A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of

Confidential
U.S. State Department
Central Files

CHINA
1960–January 1963

Foreign Affairs

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INTRODUCTION

People’s Republic of China (PRC)

The emergence of Communist China by the end of 1949 was among the most momentous of postwar events. The accession to power by the Communists was the final episode in the long civil war with the Nationalists that had been going on since 1927. The Chinese Communist leader Mao Tse-tung and his lieutenants proceeded to consolidate control in the new Chinese People’s Republic. Chairman Mao guided the destinies of the new state with a tight grip on party and government. It seemed that for the first time since the Chinese Revolution of 1911, a unified central government controlled all of China. While the Chinese Communists were a small group of Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries, exercising supreme power over the submissive Chinese masses, they were not alien to the Chinese cultural tradition. They continued a familiar pattern of bureaucratic despotism in government, they were articulate spokesmen of a universal hostility to Western imperialism, and they were the legatees of an ancient tradition of Chinese political and cultural preeminence in East Asia.

The Chinese Communists emulated the Russian experience but added innovations peculiar to the Orient. They promulgated a Soviet-type constitution and parallel structure of government and party; manipulated information for indoctrination purposes; created a secret police; conducted mass arrests, detentions, and assassinations of opponents of all political persuasions; and purged the party in “rectification drives” (the Cultural Revolution was the most prominent). The Mao government even went through a stage of “de-Stalinization” where in a sort of confession, the Communists admitted to excesses between 1949 and 1957. This period of “self-criticism” by the state was followed by renewed oppression in the form of the “Great Leap Forward.”

The Communist leaders mobilized the nation in a vast economic development program designed to transform Communist China into an industrial power. They inaugurated a vast land redistribution program and collectivization. Through five-year plans, the industrial goals set by the government were met and, by the early 1960s, exceeded. But there was a considerable lag in agricultural production. The “Great Leap Forward” program was initiated to sustain industrial growth and to revolutionize agricultural production by the mass mobilization of the countryside. The
hoped-for self-sufficient “people’s communes” would be responsible for agricultural mechanization and improvement, local industrialization, and other social and economic functions. The primary goal of the commune was to utilize local labor and resources to raise overall production. By the early 1960s, however, crop failures, natural disasters, and a recalcitrant peasantry, which had learned over the centuries to reject external compulsion, forced the government to acknowledge the failure of the agricultural “Great Leap Forward.”

The Communists transformed Chinese life in many ways. Road, rail, and air transportation physically unified the country for the first time. Significant efforts were made to improve public health and sanitation and to combat illiteracy (including a simplification of Chinese characters), women were accepted equally in many professions, and child marriage and concubinage were outlawed. It seemed that the Communists were refashioning the habits and ethos of an entire population. The seeds of the Great Cultural Revolution had been planted and were being cultivated.

The Communist regime followed an active, aggressive foreign policy. They occupied and later subdued a restless Tibet; intervened in Korea; disputed the border with India, which led to open conflict in 1962; and hurled polemics at the USSR over ideology and representation of the “oppressed masses.” This souring of relations with the USSR led to an increase in border disputes and the creation of a third superpower.

Foremost in the Chinese Communist mind was a deep-seated resentment of the United States. Their most vitriolic propaganda sprang from the persistent U.S. refusal to recognize Communist China; continuous efforts to block them from securing representation in the United Nations; and continued military, economic, and political aid to the Nationalist government on Taiwan and the offshore islands.

