western views of international law as most closely fitting its needs.

- 0464 **Conflict on the Ussuri: The 1969 Sino-Soviet Border Dispute.**
Air Force Institute of Technology, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio. James M. Baker. April 9, 1976. 47 pp.
 In the early spring of 1969, the world was stunned at the spectacle of two "peace-loving, fraternal" Communist powers slugging it out over a tiny island in the frozen Ussuri River. What was the fighting all about? Did Chenpao Island (or Damansky Island as the Russians referred to it) have any special territorial value or was the bloodshed prompted by another issue of greater magnitude? The purpose of this paper is to analyze the territorial aspect of the Sino-Soviet dispute and focus on the two military engagements that erupted along their northeastern boundary in 1969. The ultimate objective is to determine why the violence occurred. To this end, the paper will present a short history of the northeastern border formation, a summary of the territorial issue in the developing Russo-Chinese rift, a description of the two military engagements on Chenpao Island, a brief insight into the frontier claims and, finally, an analysis of Chinese motives.
- 0511 **Dynamics of the Sino-Soviet Dispute: Border Demarcation and Territorial Claims.**
Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Donald R. Wong. May 31, 1976. 156 pp.
 An outgrowth of the Sino-Soviet dispute is the enigmatic border issue which has taken on a hostile and potentially explosive life of its own. The P.R.C. is surrounded by a dozen states and a vast ocean; its northern border with the U.S.S.R. is the longest and geographically the most diverse boundary in the world. This study relates a historical narrative of the border's evolution through a series of Chinese-Russian treaties, outlines the technical problems involved in the border demarcation issue, evaluates the P.R.C.'s territorial claims resulting from "unequal treaties," and reviews the prospect for settlement of the border dispute by the two powers. Specifically, the Manchurian-far eastern segment of the border is examined with emphasis on the disputed riverine islands and the imprecisely demarcated boundary. In summary, although the border problem could be solved through serious negotiations, it would require major concessions from both sides. The broader question of territorial claims, however, is a more complex issue which, under the generally accepted principles of international law, appears to favor the Soviet Union.
- 0667 **Implications of Prospective Chinese Petroleum Developments to 1980.**
International and Social Studies Division, Institute for Defense Analyses, Arlington, Virginia. Peter W. Colm, Rosemary Hayes, and Edwin Jones. July 1976. 83 pp.
 This paper examines the development of the P.R.C.'s petroleum industry and subjects to critical analysis some of the more authoritative U.S. academic, industry, and government projections of China's petroleum reserves, production, consumption, and exports, through 1980. The projections used in this paper strike a balance among conflicting estimates that is consistent with the data that have been released by Peking, with the limited foreign observations of China's petroleum industry, and with Peking's apparent plans for the utilization of its petroleum resources in the domestic economy and as the principal source of foreign exchange during the Fifth Five Year Plan (1976-1980). Finally, the paper

discusses the implications of China's projected petroleum prosperity for the country's economic development strategy, political stability, and international relations.

- 0750 **The Persistence of Traditional Concepts in Modern Chinese Foreign Relations.** *Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Jason H. Greer. 1977. 65 pp.*

A problem faced by many students of postliberation China is the understanding of her foreign relations. In her twenty-eight years of existence [1977], the People's Republic of China has demonstrated a uniquely erratic manner in her dealings with other nations.

- 0815 **Chinese Civil Defense.** *August 1977. 108 pp.*

REEL V

- 0001 **The Evolution of Sino-Thai Diplomatic Relations, 1965-1975.** *Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. James T. Price. June 10, 1977. 190 pp.*

The purpose of this thesis is to examine how the reduction of two major obstacles between 1965 and 1975 facilitated the evolution of formal diplomatic relations between the Kingdom of Thailand and the People's Republic of China. The two obstacles were the United States military presence in Thailand and the Chinese support for an insurgency in northern Thailand. The author attempts to demonstrate that Bangkok and Peking each perceived the other as carrying out one major aspect of foreign policy which was unacceptable to the other. The investigation reveals that a dialogue between Bangkok and Peking evolved gradually as the U.S. troop presence in Thailand was lowered and as Peking placed less emphasis on support for the insurgency in northern Thailand. When the obstacles were reduced to the level that neither country perceived a threat, then diplomatic relations were established.

