1960s

With the end of the Eisenhower administration, Americans looked forward, in the words of their newly elected, youthful president John F. Kennedy, to getting the nation moving again. Among the policies that Kennedy appeared to want to change was the way the United States related to China.

Kennedy inherited a mixed legacy. The Eisenhower administration had not advanced toward recognition of the People's Republic of China, even though it had become clear that the communist government would not be a quickly passing phenomenon. Moreover, by the time of Kennedy's inauguration it seemed obvious to many Americans, including large numbers of the nation's diplomats, that a rift had developed between the Chinese and their Soviet mentors—a rift that had significant ramifications for the United States. By the late 1950s, American policies had also proven dysfunctional. The trade embargo against China had frayed, and even Washington's closest allies were exchanging goods with the Chinese. Efforts to keep China out of the United Nations were also running into trouble and the State Department struggled to find new formulas to keep the Nationalists in and the Communists out. On the other hand, by the beginning of the 1960s, American public opinion seemed less belligerent on China and anticommunism, McCarthyism having dissipated. Privately, Eisenhower confided in his advisers that admitting China to the UN and extending diplomatic recognition to Beijing were inevitable developments, although the time was not yet ripe.

China became an issue in the 1960 presidential campaign when, during an interview with NBC's David Brinkley, candidate Kennedy remarked that defense of the offshore islands, undertaken at such cost and peril by the Eisenhower administration, made little sense. Vice President Richard M.

Nixon immediately took up the point during the second televised debate with Kennedy, attacking him for being willing to cede free territory to communism. The perils of dealing with the issue of China may have had a significant impact upon Kennedy. When the new Democratic administration entered the White House there were no bold initiatives on China. There were, however, a series of small measures taken to liberalize policy, and several members of the Kennedy team, as well as Foreign Service officers, anticipated further progress. Some even believed that in his second term Kennedy would open diplomatic relations with Beijing, although little evidence has emerged to substantiate that view.

Of course, changes in U.S. relations with China, even had Washington been eager to make them, would have encountered a succession of problems in China. In July 1960, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev decided to withdraw Soviet technicians assisting China to industrialize and build vital infrastructure projects. Khrushchev had been angered by what he saw as Mao's irresponsibility, stridency, and refusal to accept Soviet guidance. Soviet withdrawal aggravated the turmoil caused by the Great Leap, as did bad weather conditions in the critical years of 1959–1961. Some 30 million Chinese starved to death and possibly another 30 million were never born. China turned toward retrenchment under moderate leaders such as Liu Shaoqi, Mao's heir apparent, which helped deal with the tremendous economic upheaval within the country but increasingly alienated Mao Zedong and the leftists. In 1962, to counterbalance what Mao saw as growing revisionism—the return to Soviet or even capitalist practices—he launched a Socialist Education Campaign that then flowed into the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1966.

The Cultural Revolution, 1966–1976, became China's most radical and most tragic campaign. The agenda combined revolutionary resurgence with a power struggle as the people of China became pawns wrestling with Mao Zedong's inner demons. Mao had become convinced that China had abandoned the inspirational legacy of the 1940s. He sought to discipline the bureaucracy, eliminate Liu Shaoqi and other "capitalist roaders," rekindle egalitarian ideals, and expose China's youth to the revolutionary experience that had been critical to shaping the character of the founding generation as it had risen to power. To do all this, he set the young against the old, peasants against intellectuals, moderates against radicals, and radicals against fanatics. China plunged into ten years of anarchy with the government and even the Communist Party under assault by Red Guards, some of

whom rampaged fully armed and willing to fight bloody battles in the name of Mao Zedong and revolutionary purity. In the process, China's foreign policy also became radicalized. Its Foreign Ministry came under siege, its diplomats were recalled for thought reform and Red Guards rioted beyond China's borders in cities like Hong Kong. At home they burned down the British Embassy and humiliated Soviet diplomats in Beijing. Until countervailing pressures arose toward the end of the decade these radicalized Chinese had no interest in improving relations with the leading capitalist nation in the world. Although the worst of the tumult had passed by late 1969, the Chinese people would have to endure another six years of disorder before the Cultural Revolution truly ended.

Apart from the Cultural Revolution, other factors in the arena of international relations also militated against betterment of Chinese-American relations. Chinese rhetoric and actions in the early 1960s appeared to confirm the picture of China as aggressive and expansionist. During the Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1962, the Soviets blamed Beijing for pushing Khrushchev to take reckless actions in order to prove his zealousness. And then, as if to demonstrate their own militancy, the Chinese attacked India. Although the Sino-Indian Border War had been provoked by India and involved territories long disputed between the Indians and Chinese (a controversy that predated communist control of China), Americans, including the most outspoken advocates of contacts with China inside the Kennedy administration, condemned Beijing. Finally, the United States also confronted the reality of a nuclear armed China. Progress toward development of a Chinese bomb frightened Kennedy and when Beijing finally tested a weapon in 1964, that event further darkened an already highly negative image of China in the United States.

Not all contacts were bleak. In 1962, as evidence of famine inside China grew, the Kennedy administration suggested the possibility of food aid to the Chinese. Further, when Chiang Kai-shek decided to seize the opportunity presented by China's disarray to mount an attack on the mainland, the Kennedy administration stepped in to warn Chiang against rash action and to reassure Beijing, through the Warsaw talks and then in public, that the United States would not support such a venture. Indeed, the ambassadorial talks between the United States and China continued sporadically throughout the decade, providing a channel of direct communication. Growing opinion among the informed public, including scholars and journalists, argued that more contacts ought to be opened. In congressional hearings

held in the mid-1960s, witnesses urged the American government to moderate its policies, to think about changing its efforts to isolate China—efforts that were serving also to isolate the United States on China issues—and drop barriers to interaction with the Chinese.

The decline in Sino-Soviet relations also spanned the decade, both worrying and reassuring Washington. Americans approached the whole idea of a rift with trepidation, fearing that the divisions in the communist camp did not really exist but were designed to deceive the West and weaken free world unity. Kennedy dismissed talk of a split, declaring that the argument was simply over how best to bury the West. Gradually, the United States came to acknowledge the obvious: the Sino-Soviet alliance had ceased to function. Americans finally could see that the split between Moscow and Beijing held advantages as well as dangers for the United States. Washington welcomed Soviet interest in détente with the United States, despite Beijing's objections, and celebrated the reduction in Soviet assistance to the Chinese. On the other hand, the State Department worried about the absence of moderating influences over Chinese extremism. Much energy and expertise was lavished on trying to understand what the rift would ultimately mean for the international community. By the end of the decade it became clear that the opportunities opened for the United States were legion.

During the 1960s, concerns about Chinese aggressiveness and radicalism also influenced perceptions of the liberation struggle in Vietnam. The United States initially had become involved in Vietnam at the end of World War II because of the French. Washington worried about the weakness of the French government in Europe and its vulnerability to communism. Thus Americans proved willing to accept the French determination to reimpose colonial control over Indochina and provided considerable aid, especially after the Korean War began. Then in 1954, after the Geneva Conference, when France finally acknowledged its defeat, the United States took over the struggle. To Washington, the contest had increasingly become part of the Cold War confrontation with communism, and in Southeast Asia the primary threat came to be seen as an expansionist China. The Foreign Service officers here talk at length about the U.S. government's efforts to gauge whether China would intervene in Vietnam, whether this would be another Korean-style contest. Lyndon Johnson's obsession with the Vietnam War meant that virtually all policy in Asia during the late 1960s related in some measure to developments in Vietnam.

The Nationalist Chinese government on Taiwan took advantage of the

American commitment to Vietnam, as it did of direct economic and military assistance from the United States. The 1960s became a decade of remarkable growth for the island, with successful land reform and fledgling industrialization beginning to fuel a rapid expansion of the economy. Chiang Kai-shek continued to promote the idea of returning to the mainland, but Washington made clear that it would not support such a venture and risk the possibility of war with China. As a result, Taiwan's involvement in the Vietnam theater failed to serve Chiang's strategic purposes of linking war in Vietnam to a war against China, but did contribute to economic prosperity.