The Communist Chinese relied on the USSR for assistance early in the life of the PRC. But the growing ideological interpretation of Marxism-Leninism led to an eventual split, with Communist China declaring that Nikita Khrushchev’s Russia was capitulating to the appeasement-like coexistence doctrine of the West. By the early 1960s, the Sino-Soviet split significantly weakened the international Communist movement. This friction not only reflected ideological and political rivalry—competition for the allegiance of the Communist world—but also territorial conflict in the Third World. Chinese Communist propaganda openly pressed their claim to leadership of the “nonwhite peoples” in Asia and Africa. This claim appealed to many of the former colonial possessions of Western countries, and the USSR was pictured as another “western” colonial power in Chinese propaganda. With the emergence of China as a new center of Communist power, Moscow no longer exerted the ideological monopoly it had once enjoyed.
Much of the documentation in this collection revolves around the PRC. Reports on economic and living conditions, political affairs, industrial and financial growth, Communist polemics, and examples of aggressive foreign policy abound in this collection. These files make available important material on the germination and growth of the Sino-Soviet rivalry and the application of the Chinese revolutionary zeal to various third world countries, particularly Algeria, Cuba, central Africa, Indonesia, and southeast Asia.

Republic of China (ROC)

During the 1950s and 1960s the Nationalist government considered itself only temporarily superimposed upon Taiwan and maintained a posture of militant readiness for a “counterattack” to recover the mainland. Political and economic life on Taiwan reflected the psychology of “rulers in exile,” who were proudly determined not to give up claims that sustained their hopes and sense of historical consistency. As a consequence, the Nationalist government continued to devote itself in large part to military preparations for recovery of the mainland rather than concentrating its energies on economic, financial, and industrial development. In this “garrison mentality” under martial law—the tradition of Chiang Kai-shek—leadership died slowly.

Upon the evacuation of the Nationalists to Taiwan, the indigenous Taiwanese suffered many indignities, provoking widespread demonstrations that led to greater oppression. As time passed, the local population began to function within the Nationalist framework (but only as high as the provincial level), increased its influence in agriculture and trade, and participated more in the general economic direction of the island. An election process gradually developed, with the Taiwanese becoming the majority in local government, while the Nationalists continued to run the national government.

Economic growth was assisted by U.S. aid, both military and economic. Agricultural reforms were the first to benefit. Land reform and the establishment of American-type cooperatives led to a transition from dependency on exports of sugar and rice to broad self-sufficiency farming. Nationalist rural development programs set an example for other Asian countries embarking on the path to self-sufficiency.

Industrialization of the island brought about a complete reorientation of economic and financial matters, leading again to self-sufficiency. Development proceeded within a general framework of government domination. U.S. assistance fostered growth through investment programs and was so successful that by the mid-1960s, industrialization continued without outside assistance. Japanese investment spurred even greater diversification of industry by the late 1960s.

U.S. assistance—economic, financial, and military—continued throughout the 1950s and 1960s. But the American attitude toward the allegedly corrupt Nationalist government was not always supportive. Through the efforts of the
China Lobby, the Chinese Communist invasion of Korea and the spread of communism in Asia led to a reappraisal of the Taiwan “outpost.” With the acceptance of the Pacific Rim Defense System, responsibility for the maintenance of Taiwan grew in importance. An American military mission assisted in the application of a military aid program, the Seventh Fleet patrolled the Straits of Formosa for most of the 1950s and early 1960s (until the Vietnam War), and a mutual defense treaty assured the Nationalists of independence.

By the early 1960s, the threat of Communist Chinese invasion was ebbing. The Sino-Soviet rivalry and third world incursions were taking precedence. The United States continued to oppose UN recognition of Communist China in place of the Nationalists, to promote support of Taiwan as the voice of a democratic China (including demanding domestic political reforms for a greater popular voice in the Nationalist government), and to build up the Nationalist military forces.

During this period, the United States supported periodic talks with Chinese Communist representatives, much to the chagrin and concern of the Nationalists, over a variety of third world issues. These talks, beginning after the 1955 Bandung Conference, led to eventual Chinese Communist acceptance of the peaceful coexistence principle. These talks were suspended during the height of the Vietnam War.

Documents representing ROC issues consume many files in the Foreign Affairs section. These files provide an in-depth look into U.S.–ROC trials and tribulations following the Quemoy crisis; the reappraisal of relations with the Nationalists, including Nationalist fears that the United States would abandon them and adopt a “two Chinas” policy; U.S. attention to strengthening the Communist containment policy; and the efforts of Western allies to effect U.S. recognition of Communist China.