- 0190 **Chinese Foreign Policy Factionalism and the Origins of the Strategic Triangle.** *Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Thomas M. Gottlieb. November 1977. 161 pp.*

Provides a new interpretation of the very important yet poorly understood origins of the Sino-Soviet-American triangular relationship by tracing through the evolution of China's policy for coping with the Soviet Union as an adversary. The analysis suggests that the Chinese discussed and debated improving relations with the United States well before the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968. Some principles that underlie the Chinese approach to policymaking are illuminated in an effort to comprehend how the Chinese handled critical foreign policy decisions. The study presents evidence on why the Chinese leaders split apart on the issue of ameliorating tensions between China and the United States and analyzes the impact such factionalism had on their ability to respond forcefully and consistently to Soviet political/military pressure.

- 0273 **The Chinese Tactical Air Force and Strategic Weapons Program: Development, Doctrine, and Strategy.**
Air University Library, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama. Paul H. B. Goodwin. April 1978. 95 pp.
 The purpose of this analysis is to present a description and analysis of the growth of the People's Liberation Army Air Force, the Chinese nuclear weapons program and the associated doctrinal and strategic thought. It is designed to bring together the results of considerable research (mostly completed by analysts other than this author) into a single essay to serve the interests of the students attending the various schools associated with the Air University. A second purpose of the essay is to review the current debate over the modernization of the Chinese armed forces with a specific focus on the People's Liberation Army Air Force and the strategic weapons program.
- 0368 **Trends in China's "Cold War" after Mao and the Gang of Four.**
Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Joseph S. Curran, Jr. May 27, 1978. 33 pp.
 This memorandum concerns research of national broadcasts by the People's Republic of China about the Soviet Union from March 1, 1976 through April 30, 1977. The purpose was to survey the content of the attacks by China on Russia, and then to compare the frequency of the attacks for the six months immediately preceding the death of Mao Tse-tung and the purge of the Gang of Four one month later with those for the six-month period immediately thereafter. With the results, the author conjectures what course the future direction of Chinese policy toward the Soviet Union might take.
- 0401 **The Nationalist Hegira, Retreat and Mobilization under Kuomintang Rule in China, 1937-1939.**
Army Military Personnel Center, Alexandria, Virginia. Alan Gayland Young. May 9, 1978. 63 pp.
 Between 1937 and 1939, the Chinese Nationalist government and its people were fleeing before the Japanese invasion. A view commonly held by historians is that the Chinese people were unaware of or indifferent to the rule of the Nationalist government. It is the contention of this paper that the people mobilized in the Yangtze River Valley and southeastern provinces were both aware of and responsive to the Kuomintang and provincial governments' leadership during the crisis. The military was ordered to defend Shanghai while the key elements of the population necessary for the Chinese war effort were withdrawn. Industry, government agencies and universities were then evacuated from central and southern China westward away from the Japanese. As the military fought a delaying action, the central government moved and reestablished its capital several times; evacuations were planned and priorities were established to determine which elements of the nation would receive transportation resources to enable them to move west. It was the Nationalist and provincial governments which organized people in central and southeastern China during the Japanese invasion.
- 0464 **Simplified Handbook on Administrative Divisions of the People's Republic of China, 1977.**
Joint Publications Research Service, Arlington, Virginia. June 7, 1978. 161 pp.
 The report contains a breakdown of all administrative divisions of the People's Republic of China at the county level and above throughout the country.

0625 **Sino-Soviet Conflict in the 1970s: Its Evolution and Implications for the Strategic Triangle.**

Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Kenneth G. Lieberthal. July 1978. 210 pp.

Analyzes the evolution of Sino-Soviet relations since the Cultural Revolution and explains China's policies in terms of political struggles which racked Peking during the 1970s. Key questions are explored: What bilateral strategies have the Soviet Union and China adopted to deal with each other since 1969? How has the Moscow-Peking feud affected dealings with other states? How have Sino-Soviet relations intertwined with domestic politics in China? What changes in relations are likely in coming years? What are the implications of these factors for U.S. policy toward Sino-Soviet affairs? The analysis concludes that American interests are best served by a Sino-Soviet relationship poised between rapprochement and war. The author argues that the dynamics of the relationship will very likely produce such an outcome. As well, the United States should pursue bilateral relationships with Moscow and Peking so as to maximize American interests without trying to affect their interactions with each other.