For the Nationalist Chinese leadership one of the central preoccupations of the decade was the fight to retain the seat in the United Nations reserved for China. During the 1960s, support for the Taipei/Washington position on the issue declined, forcing the United States to expend more and more energy to keep a functioning coalition alive. The risks of the effort became clear with the emergence of the Mongolia question. The admission of the Mongolian People's Republic was paired with that of Mauritania. Chiang Kai-shek declared that he would keep Mongolia out because he saw it as part of China—not a legitimate nation—as well as being a communist pawn. But if Taipei cast its veto in the Security Council against Mongolia it would alienate African votes needed for retaining its own seat. Intense American pressure finally persuaded Chiang not to frustrate the admission package, but the effort demonstrated how fragile support for Taiwan had become. Indeed, even though the trend against Taiwan was temporarily arrested by China's outrageous behavior during the excesses of the Cultural Revolution, increasingly American diplomats understood that time was running out.

Thus as the end of the decade approached, the likelihood of change in the United States' China policy seemed to have grown. But few would have imagined that events at the end of the 1960s would utterly transform relations between the United States, China, Taiwan, and the Soviet Union, as well as the rest of the international community. That will be the story of chapter 4.

U.S. POLICY

The early days of the Kennedy administration seemed a period of opportunity with respect to China policy. The idea of change appeared to be in the air. Why that change did not happen has led to speculation regarding

Kennedy's attitudes toward China and has led historians to question whether the resistance toward policy changes rested primarily in the White House or with Secretary of State Dean Rusk. The Foreign Service officers speaking here all thought Rusk comprised a central impediment to liberalization of policy toward China. The historical record is less clear. Warren I. Cohen, Rusk's biographer, remarking upon the secretary of state's convictions about the proper role of a presidential adviser, doubts that Rusk would have thwarted the president had he actually hoped to improve relations with China.[1] During the early days of the Kenndey administration, American officials came to understand that they faced a weakened China where massive famine and social disorder were testing communist control. Whatever initiatives they attempted would be met by leaders preoccupied with internal crisis.

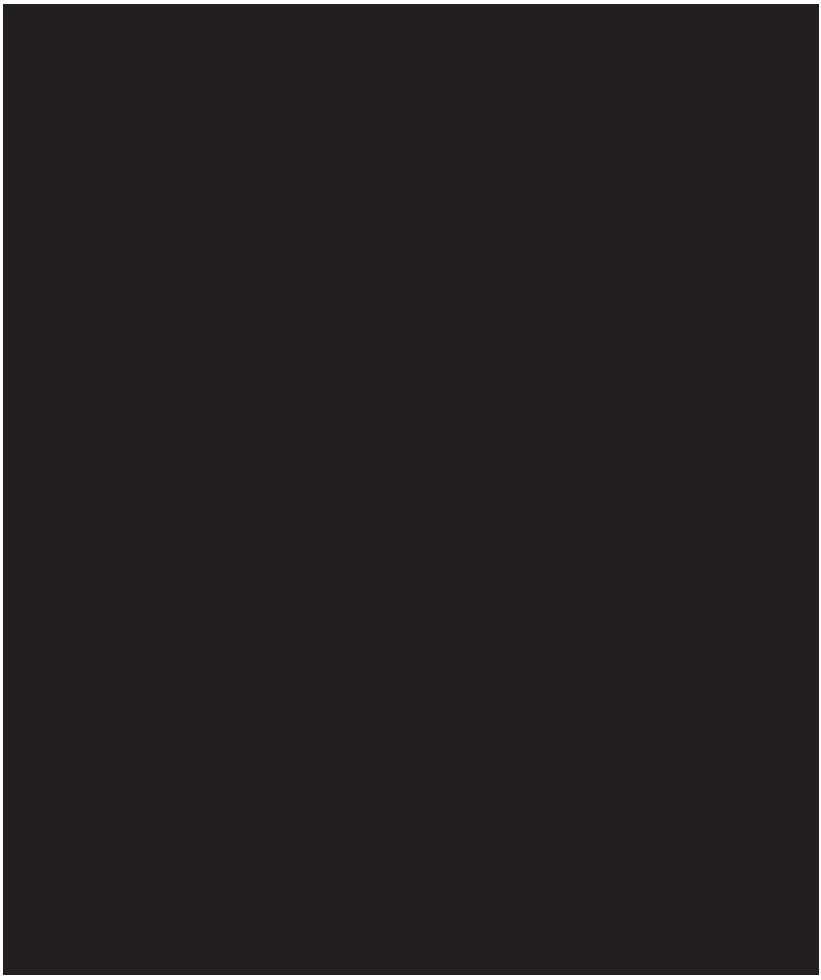
GRANT: [In 1961, at the beginning of the Kennedy administration] we created the Mainland China desk and made it the Office of Asian Communist Affairs, thereby giving it office-level status and beginning to admit that the Chinese Communists existed. That created a place for a focus.[2]

GREEN: It was no longer just CA [Chinese Affairs] controlling China, where almost all the attention of the desk was focused on Taiwan. That meant that all of a sudden the PRC and Mongolia had representation in the State Department, which they had lacked before.

DONALD ANDERSON: The Office of Asian Communist Affairs theoretically covered Communist China, North Vietnam, and North Korea, all the communist countries in Asia. We spent about 98 percent of our time on China, and 2 percent on North Vietnam and North Korea.

GRANT: There was a feeling in the air that Kennedy would like to do something about China, but they hadn't really focused on it, so it was a wonderful time, the sense that people wanted something done, but didn't know quite what they wanted.[3] Anyway, we were trying to bring public policy into line with our recognition of the diplomatic realities. I was out on the lecture circuit, talking wherever I could to TV, radio programs, to national organizations, meetings, and so on, to try to explain what we're about and getting good vibes from them. So there was quite a little operation going.

GREEN: We were making certain moves to allow certain Americans [reporters, doctors] to travel to Communist China. We had under consideration moves to change our foreign access control regulations so



Descending from the aircraft: Ralph Clough at the top of the stairs and below him, Secretary of State Dean Rusk.

that Americans could buy things that came from Mainland China. These things must have been known to the authorities on Taiwan and must have been discomfiting.

LUTKINS: Very early in the Kennedy years, in '61, very gingerly tentative moves were made toward opening up of relations with Outer Mongolia, which then was very much still under Soviet domination. They didn't

get very far on this. And part of the reason was that the Nationalist government on Taiwan, of course, had always regarded Outer Mongolia as Chinese territory that had been taken away from China. They and the Chinese lobby made their opposition felt, so that it just wasn't considered important enough by Kennedy to make an issue out of it, and they dropped it.

CLOUGH: Drumright was the ambassador in Taipei when I arrived as DCM [deputy chief of mission]. Averell Harriman had become assistant secretary [of state for Far Eastern Affairs, December 1961-April 1963], and he didn't care much for the position that Drumright took on the Taiwan-China issue. Harriman wanted to see some movement on the China issue.

GREEN: At the chiefs of mission meeting in Baguio [Philippines] in 1962, I made a presentation as consul general, Hong Kong, with regard to what was going on in China and what the implications of this were. It delighted Harriman, because basically what I was pointing out was information that supported the thesis that we should be taking another hard look at what our basic China policy should be. And, of course, Chester Bowles, who was Harriman's superior at that time, being the under secretary, also shared that same point of view.[4] Furthermore, at that Chiefs of Mission meeting, Harriman was really quite dictatorial, and he was very short and sharp with certain people at the conference. The Kennedy Administration was leaning a bit in the direction that was going to make it very uncomfortable for our representatives in Taipei.

CLOUGH: That's right, but the experience on Mongolia had a somewhat chastening effect on the Kennedy administration, because they hadn't realized the strength of the Nationalist views and how it would affect the China Lobby. After all, Kennedy had got in by a rather narrow margin. [Arthur] Schlesinger [Jr.] later said in his book [*A Thousand Days*] that they had a talk about the China issue, and Kennedy said that we haven't got the political support to do very much on China. Let's leave that for the second term. And, of course, he never had a second term.

Did you get any feel for Secretary of State Dean Rusk's attitude toward the PRC?

THAYER: Yes, but my feel was secondhand. I was in his presence from time to time, but didn't have much direct dealings with him. He was

pretty hard-line, articulating the line including the PRC threat to Southeast Asia. We were also trying to open relations with Mongolia in those days, and he did not support certain memos that were sent up proposing we do this or that to open negotiations or relations with Mongolia.