Social, economic, agricultural, and industrial materials document the assimilation of the Nationalists and the indigenous population, the growth of Taiwan as an economic power in Asia, and the effects of U.S. aid. But the political documentation is by far the most interesting. The files outline the development of a democratic, popularly representative government, at first locally. While Chiang Kai-shek and his clique retained ultimate power, through popular elections and the growth of provincial governments, the popular assembly became an important counterweight. Correspondence, public opinion polls, and statements by Nationalist/Taiwanese political and popular figures and State Department officials stress the desire to differentiate between the one-man rules of Mao Tse-tung and Chiang Kai-shek, present a picture of political stability, and evaluate the possible U.S. policy of “two Chinas.”
SCOPE AND CONTENT NOTE

Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files, 1960–January 1963

The U.S. State Department Central Files are the definitive source of American diplomatic reporting on political, military, social, and economic developments throughout the world in the twentieth century. Surpassing the scope of the State Department’s *Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS)* series, the Central Files provide extensive coverage of all political, military, social, and economic matters relating to a particular country and/or world event.

The State Department Central Files for 1960–January 1963 cover a crucial period in U.S. and world history. Each part of the 1960–January 1963 series contains a wide range of primary materials: special reports and observations on political and military affairs; studies and statistics on socioeconomic matters; interviews and minutes of meetings with U.S. and foreign government officials and leaders; legal and claims documentation; full texts of important letters and cables sent and received by U.S. diplomats and embassy personnel; reports, news clippings, and translations from journals and newspapers; and countless high-level/head of state government documents, including speeches, memoranda, official reports, *aide-mémoire*, and transcripts of political meetings and assemblies.

In addition, these records offer new insights into the evolution of American foreign policy toward both allies and adversaries and into the shaping of the policies of these countries toward the United States. Of even greater importance for the study of individual countries is the comprehensive manner in which the Central Files illuminate the internal affairs of foreign countries. There are thousands of pages arranged topically and chronologically on crucial subjects: political parties, unrest and revolution, human rights, government administration, fiscal and monetary issues, labor, housing, police and crime, public health and works, national defense, military equipment and supplies, foreign policy making, wars and alliances, education, religion, culture, trade, industry, and natural resources. On these subjects and more, the Central Files offer authoritative, in-depth, and timely documentation and analysis.
SOURCE NOTE

Microfilmed from the holdings of the National Archives, College Park, MD, Record Group 59: Records of the Department of State, Central Decimal Files, decimal numbers 693, 693B, and 693C (foreign affairs of China, Tibet, and Mongolia) and 611.93, 611.93B, and 611.93C (U.S. foreign relations with China, Tibet, and Mongolia) for the period 1960–January 1963. All available original documents have been microfilmed.
From 1910 to 1963 the Department of State used a decimal classification system to organize its Central Files. This system assembled and arranged individual documents according to their subject, with each subject having a specific decimal code. The decimal system from 1950 to January 1963 consists of ten primary classifications numbered 0 through 9, each covering a broad subject area.

CLASS 0: Miscellaneous.

CLASS 1: Administration of the United States Government.

CLASS 2: Protection of Interests (Persons and Property).

CLASS 3: International Conferences, Congresses, Meetings, and Organizations.

CLASS 4: International Trade and Commerce. Trade Relations. Customs Administration.


CLASS 7: Internal Political and National Defense Affairs.

CLASS 8: Internal Economic, Industrial, and Social Affairs.

Foreign Affairs

For this section of the U.S. State Department Central Files, University Publications of America (UPA) has microfilmed the documents contained in Class 6. Within this class, each subject is defined by a decimal file number. The decimal file number is followed by a slant mark (/). The number after the slant mark (/) refers to the date on which the document was generated. Documents within each decimal file number are arranged in chronological order. The entire decimal file number is stamped on the right side of the first page of every document.