REEL VI

0001 **Peking's Evolving Concept of Military Security and Implications for the United States.**

International and Social Studies Division, Institute for Defense Analyses, Arlington, Virginia. Peter W. Colm. August 1978. 106 pp.

The Hua Kuo-feng regime in China plans a comprehensive program to modernize China by the end of the century, with priority for the development of infrastructure and basic industry and considerable reliance on advanced technology obtained from abroad. The modernization program is based on a return to a Maoist style resembling that of the 1950s, when China was the beneficiary of a massive transfer of technology from the U.S.S.R. and made rapid economic progress. One aspect of later Maoism remains unchanged—the preoccupation with the pervasive military and political threat of the U.S.S.R. The regime recognizes that the Chinese armed forces, while impressive for their numerical size and nuclear capability, are seriously handicapped by obsolescence of equipment. In the military phases of the modernization program, the emphasis will be on developing domestic production capabilities through licensing and other arrangements rather than on procuring military end items. The mutuality of interest between China and the United States lies almost entirely in the anti-Soviet orientation of both countries, and is limited by the fact that Peking professes to believe that war with the U.S.S.R. is inevitable and that therefore arms control efforts and other aspects of détente are not only futile but dangerous.

0107 **Collected Works of Mao Tse-tung (1917-1949) Volumes 1-2.**

Joint Publications Research Service, Arlington, Virginia. September 22, 1978. 311 pp.

The report contains selected speeches, articles, essays, reports, letters, interviews, declarations, decrees, telegrams, poems, and inscriptions of Mao Tse-tung covering a multitude of subjects.

- 0418 **Collected Works of Mao Tse-tung (1917-1949) Volume 3.**
Joint Publications Research Service, Arlington, Virginia. October 5, 1978.
 286 pp.
 The report contains selected speeches, articles, essays, reports, letters, interviews, declarations, decrees, telegrams, poems, and inscriptions of Mao Tse-tung covering a multitude of subjects.
- 0705 **Collected Works of Mao Tse-tung (1917-1949) Volume 4.**
Joint Publications Research Service, Arlington, Virginia. October 10, 1978.
 309 pp.
 The report contains selected speeches, articles, essays, reports, letters, interviews, declarations, decrees, telegrams, poems, and inscriptions of Mao Tse-tung covering a multitude of subjects.

REEL VII

- 0001 **Collected Works of Mao Tse-tung (1917-1949) Volumes 5-6.**
Joint Publications Research Service, Arlington, Virginia. November 1978.
 235 pp.
 The report contains selected speeches, articles, essays, reports, letters, interviews, declarations, decrees, telegrams, poems, and inscriptions of Mao Tse-tung covering a multitude of subjects.
- 0236 **Collected Works of Mao Tse-tung (1917-1949) Volumes 7-10.**
Joint Publications Research Service, Arlington, Virginia. November 1978.
 317 pp.
 The report contains selected speeches, articles, essays, reports, letters, interviews, declarations, decrees, telegrams, poems, and inscriptions of Mao Tse-tung covering a multitude of subjects.
- 0553 **China: Demand for Foreign Grain.**
Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, D.C. January 1979. 12 pp.
 The People's Republic of China has recently stepped up grain imports to roughly 10 million tons per year, double the average for the previous decade. This paper assesses future Chinese demand for foreign grain. The following topics are examined: (a) China's ability to meet the ambitious grain production goal of 400 million tons by 1985; (b) possible increases in per capita grain consumption and the share of the harvest the villages are allowed to retain; (c) expansion of collective livestock production; (d) expansion of the grain storage facilities program; and (e) ability of the ports and internal transport system to handle higher levels of grain imports. The paper concludes that imports of foreign grain in the near term are likely to remain in the neighborhood of 10 million tons and that in the 1980s China will probably have scored sufficient success in agriculture to reduce the need for this high level of grain purchases.
- 0565 **China: Post-Mao Search for Civilian Industrial Technology.**
Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, D.C. February 1979. 25 pp.
 The report examines the massive effort launched by China's new leadership to modernize industry through large-scale purchases of Western machinery and technology. The discussion covers the major policy shifts Peking has made to help

implement the unprecedented turn to the West. Topics covered include: China's shopping list, actual plant purchases during 1976-78, the bureaucratic process involved to administer the program, the P.R.C.'s ability to pay, and prospects for successful completion of the program. The paper concludes that the Chinese will probably fall short of anticipated goals and will almost certainly be forced to push 1985 targets back into the 1990s. Nonetheless, the achievement of even a portion of Peking's ambitious program would add significantly to China's drive to become a major industrial power.