Was Rusk calling the shots on China policy? Or was this basically the Democratic Party, having been burned on China in 1952, not willing to get caught again?

DONALD ANDERSON: Dean Rusk played a major role. He had been assistant secretary for Asia, he had been in China, he considered himself a China expert. He was very conservative on China issues. It was very difficult to get any flexibility.

GREEN: Dean Rusk, of course, looms large in all we are talking about. There was a man who was very deeply committed to upholding the position of the Republic of China, diplomatically and otherwise. A man who took a very strong view on the Cold War and also the war in Vietnam. He is not the kind of man who would ever back down. This must have been considerably comforting to Taiwan, to know that Dean Rusk was secretary of state. Probably just gave them the same kind of assurance that they had when Dulles was the secretary of state.

KREISBERG: Rusk was sufficiently closed mouthed, and I was sufficiently junior that I don't have any recollection of Rusk ever giving any hint that he would have liked to have gone further than Kennedy would let him. My most active conversations and dealings with Rusk on this issue were after Kennedy had died. There is a theory, which some people have described as fact in some of the Kennedy biographies, that Kennedy was going to move on China after 1964. I had never seen anything to support that.

During the period 1961–1964, what was happening in China and how did we see developments within China?

GRANT: We were very slow to pick up the changes. In 1961, China had just been through the complete collapse of the Great Leap Forward. Millions of Chinese died. The birth rate just slid down to nowhere. We didn't appreciate any of that. Again, the field probably had a better sense of China than Washington. I, of course, had been working strictly on Taiwan for three years, but was in regular touch with our Hong Kong people; also with Chinese scholars. I was not nearly on target as

to how bad things were, but I discovered that CIA was directing a national intelligence estimate which showed Chinese GNP still rising in 1960. I said, "This is absurd!"

It was very clear that a counterattack had been launched by the economic rationalists, if you will, and we were beginning by this time to recognize that China was by no means a monolith. There were these divisions. You could see Zhou Enlai coming back into prominence, and some of the other more conservative leaders. They went back and resurrected the vilified birth control efforts.[5] They shifted their focus first on light industry and industry serving agriculture. But basically, this was a recognition that massive capital-intensive investment was eating up the resources, and they needed to get less capital-intensive solutions out faster. During the early and mid-1960s, there was a quite rational discussion within China, and you could see this in their output, their regular international reports and reports of their meetings and so on, that they were trying in pragmatic terms to deal with their problems—leaving, of course, the ideologues and the old ideologue Mao Zedong more and more frustrated with this descent of the revolution into the practical. It was a period of retrenchment and sanity, and we recognized it as such, and we spotted the Cultural Revolution for the insanity it was, much faster than we had the Great Leap Forward.

Why is it that we had trouble understanding what was happening in China? Were there discrepancies between Foreign Service reporting and covert sources from the Central Intelligence Agency?

GRANT: In that particular instance, that national intelligence estimate, the more optimistic view was coming out of the CIA bureaucracy. In the field, I'm not so sure that there was that much of a divergence. It would depend on the individual. We tended to be in communication and probably think very much the same way. As to why we don't guess right, it's just an opaque society. Now, in fact, we did guess right on their external behavior, which has been much more consistent through all these periods than their internal. We recognized belatedly, by the early 1960s—that the Chinese, despite the rhetoric, were going to be rather cautious in their foreign policy.

The longer I watched them, the more I was aware of this Chineseness. They feel themselves the center of the earth. "Zhongguo" [the

Chinese name for China] means "the central kingdom." They expect respect from others. They thought they should be playing a big role, even when they had no money to give away. They spent a billion dollars U.S. equivalent on the Tanzania-Zambia railway, which was strictly a prestige project.[6] In other words, they were pulled by this image. But there were other things that even the slow reader could read. Take the Portuguese colonies of Macao on the China coast and Goa on the Indian coast. The Indians, whom we always think of as being a major democracy and so on, simply walked in and took Goa.[7] The Chinese did not take Macao, and even kept the overzealous local communists from doing so, partly because they didn't want to rock the boat for Hong Kong. And they didn't want to rock the boat for Hong Kong because they were earning money through Hong Kong.

So there was a very strong strain of practicality, which I began to recognize once we saw the schism with the Soviet Union, and realized it was there, and once we recognized—as a bureaucracy—that the Great Leap Forward had not been a leap at all, it had been a disaster.

You mentioned cables. I've seen Foreign Service officers stay up till all hours to send the cables back to Washington. Do they really matter?

LEONARD: They do. Whether an individual cable is acted on, or has an effect or not, they create the atmosphere and the structure within which decisions are taken. Another very major part of that atmosphere and structure is the reporting in the daily press. Everybody in the State Department reads the [*Washington*] *Post* and the [*New York*] *Times* or finds out one way or another what's in them first thing every day, and maybe some of the other papers as well. One of my jobs that I had a little later was early morning briefer on the seventh floor. This is a small group of three, four, five department officers, usually led by the assistant secretary for INR. At that period it was Tom Hughes, who would come into the department very early in the morning, get briefed on everything that had happened in the previous eighteen hours or so, including the cables and intelligence reports from the CIA, various intercepts, all sources. Then they would go up with these materials and brief the secretary, the deputy secretary, and so on, and end up about ten o'clock briefing the assistant secretaries, the various regional assistant secretaries, and so on. I did that for a while, and found that in fact the people

who were being briefed were very eager to get this. They felt if they didn't get it, they were not able to function as effectively in the meetings that they would then be having with the other senior officials later in the day. If you were behind one important fact or one key analysis of some event or other, you not only lost face or prestige, it looked as if you didn't do your job, you weren't paying attention to it. You also simply weren't being paid any mind to in the meetings. So the cables have a very important effect on these key officials, and one of the reasons they are surrounded by swarms of junior aides, etc., is because there's far more than anyone can possibly read and you have to have a system of filtering and funneling these down so that the facts that really matter, not the texts, are available to the people who have to then do the policy making.

What was the impression of the effectiveness of the VOA [Voice of America radio] in the early 1960s?

HUMMEL: I'm not sure that we knew. We in the VOA envied "Radio Liberty" and "Radio Free Europe" in their free-swinging, detached ability to choose what they broadcast. They would reach people who otherwise were not being reached, with information about their own countries or their own areas that their communist rulers would like to suppress. We couldn't try that. We didn't try to tell the Chinese what was going on in China. We didn't know enough about it, for one thing. My previous assignment in Hong Kong had convinced me that talking to refugees and people who had come out and reading snippets from the Chinese press which we could get our hands on did not give us sufficiently reliable information about what was going on. So instead we were projecting the United States in what we called a full and fair way. It was tilted, obviously, to some extent, by our desire to make the United States look good. That is, that we have our democratic processes and the things that we were proud of.

After the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, there was a concern that we were too active in pushing something approaching a revolt against the communist leadership of Hungary, when we weren't going to do anything about it in a military way. Was this very much of a consideration in our China broadcasting?

HUMMEL: It had subsided as a major factor, at least in my mind.

NEGOTIATION WITH THE PRC I

During the 1960s, Americans and Chinese continued to meet periodically to try to resolve problems. Most of these encounters proved sterile, but neither side wanted to break the diplomatic contact that the Warsaw exchanges afforded.

GRANT: I had, as were a lot of us young people at that time, been deeply impressed by [George] Kennan's containment policy for the Soviet Union.[8] I remember believing, even from day one when I was in Hong Kong, that in a real world, the only way to deal with a threat like the Chinese Communists is to make foreign adventure against our interests expensive and dangerous, but to make an evolution towards a less unfriendly condition promising—to offer them that possibility.

We ran the preparation of the Warsaw talks from our office. David Dean was the one who actually did the drafting. It was the devil's own time to keep on finding things to talk about every month or two. I forget how often we met. But what we did was constantly pick up little themes. Like there was an epidemic in China. We had an embargo, of course, on trade with China. We said to them, "We are going to lift the embargo so that drugs can be shipped if you'll need them or are interested in having them." We had, of course, an embargo on travel with China. We got this lifted so journalists, if they could get in, could go. We were trying to find as many small ways as we could, just suggesting, "Sure, there's room here for dialogue."