In this publication, records classified 693 deal with the foreign policy of China, both PRC and ROC, and its political relations with other nations. In addition, this publication includes records classified 693B, Tibet, and 693C, Mongolia. Due to the State Department’s arrangement of these records, countries assigned numbers below 93 will not be found in this file. UPA, however, has included files dealing with the political relations between the United States (country number 11) and China (93), Tibet (93B), and Mongolia (93C) in this publication. In order to find the political relations between China, Tibet, and Mongolia and countries other than the United States that have a number lower than 93, the researcher should check the Class 6 records for that country. These records can be found at the National Archives, College Park, MD.

In a small number of instances, documents were assigned erroneous or incomplete decimal numbers. UPA has included, in brackets, corrected decimal entries. In addition, misfiled decimal number documents have also been included in brackets.

CLASS 6. Example, 693.98/11-2062

693.98/11-2062 indicates a document dated November 20, 1962, relating to the bilateral relations between China (93) and Indonesia (98).
CLASS 6. Example, 611.93/10-260

Class of Records—
International Political Relations:
Bilateral Treaties

Subject—China

611.93/10-260

Document Date—
October 2, 1960

Country Number—United States

611.93/10-260 indicates a document dated October 2, 1960, relating to the bilateral relations between the United States (11) and China (93).

Note: For the convenience of the researcher, wherever a specific classification number totals more than one hundred pages, a breakdown of the material by month and year is provided. Where applicable, major subjects have been included with the month and year breakdown.
NUMERICAL LIST OF COUNTRY NUMBERS