0590 **The Four Modernizations of China.**

Foreign Technology Division, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio. February 21, 1979. 103 pp.

0693 **Chinese Coal Industry: Prospects over the Next Decade.**

Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, D.C. February 1979. 18 pp.

The People's Republic of China plans to double coal output to more than 1 billion tons by 1987. This paper examines the feasibility of the coal target by discussing: (a) China's coal resources and recent trends in output; (b) the present and prospective patterns of coal consumption; (c) the strategy being adopted by the leadership to increase capacity, output, and the level of technology; and (d) the practical problems China will face over the next decade in implementing this strategy. The report concludes that China will fall short of the 1987 coal target. Even though planned targets may not be met, China probably will not face critical shortages of coal over the next decade, in part because major consumers also will be operating below planned levels. Even with shortfalls, the coal industry will be a leading beneficiary of China's new modernization program and openness to foreign assistance.

0711 **China: Agriculture in 1978.**

Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, D.C. April 1979. 19 pp.

The paper discusses agricultural production in 1978 and the outlook for early 1979. The paper also reports on developments in agricultural trade, and examines the new policies that will guide agricultural development in China in the future. The report concludes that agricultural production increased in 1978 despite indifferent weather because of greater use of modern inputs and improved organization. Good weather in 1979 would lead to a marked increase in agricultural output. Large grain imports will continue at least through 1985, however, to support policies intended to raise living standards.

0730 **China: The Steel Industry in the 1970s and 1980s.**

Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, D.C. May 1979. 19 pp.

The report examines the massive effort launched by China to expand and modernize its steel industry through large-scale purchases of Western machinery and technology. After a review of the main developments in steel since the Communists came to power, the discussion covers the current state of steelmaking technology, steel production, trade in steel products, and programs to modernize steel plants and iron ore mines. The paper concludes that the Chinese will fall short of anticipated goals; indeed, they are now considering substantial cuts in their highly ambitious 1985 targets. Nonetheless, the achievement of even half of Peking's program would add substantially to China's drive to become a major industrial power.

- 0749 **Analysis of the Chinese Crisis Management Experience: Summary Report.**
CACI Inc.-Federal, Arlington, Virginia. Robert B. Mahoney, Jr. and Richard P. Clayberg. June 1, 1979. 204 pp.

This summary report presents an analysis of China's management experience from the founding of the People's Republic in 1949 through 1978. Chapter 1 presents an overview of the DARPA Crisis Management Program into which this research effort fits and shows its relations with other crisis management research being conducted by CACI for DARPA. Chapter 2 presents the methodology used to identify 386 crises of concern to the People's Republic of China, using Chinese sources. Chapter 3 presents short descriptions of these crises. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 present descriptive analyses of the characteristics of the crises that were of interest to the Chinese. Chapter 7 locates Chinese crisis concerns within the broader context of postwar international relations, while chapter 8 illustrates some of the capabilities of the Chinese crisis characteristics component of the Executive Aid for Crisis Management, which has been developed to make these data available to policy planners and decision makers. Appendix A evaluates the reliability and validity of the set of Chinese crises identified in the study.