DEAN: I would go to Warsaw every month to advise first Ambassador [John] Cabot and then Ambassador [John] Gronouski in the actual talks with the Chinese and we gradually tried to change the tenor of these talks.[9] When I first got there neither side would acknowledge the other. They'd sit down and start their talks. But when I got there after I'd spoken to Bill Bundy, who was the assistant secretary, we tried very hard to change the atmosphere of the talks, to shake hands at the beginning, to change the language. Instead of referring to their regime we referred to their government. And we took out a lot of other pejorative expressions in an effort to make it a little more civil. I also started to go over to the Chinese Embassy at the end of each talk or the following day to see if there had been any problems with the translation. But it was mostly an ice-breaking type of situation. We tried quite hard to get some agree-

ment on newsmen or on academic exchange and saying that it was difficult to solve the major problems. Why didn't we put them to one side and get on with more practical ones in the interim.

CLOUGH: The Chinese had now shifted their ground. In the early period, they were proposing things, and we were saying, "No, not until you renounce the use of force and release all the American prisoners." In the '60s, it got turned around, and they began to say: "No, we can't have any improvement of relations with the United States until the Taiwan problem is settled." And so they rejected these initiatives that we took in the early '60s, and the talks became very sterile through the mid-'60s.

GRANT: [Then] the Vietnam problem came to intervene and you simply could not move very far on China, with us on opposite sides of the Vietnam issue.

SINO-SOVIET SPLIT

Although there had been indicators of Sino-Soviet friction during the 1950s, Americans proved slow to accept the idea of a split. In chapter 2, some Foreign Service officers noted that they saw the events surrounding the Great Leap Forward and the Sputnik mission as signs of a growing rift. Nikita Khrushchev's decision to pull Soviet technicians out of China in 1960 persuaded others, although there remained skeptics for another few years, including John F. Kennedy.

KREISBERG: I don't think any of us expected [the dispute] to go to the point of Soviet withdrawal, which it did in 1960. And then, of course, when the ideological war began in the pages of *Pravda* and the *People's Daily*, it was clear that the relationship was almost out of control. And the astonishing thing was, in spite of all that, that for several years, there continued to be a great reluctance inside the U.S. government to acknowledge that there was a Sino-Soviet split. There was a widespread view that it was all a fake. It was a fraud being perpetrated for western consumption, an argument that drove the professionals out of their minds, which then went on well into the Vietnam years, with Dean Rusk being convinced as late as 1963 or '64 that what was going on in Vietnam was simply part of the Sino-Soviet expansion of communist power.

You're saying we hadn't realized how Chinese the Chinese Communists were. When did you first see the reflections of the schism?

HOLDRIDGE: This all began with that "Long Live Leninism" editorial [April 1960], but it got worse and worse.[10] Then it became a personal diatribe. On the one hand, you had Mao Zedong who, if he didn't write these editorials, was certainly the one who said that this is what you will put into them. On the other hand, it was Mr. Khrushchev up until 1964. Then, when he was replaced by Brezhnev, the Chinese didn't change the tone one iota. They simply said that the new leaders were even worse than Khrushchev because they were smarter.

GRANT: As the Chinese and the Soviets seemed to be part of a monolithic communist movement that was out—as it regularly said it was—to replace capitalism and us, anybody arguing policy had a very good reason to say, "You've got to do everything you can to make life more difficult for these people, to weaken them." The Hilsman speech [see below], for instance, the whole slow opening up of U.S.-China policy, became possible only once we had recognized that that was a false view of the world and that this was not a monolith.

The Chinese had very grave differences with the Russians over policy. They really were terribly bitter that they paid the price to save North Korea, and the Russians were the ones who became the tutelary power because of their ability to provide more aid. But it's an ethnic and national sense. The Chinese are very proud and do consider themselves to be the most civilized people on earth, and the Russians not. To have been, during the early 1950s, in this secondary relationship was terribly galling to them. We didn't perceive this.

GREEN: When I arrived in Hong Kong in 1961, it was already clear that this feud was blowing up. The Chinese ability to depict the Soviet Union in the worst possible language was used. Our translator and our political officers in Hong Kong soon ran out of language to use, because it kept intensifying, and the Chinese had ways of describing people in those scatological terms that we just lacked. We found it impossible to find words strong enough to convey the tone of Chinese broadcasts against the Soviet Union and to show that it was getting even worse than it was yesterday.

LACEY: We made two grave mistakes. First of all, I for one at least, was inclined because of my earlier NIS [Naval Intelligence Service] expo-

sure in Washington to give the Chicoms too much credit for having more power than in fact proved to be the case. When Khrushchev broke off with Mao Zedong, I didn't appreciate the significance of that development, both in terms of the effect upon China and also the effect on the threatened Sino-Soviet bloc stance against the United States. We should have learned earlier than we did—or at least it should have been built into our briefing earlier than it was—the notion that now the Sino-Soviet bloc is broken up, China became a wholly different kettle of fish or kettle of dragons.

GRANT: I have never had any reason to question that once we recognized the schism, we read it fairly close to the facts. Generally the Chinese behaved toward the Soviets about the way we expected. For instance, in the troublesome Xinjiang province and border problems along the Amur River, the Chinese behaved quite hostile.[11] They weren't about ready to do anything with the Russians to resolve these little issues. The Russians were actually the ones who were probing periodically to see whether they could soften the confrontation one way or another. The Chinese kept saying, "Get your troops away from our border and maybe we can talk."

TAIWAN I

The decade of the 1960s proved to be the last in which Nationalist China could rely upon support from the United States to preserve its controversial status in the international arena. In the Kennedy and Johnson years, interaction between the Taipei authorities and Washington underwent no significant disruptions. In 1960, the State Department began to move Taiwan away from economic dependence upon the United States despite Taipei's reservations. By 1964, with congressional pressure to reduce America's foreign aid commitment and evident prosperity on the island, the Johnson administration declared assistance to Taiwan a success and graduated the Nationalist regime from the program. Taiwan adjusted with no difficulty and American military assistance and cooperation continued.

LEONARD: At the beginning of the Kennedy period, we were all almost without exception in the embassy exhilarated by the victory of Kennedy, and very pleased that there was somebody there who was not

in any way a captive of this right-wing Republican ideology on the China question. Most of us were probably critical of the China Lobby. We didn't like our ambassador. He was a very difficult personality, and that may have played a part. His name was Drumright. He was very conservative and most of us felt that there were a lot of things wrong with the way Taiwan was being run, economic as well as political.

DRUMRIGHT: Our economic group, under Wes Harraldson, helped a great deal in establishing the base for the Taiwan we know today. That started during those years, about 1960, with the Chinese establishing programs or inviting foreign investors into Taiwan, establishing laws and regulations to encourage them to come. Now we helped them, but on the whole, most of the credit goes to [Nationalist] China itself and the Chinese for what they did at that time. We had a program there of about $100 million of economic aid and a fairly similar sum for military aid during the four years I was there, and it began to show up very clearly before I left. I left in March 1962, on orders from President Kennedy. He felt I was much too supportive of the Chinese there. There seemed to be an apprehension in Washington that Taiwan would take some step to invade the mainland, which I always decried as nonsense.

GREEN: *What about the troop-community relationship? We had a lot of forces on Taiwan, and we had the Taiwan Defense Command there. We had a lot of men in uniform coming in and out. How did the people on Taiwan view our military and our military presence? Was there a kind of a nationalist reaction against it at all? [Note: Green is both an interviewer and subject.]*

CLOUGH: There was some. The attitude was mixed. Most people felt that they were threatened by Communist China and that the United States had come to the rescue, and that it was necessary to have these American troops around in order to defend Taiwan. And so they were willing to have them. And then various elements of society benefited by running a black market with stuff out of the American PX and commissary and that sort of thing. A lot of people were employed by the American MAAG [Military Assistance Advisory Group] and other American military who were assigned there. We had one of the largest MAAGs in the world; we had 11,000 people in it at one point. But there was a certain amount of friction, because the Americans, of course, were far better off. Their living standards were much higher.

GREEN: And there were red light districts that flourished around a base presence. I would gather from your remarks that there was sufficient feeling of being embattled, of being pretty lonely, certainly up against a great power of Red China, that to have a friend and to have a trip wire, by having a friend there was very important, certainly from the government's viewpoint. But down the line amongst the people there were these [other] feelings.