00 THE WORLD (Universe)
01 Outer Space (Aerosphere)
01a Moon
02 Antarctic
03 Arctic
10 THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE
11 United States
11a Hawaii (Ocean or Kuré Islands and Palmyra Island)
11b U.S. Possessions in the Pacific Ocean
11c Puerto Rico
11d Guam
11e American Samoa (Tutuila, Manua Islands, etc.)
11f Canal Zone (Panama Canal Zone), Perido, Naos, Culebra, and Flamenco Islands
11g Virgin Islands of the U.S. (St. Croix, St. John, and St. Thomas)
11h Wake Island
12 Mexico
13 CENTRAL AMERICA
14 Guatemala
15 Honduras
16 El Salvador
17 Nicaragua
18 Costa Rica
19 Panama
20 SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA (South of the Rio Grande River)
21 Colombia
22 Ecuador (Galapagos Islands)
23 Peru
24 Bolivia
25 Chile
31 Venezuela
32 Brazil
33 Uruguay
34 Paraguay
35 Argentina
36 WEST INDIAN REPUBLICS
37 Cuba, including Isle of Pines
38 Haiti
39 Dominican Republic
40 EUROPE
40a Ireland (Eire) (Irish Free State)
40b Iceland
41 Great Britain, United Kingdom
41a Northern Ireland
41b British possessions in the Western Hemisphere (except Canada)
41c British Honduras
41d British Guiana
41e British West Indies (includes 41f–41j)
41f The West Indies (Federation of British Colonies in the Caribbean)
41g Bahamas
41h Bermuda
41j Virgin Islands
41r Falkland Islands
41s South Orkney Islands (South Georgia, South Orkneys, and South Sandwich Islands)
41t South Shetland Islands
42 Canada (including Newfoundland and Labrador)
43 Australia
44 New Zealand (Cook Islands, Kermad Islands, and Union Islands [Tokela])
45 British Territories in Africa
45a Union of South Africa (Cape of Good Hope, Transvaal, Orange Free State, Natal)
45b British South Africa (45c–45f)
45c Rhodesia (Mashonaland, Matabeleland, and Nyasaland Federation)
45d Basutoland
45e Bechuanaland
45f Swaziland
45g British West Africa
45h Nigeria (including that portion of the Cameroons under British Protectorate)
45j Ghana (see 79)
45m Sierra Leone
45n  Gambia
45p  British East Africa
45r  Kenya Colony
45s  Uganda
45t  Zanzibar
45u  Somaliland (protectorate)
45w  Sudan
45x  British Southwest Africa (formerly German Southwest Africa)
46  British territories in Asia
46a  Andaman and Nicobar Islands
46b  Laccadive Islands
46c  Aden Colony and Protectorate (Hadhramaut, Kamaran, Perim, Socotra, Abdul Quiri, and Kuria Muria Islands)
46d  Bahrein Islands
46e  Ceylon
46f  Singapore (Christmas Island in the Indian Ocean)
46g  Hong Kong
46h  British Borneo (North Borneo, Brunei, and Sarawak)
46i  Republic of the Maldive Islands
46j  Fiji
46m  Papua (formerly British New Guinea)
46n  Pacific Islands, including Tonga (Friendly), Cocos (Isla de Cocos), Labuan, Solomon, Pitcairn, Gilbert Islands, Ellice Islands, and British interest in Christmas Island, Phoenix, and Keeling Islands
47  British territories in Mediterranean
47a  Gibraltar
47b  Malta
47c  Cyprus
47d  St. Helena and dependencies (Diego Alvarez, Gough, Inaccessible, and Nightingale Islands)
47e  Tristan da Cunha
47f  Ascension Island
47g  Seychelles
47h  Mauritius
48  Poland (including Danzig)
49  Czechoslovakia
50  WESTERN CONTINENTAL EUROPE
50a  Luxembourg
50b  Monaco
50c  Andorra
50d  San Marino
50f  Liechtenstein
50g  Free Territory of Trieste (FTT)
51 France (including Corsica)
51a St. Pierre and Miquelon
51b Martinique
51c Guadeloupe and dependencies (Marie Galante, Les Saintes, Desirade, St. Barthelemy and St. Martin) (French West Indies, collectively)
51d French Guiana (Cayenne) Inini
51e French colonies in America
51f French India
51g Indochina
51h Cambodia
51j Laos
51k Vietnam
51m New Caledonia and dependencies (Isle of Pines, Loyalty Islands, Huon Islands, Chesterfield Islands, Wallis Archipelago)
51n Society Islands (Tahiti, Moorea-Moreia; Leeward Island-Iles Sous-le-Vent)
51p Lesser groups (Tuamotu-Tumotu or Low Archipelago; Gambier Archipelago; Marquesas; Tubuai Archipelago-Austral Islands)
51r New Hebrides
51s Algeria
51t French West Africa and the Sahara (Senegal, French Guinea, Ivory Coast, Dahomey, French Sudan, Upper Senegal, and the Niger; Mauritania and Dakar), Togo
51u French Equatorial Africa (French Congo) (Gabun-Gabon; Middle Congo-Moyen Congo; Ubanga Shari-Oubanguí Chari; and Chad-Tchad; Brazzaville); Cameroun
51v French Somali Coast and dependencies (Somali Coast); Djibouti, Issa-Somalis; Dankali, Adaels, Ouemas, and Debenehs
51w Madagascar
51x Other African Islands (Mayotte, Comoro, Reunion, Amsterdam, St. Paul Marion, Crozet, and Kerguelen)