REEL VIII

- 0001 **Modernization and Chinese Strategic Debate.**
Center for Advanced Research, Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island. Charles D. Lovejoy. June 1979. 141 pp.
What military strategies will China pursue in the wake of its post-Mao modernization? This study addresses the question through an examination of China's current capabilities, problems of defense modernization, sources of its strategic thought, and developments in defense matters since 1976. Its focus is the strategic debate defined by radical and professional elements of the Communist leadership. It concludes that Chinese military strategy is in a state of flux but with proponents of the professional line in charge there is a clear trend away from the defensive orientation of Mao's People's War Doctrine complemented by a new emphasis on regionally oriented conventional forces.
- 0140 **China: A Statistical Compendium—a Reference Aid.**
Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, D.C. July 1979. 17 pp.
This handbook of estimates of economic performance in the People's Republic of China is the fifth in an annual series. Individual estimates in this issue contain not only statistics for 1978, the latest calendar year of coverage, but also revisions of statistics presented in the past. The main topics covered include aggregate performance, population, agriculture, industry, energy, minerals and metals, transportation, and foreign trade.
- 0157 **The Operational Code Belief System of Hua Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Communist Party and Premier of the State Council, People's Republic of China.**
Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Terence P. Labrecque. September 1979. 153 pp.
The objective of this thesis is to identify and define the operational code of Hua Kuo-feng. Insight into his estimates of situations and a greater understanding of the norms, standards and guidelines which influence his choice of strategy and

tactics is gained. Findings: (1) Hua views the international system as conflictual and protracted. Superpower hegemony is the primary source of this conflict. Third World unity is required to create world peace. (2) Hua views conflict as zero-sum in nature, yet believes it is necessary for the realization of goals. (3) Hua is highly optimistic and is certain that time is China's ally. (4) Hua believes in the predictability and irresistibility of historical development. The role of a leader is to actively guide history in a direction favorable to his people. (5) A highly structured framework is a prerequisite for establishing and achieving goals. (6) Hua advocates thorough preparation prior to any undertaking. (7) Goals are pursued incrementally according to plan. Hua possesses a keen understanding of the nature of power and refrains from acting without adequate strength. (8) Hua's operational code has been consistent over time.

- 0310 **The Making of Chinese Foreign Policy: Actors and Processes.**
Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Freeland Henry Carde III. September 1979. 219 pp.
This thesis focuses on the decision-making processes in Chinese foreign policy-making. Roles of institutions and individuals in these processes are explicated in different types of decisions. The information "windows" through which China views the world are identified. Career backgrounds on foreign ministry officials and the diplomatic corps are presented. China's behavior in negotiations and crisis management are analyzed, and a case study of decisions leading to the 1979 Sino-Vietnamese war is offered in example.
- 0530 **Maoists' Military-Political Adventurism.**
Foreign Technology Division, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio. L. Sytov. September 27, 1979. 24 pp.
- 0554 **China: The Continuing Search for a Modernization Strategy.**
Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, D.C. April 1980. 27 pp.
For the past two years the fundamental problem for China's policymakers has been deciding upon the means for transforming the world's largest underdeveloped country into a modern, industrialized state. Freed of the dominating influence of Mao Tse-tung in 1976, the Chinese leadership's first attempt at solutions was embodied in the ten-year draft plan (1976-85), unveiled in February, 1978. The plan was intended to lay the groundwork for eventually bringing about the four modernizations—of agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology. Although the new plan gave more prominence to developing agriculture than in the past, the plan's central focus on heavy industrial growth constituted a continuation of Chinese policies of the previous two decades. The most innovative element in the plan was China's unprecedented willingness to use massive imports of Western equipment and technology in the development effort.
- 0581 **The New U.S.-China Relationship: Where Does the Road Lead?**
Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. David H. Russell. April 30, 1980. 17 pp.
- 0598 **Chinese Defense Spending, 1965-79.**
Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, D.C. July 1980. 13 pp.
The report describes trends in estimated Chinese defense spending for the 1965-79 period and outlines major constraints that probably will affect spending during

the 1980s. It uses cost estimates based on a building-block approach similar to the one used by the Central Intelligence Agency for costing Soviet defense activities. This approach is necessary because the Chinese publish almost no information on their defense spending.

TAIWAN

0611 **Free Export Zones in the Republic of China.**

Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Robert W. Patterson. December 15, 1973. 53 pp.

The Republic of China is at a crossroads period in its long history. Recent actions taken by the United States to open the door to the People's Republic of China on the mainland coupled with the ouster of the Nationalist Chinese government from the United Nations has raised a serious question of whether or not the Republic of China can continue to exert influence on the conduct of international affairs. The study surveys the past and current economic advancement accomplished on Taiwan and focuses attention on establishment of a unique arrangement of export zones to stimulate foreign investment and trade.

0664 **The Political Environment on Taiwan.**

Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Michael Pillsbury. April 1975. 32 pp.