CLOUGH: Yes, there were personal frictions that you get when any large foreign community is imposed on another, but they weren't very strong. For the most part, the people in general were friendly to Americans.

GREEN: My general impression from meeting Chinese Nationalist officials was that they were pretty decent people to work with, and that it must have been a fairly pleasant experience dealing with the Foreign Office in Taipei. They were reasonable, they were rational.

CLOUGH: That's right, although there were issues on which we disagreed. Most of the people in the Foreign Ministry were Western-trained, they were graduates of American universities, many of them, and they were friendly.

Meanwhile, the standard of living in Taiwan was going up. Was it perceptibly going up while you were there?

CLOUGH: Oh, yes, it had already started, although the real takeoff had not occurred in those years. It was underway in the early '60s.

How did you see the situation on Taiwan with the central government and with relations with the Taiwanese?

THAYER: The Taiwanese did feel exploited. Chiang Ching-kuo was just beginning to have some effect in opening the GMD more and more to Taiwanese. But there was a lot of anti-GMD sentiment, particularly among the Taiwanese intellectuals. There was a good deal of apparent sentiment, nostalgia, for the Japanese. Some of this was phony. Some of this was real. In the '60s I exaggerated the importance of the anti-GMD sentiment in terms of the ability of the Taiwanese, anti-GMD Taiwanese, to turn their antagonism into dramatic pressure against the regime.

As a political officer, I saw a lot of the Taiwanese, sympathized with them, and let myself be influenced, more than a more mature officer would have, by their description of the facts and by their perspectives, although I discounted a great deal of what they said about their economic well-being, because I could see how well they lived compared to how I know they had lived ten years earlier, and the statistics were there also.

How did the political section look upon the GMD as a government, its effectiveness, its value?

THAYER: Well, we thought it was effective. We believed and said in our briefings to newcomers and newspapermen how important it was for the free world to have a strong Taiwan, a viable economy, a military force, Taiwan as a major part of the Pacific chain of democratic or at least non-communist states. We believed in the unpleasant nature of the communist regime. All of us saw the imperfections of the Taiwan regime at that time, as did many in the regime itself. We had a rather healthy attitude. Our embassy was not a spokesman for the regime, although there were times, particularly in the evolutionary period of the early '60s, when, for example, on the issue of Mongolia's seat in the UN [see below], Ambassador Drumright got into a big rhubarb with the Kennedy administration. And there were other times when our embassy as a whole saw things a little more sympathetic to the GMD regime than perhaps Washington did. But I don't think egregiously so. We had some very smart and able people at the leadership of the embassy. Ralph Clough was the DCM, and Ralph was one of our best China language and area professionals. His spoken Chinese is terrific. He's a tremendously wise person and was not going to be anybody's fool. I'm sure that his advice to our series of ambassadors was always good. He was in charge a lot of the time. He was succeeded by Art Hummel, who was a very good DCM, very able with the Chinese, also a very level-headed guy. So we weren't a bunch of patsies for the regime. We very much had our eye on U.S. interests.

We did our first bilateral textile negotiation a few months after I arrived in 1963. We had completed a textile agreement with Japan. The importance of the negotiation, the commercial importance is well understood, the domestic pressures here, perhaps, are well understood.

To me, the really enlightening part of that effort was the problem of coordinating and getting a consensus among U.S. domestic interests as manifested in the various departmental representatives who were there—the Labor Department, the Commerce Department, the State Department. These were all participants in the negotiations.

The relationships with the Chinese seemed to be a lot less acrimonious than the relationships among the American negotiators. As a State Department officer, I was very much a creature of the chief negotiator who was a State Department officer himself. I was quite flabbergasted as a relatively naive Foreign Service officer to find the American side conniving with the Chinese side to bypass one of the American negotiators. Well, this isn't a new idea to older hands, but to me it was an eye-opener.

How did the book piracy issue come up? Could you explain the problem?

THAYER: The problem of book piracy in those days was that the Chinese [in Taiwan] were not only copying without authorization American books, including the encyclopedias, but were exporting these publications back to the United States. It did not sit well with the American publishers to find their prices undercut by, say, *90* percent in their own territory. We were getting a lot of flak, Congress and so forth. I worked with a department director at the Taiwan Ministry of Interior, who, himself, was convinced that Taiwan for its own image had to do something about the problem. Within a year or two, exports to the United States had stopped. And I don't mean it all halted completely, but the Chinese regulations were in place and firmly enough so that the embassy issued strict instructions against any of our personnel taking stuff back as being against both U.S. *and* Chinese laws. I don't know that it was ever implemented properly, but the Chinese customs and the American customs both inspected for pirated books, and pirated books that were attempted to be taken out of Taiwan were confiscated, and there were some penalties imposed.

The language school was not in Taipei, was it?

DONALD ANDERSON: No, it was down in Taichung, at that time a city of 500,000 people, but by Chinese standards it was a very small town. Our

teachers were entirely Mainlanders so you did have a rather staunchly anti-communist viewpoint. We did get the *People's Daily* and Chinese communist publications because it was necessary to not only learn the standard Chinese characters, that is, the old-fashioned more complex characters which we used in Taiwan, but also you had to learn the simplified characters which the Chinese Communists had introduced if you were going to read the Chinese communist press.

Among your group was the recognition of Communist China a bone of contention?

DONALD ANDERSON: Among the group that I was with and certainly my own feeling was that we ought to be moving in that direction. It was not a simple matter of simply switching recognition at that point. It probably would have produced chaos on Taiwan, but a lot of the fiction that we maintained for many, many years really gradually became rather silly.

1962 TAIWAN STRAIT CRISIS

After the collapse of Mao Zedong's Great Leap Forward, China plunged into a period of devastating famine and domestic disarray. Always eager for an opportunity to try to recapture the mainland from communist control, Chiang Kai-shek insisted that this upheaval and popular disillusionment constituted a perfect opening for his forces. American diplomats scrambled to deter Chiang and reassure the Chinese Communists while, at the same time, reporting on and coping with the repercussions of the crisis in China.

LEONARD: By 1960, we knew that things were terrible on the mainland, although we had no idea how bad it was. Millions of people literally starved to death in that artificially created famine which followed the Great Leap Forward. That inspired Chiang to think that maybe, maybe he had a chance to overthrow the regime and return to the mainland. He began talking to us about that, and he also began doing things on his own, sort of behind our back, that made us very nervous. Averell Harriman had become the assistant secretary. They replaced Eisenhower's

ambassador there with a personal friend of Harriman's, [Admiral Alan G.] Kirk [July 1962-April 1963]. He had been ambassador to Brussels, and ambassador to Moscow, and then had retired. He was in his early seventies at that time. Harriman asked him if he wouldn't go there in order to ensure that the thing didn't get out of hand, because there was a lack of confidence. There was a feeling that Chiang Kai-shek had been pampered by the China Lobby and might misunderstand what would be the American attitude toward an attempt on his part to recover the mainland, to launch any sort of armed action against the mainland. Therefore, Ambassador Kirk was sent out to really talk very frankly to the GIMO and make sure that this was understood. In fact, Harriman himself at one point [March 1962] came out. The State Department and Kennedy personally were all concerned that there might be some sort of dangerous action on the part of the Nationalists.

CLOUGH: Let me tell you about the problem of '62, because this is where the Warsaw Talks and the situation in Taiwan are linked together.

After Drumright had left we began to get these reports about preparations by the Republic of China to do something militarily about the mainland. On the mainland, there was starvation and all kinds of problems that the PRC was having after the collapse of the Great Leap Forward, so Chiang Kai-shek was encouraged to feel that maybe there would be some sort of rebellion on the mainland, and that the time would come for him to move in with his troops. He didn't inform us what he was doing, but we found out. He started getting certain units prepared. He imposed a defense tax to raise money.

Of course, the Communists got word of this, and they moved some additional air units into Fujian Province, opposite Taiwan. And this disturbed our government, so that Kennedy, through the Warsaw Talks [on June 23, 1962], informed the Chinese Communists that we did not intend to back Chiang Kai-shek in a military attack on the mainland.

Or take advantage of their internal problems?

CLOUGH: Yes. And later he made the same statement at a press conference in public. It was a very important statement, and it cooled the ardor of the people in Taiwan.