51y French possessions and protectorates in Oceania and Eastern Pacific (Australasia and Oceania)
52 Spain
52a Canary Islands
52b Spanish possessions in Africa
52c Rio de Oro and Adrar (Western Sahara)
52d Rio Muni and Cape San Juan (Spanish Guinea)
52e Fernando Po, Annobon, Corisco, and Elobey Islands
52f Tetuan and Ceuta; Gomera, Alhucemas, Melilla
52g Balearic Islands
53 Portugal
53a Madeira
53b Azores
53c Mozambique
53d Portuguese India (Goa, Damão, Diu)
53e Macao (Macau)
53f Timor
53g Cape Verde Islands (Santo Antão, São Nicolau, São Vicente, Fogo, Santiago, Boa Vista, Sal Santa, Luzia, Branco, Raso, Maio, Brava, Rei, and Rombo)
53h Portuguese Guinea (Guinea Coast), Bijagos Islands, and Bolama Island
53k São Tomé (São Tomé) and Príncipe
53m Ladana and Cabinda
53n Angola (Portuguese West Africa), Congo, Loanda, Benguella, Mossamedes, Huílla, and Lunda
53p Portuguese East Africa
54 Switzerland
55 Belgium
55a Belgian Congo (Belgian Kongo)
56 Netherlands
56a Surinam (Netherlands Guiana)
56b Netherlands Antilles (formerly Netherlands West Indies) (Curacao, Bonaire, Aruba, St. Martin, St. Eustatius, Saba)
56c Miscellaneous Islands (Riau-Lingga Archipelago, Bangka-Banca; Billiton, Molucca, Timor Archipelago, Bai and Lombok, Netherlands New Guinea, or Western New Guinea)
56d Indonesia
56f Sumatra
57 Norway
57a Scandinavia (57, 58, 59, 60e)
57b Spitsbergen (Spitzbergen)
57c Lapland (Parts of 57, 58, 60e, 61)
58 Sweden
59 Denmark
59a Greenland
59b Faeroe (Faroe) or Sheep Islands
60 EASTERN CONTINENTAL EUROPE (including Balkans, 67, 68, 69, 81, and European part of 82)
60a Baltic States
60b Esthonia
60c Latvia
60d Lithuania
60e Finland (Aland Islands)
61 Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
61a Bessarabia
61b Ukraine
61c Sakhalin Island (Russian portion)
62 Germany
62a Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) (Saar)
62b Russian Zone (East Germany)
62c Polish Administration
63 Austria
64 Hungary
65 Italy
65a Vatican City
66 Rumania (Roumania)
67 Albania
68 Yugoslavia
69 Bulgaria
70 AFRICA (For Belgian possessions, see 55a) (For British possessions, see 45) (For French possessions, see 51s etc.)
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70b Republic of Guinea (see 79)
70g Congo Republic
70x Republic of South Africa
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72 Tunisia
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74 Egypt (see 86b)
75 Ethiopia (Hamara, Galla, and Harar)
75a Eritrea
76 Liberia
77 Trust Territory of Somaliland
78 Tanganyika Territory (Ruanda-Urundi), formerly German East Africa
79 West African states (includes 45j and 70b)
80 NEAR EAST
81 Greece
81a Crete
81b Samos
82 Turkey
83 Syria (see 86b)
83a Lebanon (Levant States)
84 Palestine
84a Israel
85 Jordan (Hashemite Jordan Kingdom) (formerly Trans-Jordan)
86 Arabia (Arab League) (United Arab states, includes 86b and 86h)
86a  Saudia Arabia (Kingdom of Hejas and Nejd)
86b  United Arab Republic (includes 74 and 83)
86d  Kuwait
86e  Muscat and Oman
86f  Qatar
86g  Trucial Sheikhs
86h  Yemen
87  Iraq (Mesopotamia)
88  Iran (Persia)
89  Afghanistan
90  FAR EAST (including all of Asia)
90a  Bhutan
90b  Burma
90c  Nepal
90d  Pakistan (Baluchistan)
91  India
92  Thailand (Siam)
93  China
93a  Manchuria
93b  Tibet
93c  Mongolia
94  Japan
94a  Formosa (Taiwan)
94b  Sakhalin Island (Japanese portion)
94c  Ryukyu Islands (Okinawa), Nampo Islands (Bonin, Volcano, and Marcus)
95  Korea
95a  North Korea
95b  South Korea
96  Philippine Republic
97  Malaya (Federation of Malaya comprises the states Pahang, Perak, Negri Sembilan, Selangor, Johore, Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, Trengganu, and the settlements Malacca and Penang) (includes Province of Wellesley)
98  Republic of Indonesia (Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes)
99  Pacific Islands (Mandated), New Guinea, Bismarck Archipelago, Solomon Islands (Bougainville, Baku), Marshall Islands, Nauru, Caroline Islands, Pelew (Palau) Islands, Marianna Islands (Ladrone Islands), Samoa (Samoan Islands, Western Samoa), Savaii, Upolu
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<td>Public Law</td>
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<td>POWs</td>
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**International Political Relations; Bilateral Treaties—China**

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