This paper examines the political framework within which foreign businessmen operate on Taiwan. In brief, the government supervises the economy and the foreign businessman more closely than has been the case in, for example, Singapore and Hong Kong. On the other hand, the Taiwan government does not approach the extremes of protectionism and interventionism that are practiced by the Japanese government. In fact, Taiwan actively seeks many kinds of foreign investment and provides encouragement and practical assistance to the potential investor. The discussion of government and politics in Taiwan is divided into three sections. A first part reviews some relevant aspects of the Chinese political heritage. Taiwan's government still pays annual homage to the 2,000-year-old Confucian tradition, and it is important to grasp the image that Chinese officials have of their social functions and the role of government in society. A second part notes some major themes in the political history of the Republic of China and the ruling Nationalist party in the twentieth century, suggesting how past experiences have shaped the government's view of its present situation. This section also sketches the present governmental structure of the Republic of China and briefly examines a question relevant to potential foreign investors, namely the question of Taiwan's ability to defend itself against external attack in the 1970s. A third part discusses the specific government agencies with which foreign investors must deal.

0696 **Taiwan's Future: Independence or Subsumation?**

Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Clifford A. Crosman, Horace S. Kelley, Jr., Stanley G. Kozlowski, James S. Lott, and Bobby J. Maddox. May 15, 1975. 112 pp.

The basic question is whether the Republic of China will continue as a political entity considering the Shanghai communiqué, the country's ouster from the United Nations, and the atmosphere of détente between the People's Republic of China and the United States. The cultural, political, military and economic

history of Taiwan indicates that, although the Taiwanese cultural inheritance from the mainland is strong, the Japanese occupation from 1895 to 1945, the arrival of the Nationalist government in 1949, and heavy American aid from 1950 to 1965 have created a divergent economic and political life on Taiwan as compared with mainland China. The spectacular economic development of Taiwan, if continued, will result in the emergence of Taiwan as an industrialized economy by the beginning of the next decade, far ahead of mainland China. It is concluded that, despite some flux in big-power relationships in Southeast Asia, the Nationalist government of Taiwan feels no immediate pressure for abrupt change in economic, political, or military arrangements now in effect. The status quo will continue for the foreseeable future with changes in present relationships seen as evolutionary, not revolutionary in character.

0808 **The Navy of the Republic of China: History, Problems, and Prospects.**

Center for Naval Analyses, Arlington, Virginia. William J. Durch. August 1976. 77 pp.

In twenty-seven years of exile, the government of the Republic of China on Taiwan has never relinquished its claim to be the de jure government of all of China. But in the same period of time, it has adapted well to life in a changed environment. Land-mindedness has given way to sea-mindedness. With a substantial investment in fisheries, and 47 million tons of ship-borne exports passing through its two major commercial ports annually, Taiwan's economy is absolutely dependent upon the sea for survival. It is in this context that the navy of the Republic of China has come to play a central role in defense matters that it never played when the republic governed the mainland. As the economy has grown and developed, at first with American help but for the last decade without it, so has the navy. Although, at roughly 35,000 men, it remains the smallest of the military services, and its development has not been the number one military priority (first priority goes to the air force), the navy's capabilities have increased substantially in the past ten years, as it has come to bear increasing responsibility for the seaward defense of Taiwan. This paper looks at the navy's responsibilities; the composition of the fleet asked to carry them out; the service and support infrastructure; the organization of command and control; personnel policies; operational strengths and weaknesses; and possible future trends in naval development.

0885 **Taiwan: Some Current Perspectives.**

Center for Advanced Research, Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island. Arthur A. Bergman and Robert F. Comer. June 1978. 124 pp.

This study discusses the current status of Taiwan relative to economic potential, military capabilities and political alignments. It explores a number of options available to Taiwan, assuming the U.S. will normalize diplomatic relations with the P.R.C. It suggests dramatic changes in Republic of China foreign policies to capitalize on U.S. public opinion favoring Taiwan and recommends a cautious, calculated course of action for the U.S.

SUBJECT INDEX

The following index is a guide to the major subjects of the eight reels. The Roman numeral refers to the reel, and the Arabic numeral refers to the frame number at which a particular study begins. Hence, III: 0934 directs the researcher to the study which begins at Frame 0934 of Reel III. By referring to the Reel Index which comprises the initial section of this guide, the researcher can find the main entry for this study.

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