GREEN: The governor of Hong Kong [Sir Robert Black] called me in one day to urge that I [as consul general] get in touch with our gov-

ernment in Washington and our embassy in Taipei with regard to the way Chiang Kai-shek was using Hong Kong as a launching base for certain covert operations against railroads, kind of spoiling operations. That was kind of a lightning rod that might bring the war into Hong Kong. He was very unhappy. I sent this message on to Washington and never got very much of an answer with regard to it. I went up to Taiwan to urge that some action be taken on this, because it was making for a very bad relationship with Hong Kong and the British. Furthermore, these little needling operations, all they were doing was causing the Chinese Communists to be all the more alert and to bring more forces to bear in the area and stirring up, in other words, a dangerous crisis situation. Meanwhile, China was going through the last toils of the Great Leap Forward. Conditions in China were very, very bad. Refugees were beginning to flow over the border into Hong Kong. That happened in May 1962. There was always this concern that China might lash out in desperation. And that's where that assurance came in. Not only that we weren't going to help Chiang Kai-shek in any of his operations, but we weren't going to try to take advantage of their internal problems.

KREISBERG: My recollection is that the Chinese never really were fully committed, at any point, to taking the offshore islands. Indeed, they saw the disadvantage of taking the offshore islands in terms of severing the link between Taiwan and the mainland.

Since Taiwan had a large role in initiating the incident, did that, in any way, worsen relations between Washington and Taipei?

KREISBERG: Not that I recall. Nothing could worsen negotiations with Taiwan in those periods.

Because it was too important, or because it was so bad already?

KREISBERG: No, they were good. There just wasn't anybody who wanted to see the relationship get worse. It was a very protected relationship.

Do you have a sense of people's opinion of Chiang Kai-shek and the government? Was it a question of overlooking problems, because it was so important? Or the people just didn't see . . .

KREISBERG: There was a great sense of disinterest in what was happening on Taiwan except in terms of stability. The only interest we had was stability.

SINO-INDIAN BORDER WAR

Coming in the midst of the Cuban Missile Crisis, the clash between the Indians and Chinese caught Americans off guard. However, the Kennedy administration had long sought to lure New Delhi out of its posture of neutralism and so reacted swiftly. Washington hoped that Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru would become less complacent regarding the threat of communism and, given generous American assistance, align his people with the West.

GRANT: We did guess right, certainly our office did—Asian Communist Affairs—and I did personally, when the dispute flared up with India [in 1962], the Indians having belatedly discovered that the Chinese were in a part of Ladakh that they thought was theirs.

This is up in the Himalayas.

GRANT: That's right. It's the western tip of Tibet and the eastern edge of Kashmir. The Indians claimed it, but they hadn't been there enough even to realize that the Chinese were there and building a road through it. Then they tried to push the Chinese out. The Chinese were not to be pushed, and retaliated by the attack in NEFA [the North East Frontier Agency] territories of India just to the east of Bhutan.[12] I can remember in that instance we said to ourselves, "The way the Chinese have been behaving, they have no advantage in getting too far into NEFA, certainly not in getting onto the Indian plain."

This was November.[13] The winter was coming on. Their supply lines were extremely extended. All they were trying to do was to warn the Indians, "If you won't make a deal that accommodates our interests in the west, we can cause you trouble in the east, where you're very vulnerable." I remember saying, "They'll probably pull out. They don't want to spend the winter in that forward position. They don't want to get dug into it." That was a very wise move on their part. In Jinmen,

they had seen the difficulty of how you back off an embarrassing situation if you can't stay there. So they just simply turned around and walked away.

What were the key points of contention in the U.S. government on the whole Sino-Indian border issue?

KREISBERG: Well, the basic issues were, first, who had started it, who was responsible for precipitating the crisis? What we should say to the Chinese about it in Warsaw, what involvement we should have in the conflict? Was it an area where we should become involved? How dangerous was it? And what were the Chinese objectives and motives?

Basically, the INR position through that whole time—which all of us who were involved shared—was that it was unlikely that the Chinese were (a) going to thrust down into the plains of India; (b) try to hold on to most of the territory that they seized in the eastern sector or even a number of the areas in the western sector; and (c) as a result, that we should limit whatever engagement we—some of the people in the department, including Rusk and, I think, Kennedy—were pushing for.

We, of course, ended up in the Harriman mission, in proposing that we provide some substantial assistance to the Indians.[14] But I don't think that anyone at the professional level in the State Department ever believed, ultimately, that the Chinese saw this as a major way of extending ultimate control down into India, which was the line the Indians were trying to push.

HOLDRIDGE: The People's Liberation Army, as a consequence of the Great Leap Forward, was in shambles. No tires for their trucks, no gasoline, no ammunition, shortages of everything, morale stunk. The PLA had hardly recovered from that—if it had recovered—when China attacked India in 1962. Part of the reason the Chinese attacked the Indians in 1962 was to show the Indians they weren't to be counted out. Krishna Menon [Indian defense secretary] thought, we'll just throw these Chinese out of the disputed territory, and the Chinese showed them.

Was there very much conflict between the China desk and the India desk over what all of this meant? Did the India desk feel the threat was more serious than the China people?

KREISBERG: The India people saw it more seriously. They saw it as a political opportunity to strengthen ties with the Indians. It was complicated by the Taiwan Strait Crisis of '62 as well. So there was a question as to whether we were seeing a variety of Chinese moves to push outward. My recollection is that INR did not think that's what we were seeing.

So this was a more isolated conflict?

KREISBERG: That's right. Each one of these as having their own causes. There, obviously, was also the beginning at that time of some question as to whether—particularly as the Soviets backed off from supporting the Chinese—there might be a possibility of moving the Chinese and the Soviets further apart from one other. But my recollection is that that was not a big theme. It was not pursued in any major way.

Did the White House push very hard? You mentioned that you thought Kennedy and Rusk both saw this the same way. Did the White House push this?

KREISBERG: They saw this as more threatening. Rusk's view consistently was that the Chinese were expansionists. I have a less clear picture of what the NSC staff saw. My guess is that Jim Thomson, who handled Asia for McGeorge Bundy at that time, would not have seen it in that way.[15] But Rusk saw every Chinese move as part of a broad conceptual Chinese expansionism.

There was a perception in the United States that communism was an insatiable force. Were you having problems selling the idea that this would be a limited punitive engagement in India to others within the State Department or the government?

GRANT: My counterpart running the Office of Indian Affairs bought this as very possible. I don't remember an argument. For another thing, the Chinese did what we said they were going to do within a matter of ten days or so, so the issue was resolved.

[John Kenneth] Galbraith, who was ambassador in India at the time, this is about the only time I'm aware of that he actually used his old

White House connection effectively.[16] He was just dying to come down on the Indian side of this whole argument. He managed to force through a U.S. government position endorsing the Indian view of the border, whereas our view—and I think the India desk rather shared it—was that this was none of our business, that we should have left that whole question of borders for much longer resolution between them. So in that sense, even though Galbraith was associated with Kennedy and with this whole new school, his instinctive view—probably "localitis"—he simply wanted to take the Indians' position. He wasn't about ready to give a nickel to the Chinese.

We were exaggerating the threat that China posed, and the fact that China was expansionist. When you talk about the attack on India, it was basically because China was trying to settle its border problems with all the countries around its perimeter. They had succeeded in the case of Pakistan and the Hindu Kush, but they came up against the Indians who refused to settle the Aksai Chin [uninhabited desert land in the west that happened to be an important trade route between Xinjiang and Tibet] and the northeast frontier territorial dispute. The Chinese just gave them a lesson or two. Basically, the Chinese were not this kind of expansionist force we perceived [them] to be.

UNITED NATIONS

The struggle over the China seat in the United Nations continued in the 1960s and required countless hours of effort from Foreign Service officers to persuade increasingly skeptical governments to support the American position on representation of the Chinese people by the Nationalists in Taipei. In this battle, Chiang Kai-shek did not always see the issues as did the Americans, and frictions over the UN strained relations between Washington and Taipei, especially during the imbroglio over Mongolia. Secretly, however, Kennedy assured Chiang that the United States would use its veto in the Security Council to keep Beijing out if Chiang would not use his veto on the Mongolian issue. The diplomats speaking here were never told of this private deal.

GRANT: I was very anxious in the UN Chinese representation issue to see us get out of the way of what I thought was an inevitability. That was

that the Chinese, despite their rhetoric, were not doing anything, really, to upset other people. Macao and Hong Kong they left there simply out of self-interest. They learned their lesson very quickly about Taiwan. They never have given the Burmese Communists the kind of support they easily could have. Northern Thailand offered opportunities and they didn't exploit them. They did not move into Laos against the Vietnamese, although they were obviously looking at it, even building roads.

The fact that they weren't doing anything meant that more and more countries would leave us on the Chinese representation issue. The Third World was growing, more countries coming into existence who remembered colonialism but didn't have anything against the Chinese and thought of them as Third World. So I figured that we probably were not going to be able to hold our line for very long in the UN. It was anathema to adopt two Chinas, because neither the Republic of China nor the Communists would accept that; both of them would excoriate us. So I was trying to find a way to get others, in effect, to weld [the] Republic of China into its position as best you could do it, while you let the Communists in. One of the techniques I proposed, one of the slogans, was "two contenders." We're not arguing that there are two Chinas; we're just saying that there are two people, both of whom say they're China, both of whom control some land; we're willing to let them both in.

I had resistance to that with some of the more conservative people on the Republic of China desk, but a lot of people liked that idea. It was the German desk at EUR, European Affairs, that objected because of the parallel for East Germany.

The representation issue was complicated early in the administration by the willingness of the Kennedy White House to see the People's Republic of Mongolia enter the UN, wasn't it?

CLOUGH: The question of the admission of Outer Mongolia to the United Nations was linked to the admission of Mauritania. Chiang Kai-shek was threatening to veto this proposal, because they regarded Mongolia as part of China, not an independent state, just a Soviet puppet, and therefore it couldn't become a member of the United Nations.

But the threat to do this was infuriating a lot of Africans, who wanted to see Mauritania get in. Africa was a very important area for the Republic of China. To maintain its position in the UN, it had to have the support of a lot of African countries. They were coming into the UN as independent states in increasing numbers, and we needed their vote on the China representation issue. One of my early chores in the first week or two after I got into Taipei [in July 1961] was to talk to Foreign Ministry people, to persuade them not to take this foolish act.

GREEN: They probably agreed with you, didn't they? It was the old man [Chiang Kai-shek] who was holding out. But they must have tried to convey to him that this was a disastrous policy in terms of upholding their position in the United Nations.

CLOUGH: Anyway, he finally desisted, and that crisis passed. [Upholding the ROC position] took more of the department's time because we had to deal with countries all around the world. Every September, or a few months before, we'd send out these messages and try to line up all the support for the annual vote on the Chinese representation issue. Up until about '61, we were able to get support for not considering the issue.

GREEN: It would have been very important from your viewpoint in Taipei and our national viewpoint that the Republic of China do all possible to maintain its diplomatic standing, and that it certainly maintain the support of countries who had voting powers in the United Nations.

CLOUGH: That's right. They spent quite a lot of money on Africa. They sent out these agricultural technical advisory teams to African countries. They had plots of land in Taiwan to which they invited Africans to come and learn about agriculture. They had a steady, very large-scale interchange. At one point they had teams in 20 or more countries.[17] They did a good job, and this was appreciated by the Africans. This was a way of maintaining this diplomatic link and getting that crucial vote every year.

GREEN: They had the kinds of agricultural technicians that were just needed. They knew how to make proper use of manure and things like that, where we were using chemical fertilizers. Their technology, in other words, was a little bit more applicable to. . .

CLOUGH: And also, as individuals they were willing to go out there for a year or two or three without their families and live under circumstances which were pretty spartan, whereas American aid people wouldn't do that.

GREEN: And they didn't have to have commissaries and other things that tend to create divisions.

Who handled the effort to keep the PRC out of the UN?

FREEMAN: I was assigned temporarily in 1968 to the Office of Regional Affairs in the then Bureau of East Asian Affairs, and worked for Louise McNutt, a great fixture of the department, who, together with Ruth Bacon [longtime UN adviser for Far Eastern Affairs], who had left by the time I arrived, had quite a heroic role in keeping Communist China out of the United Nations. So that was my job, to keep them out of the UN, which involved various shenanigans, including getting the U.S. Navy to pick up the Maldivian delegation and fly them to New York in time for the vote on the Albanian Resolution.[18] We prevailed in this unholy cause.

HONG KONG I

In the 1960s, Hong Kong continued to be the primary listening post for developments inside China. Its reports proved especially useful given China's internal upheavals during these years. The same economic and political troubles upon which the Hong Kong consulate general reported also threatened the security and survival of Hong Kong. Floods of refugees poured into the colony during the famine in China and again during the Cultural Revolution. Tensions also arose over Nationalist spying and sabotage operations run from Hong Kong's protected environs. At the same time, Hong Kong began to emerge as an economic participant in the international system. Although this was good for Hong Kong, it created trade problems for the United States.

LACEY: Julius Holmes [Hong Kong consul general] was a small man who affected height by wearing higher heels than normal. He affected pince-nez glasses and was every word the English gentleman that he purported to be. He had been minister counselor of embassy in London for six years. So he knew the ropes backwards and forwards. Holmes's instructions were "I have four rules. One, I am the boss. Two, I am lazy, and I expect you to do all the work. Three, if anything good goes on around here, I want the credit for it. Fourthly, if anything goes awry, I

sure as hell want to know why." That gave me carte blanche to run the show.

My job as deputy principal officer was one of the best jobs I ever had. We had a large consulate general. I think it numbered 145 officers and secretaries. Now of those 145, only a handful were Department of State. The rest were other agencies, and you could imagine which agencies predominated. And, yet, under Julius Holmes's leadership, we had a very effective group of China watchers. That was our main mission. Much of our reporting was regarded as gospel in Washington, at least by some people, as the final word on the China scene. I remember a contretemps that we had with the Department of Agriculture, or maybe the Department of Commerce, over China's food grain production. We had aboard a fine officer by the name of Brice Meeker who guesstimated—not just guesstimated but estimated—that China's production in 1960–61 was on the order of 130,000 metric tons of grain. CIA experts disagreed radically. They felt the figure was much too low. But, as it turned out, we were right; they were wrong.

In January 1960, when I arrived, Hong Kong was a remote outpost of empire, important principally because of the impact of the Colony's textile producers on British industry. But as the momentum of Mao's revolution showed signs of waning, instead of fleeing from Hong Kong, big enterprises like Chase Manhattan were seeking to return and I facilitated those endeavors. Whereas the American business community in Hong Kong numbered at most 200 firms when I arrived, that number rose to or possibly exceeded 1,000 in mid-1964 when I left.

The Hong Kong government itself was being drawn into the international textile market. Hong Kong's textile industries were dominated by Chinese entrepreneurs who with their looms fled Shanghai from advancing Chicom armies. They joined forces with Hong Kong based manufacturers, making some 45 major textile firms. Textiles represented about 50 percent of the colony's exports. As economic section chief I stepped into a heated textile battle between Hong Kong and the U.S.A. Shortly after I arrived—it may have been my very first day on duty—the feisty editor of the *Hong Kong Standard*, K.T. Wu, printed a heated front page editorial that screamed, "Who Stole Hong Kong's Shirt?"

Hong Kong's ire was directed increasingly at the U.S. government as Uncle Sam turned its fangs away from Japan, which was moving into heavier industry, toward Hong Kong. Fortunately for me, the Laceys had become close friends of the Hong Kong financial secretary, John (later Sir John) Cowperthwaite, and he had intimated, despite his fierce belief in laissez faire, that quotas perhaps were not too evil. At least they enabled Hong Kong manufacturers to set garment categories among themselves rather than being subject to New York dealers playing one off against another.

One evening as the textile tensions between the U.S. and Hong Kong were reaching a climax over quotas, I strolled to the Cowperthwaites's. One brandy led to another as our textile discussions became more vague. I left at 3:00 a.m. Next morning I reworked my notes and showed my draft cable to John. I should explain here that one of the several tricks I learned from Julius Holmes was what he called "the art of connivance." The essential purpose of connivance was to establish trust with the host government by first showing contemplated reports to Washington to your counterpart, primarily to insure that your reporting was accurate, but also to establish good working relations with the host government. And that is how the U.S. government signed the first "Long-term Cotton Textile Agreement on the Export of Hong Kong's Products to the U.S.A."

After Julius Holmes left, we were blessed with the leadership of Marshall Green, the ebullient, pun-cracking, wise-cracking, serious officer that he was. Of all the people that I have ever served under, Marshall was the only one who studiously reflected on the past. Another one of Marshall's traits was his ability to handle visiting congressmen. We had untold numbers of VIPs, mostly congressmen, but also generals and admirals and ICA [International Cooperation Administration] directors by the dozens. I remember keeping track of the one month that I was chargé over the Christmas season. My wife and I entertained 142 official parties, not including their wives and friends. Thanks to Marshall Green, primarily, we made it a point of assuming that every single congressional mission, called CODEL, was there to really learn about China and the U.S. mission in the Far East rather than to shop. Of course, we knew better. But nevertheless, we insisted upon briefing every single group that came to Hong Kong. We had worked out a one-half hour top-notch briefing mission in which we gave the political, eco-

nomic, sociological, and strategic information available and our interpretation thereof in terms of the U.S. interests in China.

How were Hong Kong affairs handled from Washington?

DONALD ANDERSON: In those days, we had a Hong Kong-Macao section, and a Mainland China section, and within each of those two sections we had an economic and political unit. I was the economic defense officer, which was enforcing our embargo on the mainland. It sort of meant chasing Hong Kong companies around that did business with China, and trying to prevent them from buying American products.

This was a major effort on our part?

DONALD ANDERSON: Oh, it was one of the silliest I've ever seen. The consul general himself got in trouble because he had a love for Chinese export porcelain, and thought that was perfectly acceptable to buy. And we had a treasury agent in the consulate who warned him that he was breaking the law.

How good was the work of the Hong Kong Consulate General as a listening post?

LACEY: It was surprising how much direct information came out of China. There was, for example, in 1962 an extreme drought, a critical water shortage in the South China provinces. It reached the point where the government had to erect cordons of barbed wire around the border of Hong Kong proper to try to hold back the refugees, who nevertheless managed to break through because the situation was desperate. Those refugees were interrogated both directly and indirectly by officers in the consulate general and by other contacts we had, including the British.

I can't say enough for the British administration at that time who had an even more vested interest in what was going on in South China than did Uncle Sam because the British colony of Hong Kong was dependent upon water, dependent upon food, both of which came from Mainland China. They shared with us much of their information that they got surreptitiously. So I would say, the Hong Kong consulate general

was probably *the* center of information as far as American interests were concerned.

We had in Hong Kong excellent working relations with the Fourth Estate [the press]. Stanley Karnow was one who was outstandingly good, Bob Elegant another, Stan Rich a third, Fessler a fourth.[19] A small group of us had lunch in the old Foreign Service Officers' Club, which was a former house of a taipan, rich Chinese gentleman. "Love is a Many Splendored Thing" was filmed there.[20] Once a week, a group of us lunched, including people interested in China and including, especially, foreign correspondents. The relationship that we officials had with these foreign correspondents was invaluable. Unlike today, one could say, "This is off the record," and give them the background without fear of being trapped in any kind of news leak. They could be trusted. It was another source of information because it worked both ways. They would also repeat stuff to us based upon their many contacts.

Did you get any feel about CIA operations? Were you getting information, and how did that meld in with your activities?

DONALD ANDERSON: The CIA operation was very important in terms of conditions inside Mainland China. There was a very extensive interview program, and the agency worked very closely with the British, who obviously had a much bigger presence and were screening people coming across the border.

What was your impression of events in China at the time? The Great Leap Forward had . . .

DONALD ANDERSON: It really collapsed, and economic conditions were in terrible shape. This was a period when Hong Kong was just being swamped by refugees coming across the border. There was a terrible drought, and we got down to water for four hours every fourth day. The refugees were streaming across the river that separates China from Hong Kong, and the Hong Kong government was having to cope with these thousands of refugees and began a massive housing program. We were very much involved in that as well because some of them did have claims to go to the United States.

GREEN: Chiang Kai-shek, or the Chinese Nationalists, were using Hong Kong as a base for operations in the areas of Mainland China not too far from Hong Kong, which caused great distress both to the British authorities as well as to the consulate general. We sent messages to Washington about that and to our ambassador in Taipei urging that somehow we put a restraint on this. These little pinpricks, if anything, were being used by the Chinese Communists to steel their people and make them all the more vigilant, driving them more into their little shell.

There was one particular episode at the time of the breakdown of law and order in Guangdong Province in May 1962, when all these refugees came flowing into Hong Kong. The Chinese Communists were trying to get the young people in the cities back into the rural areas, to reconstruct their attitudes. A lot of them refused to go, and they came down to Hong Kong. In this period of inner turmoil in China, there was a kind of an opportunity to be exploited. We were very careful not to do that. I remember putting a staying hand on the wrist of our embassy in Taipei in order to tell them not to stir things up and that it wouldn't do any good. More than that, we wanted to convey to Beijing that this was our position.

HOLDRIDGE: I recall that we took a very dim view of some of the things that the Nationalists were doing. For example, they para-dropped a unit of several hundred men into Hainan [Island]. Of course, the Chinese Communists rounded these people up in short order, and they all were discovered with American equipment still with the U.S. ordinance device stenciled on the outside of the crates. It made our position very shaky. The Chinese would come out from time to time and blast that Hong Kong was being used as a base for espionage by the American imperialists. The British were uncomfortable. They may have withheld some cooperation, as a consequence.

GREEN: I remember you, John Lacey and I, as well as others in the consulate general, were already beginning to see our problems with the Chinese in the long range as involving a first stage of entering into a more civil discourse and relieving them of any kind of fears that we were trying to exploit their internal problems. We were very active in this field, not under instructions from Washington, although we reported our actions to Washington. We were trying to calm down their vicious anti-Americanism. This point was conveyed to their business

representatives in Hong Kong. I know it was authorized, because I got the authority from Washington.

HOLDRIDGE: I believe that, in the course of our ambassadorial-level talks, something of this sort was also conveyed. In fact, our conclusion in Hong Kong was that, despite problems such as floods, droughts, or problems generated by the collapse of the Great Leap Forward, China was going to be remaining under the control of the communists. There wasn't anything that anybody from the outside was going to be able to do about it, certainly [not] Taiwan.

GREEN: Don't you think that, in this period of 1962 and 1963, there was a little bit of an opening in the clouds? You talked about the end of the Great Leap Forward. Clearly, it had been a disaster, and the Chinese knew that. Meanwhile, they were more and more concerned with the Soviets and the Soviet threat. In Geneva and Warsaw, as well as in Hong Kong, we were conveying the impression that we are not trying to exploit their internal problems. It seemed to me that there was an opening there. We were trying in the consulate general to make best use of it. We were trying to allow Americans to travel to China, to end our foreign assets control regulations. Obviously, [our restrictions were] a great nuisance and had nothing to do with our overall relations with China. We were creating irritants for American businessmen, for American scholars who wanted to go to China. They couldn't get into China because China wouldn't let them, but it would appear to the world that we were the ones who were keeping them out.

HOLDRIDGE: As a matter of fact, to an extent, we were. We tried very hard, for example, to suggest that maybe some sales of humanitarian items to the Chinese would be in order. We finally allowed American journalists to travel. However, by that time the Chinese were so angered over the whole situation, they refused to give any visas.

GREEN: That's true. We anticipated that might be the reaction, but we generally wanted to have people go in to find out what was going on. In the consulate general, we saw opportunities—not just to engage in a more civil discourse with China, but also possibly to be removing irritants. Governor Harriman, assistant secretary, and Chester Bowles, the under secretary of state, were very interested in a change in our China policy. [Although some people] still saw these things in very rigid, red and white terms, what we were saying in Hong Kong had a very responsive resonance in Washington. President Kennedy was interested in

some of the things we were saying and doing in Hong Kong. It resulted in my being asked back to Washington in the early fall of 1963 to take a new look at our China policy.

VIETNAM WAR I

During the Kennedy years American involvement in the Vietnam War accelerated. American servicemen who were on the ground to advise the Vietnamese began to undertake more active roles.

LACEY: The Vietnam build-up, under primarily President Kennedy, was something for which I have ever since felt personally embarrassed and personally ashamed. Then as now, the American people generally, and certainly too many of our officials, were ignorant of what is really going on in Asia. Therefore, our politicians are able to exploit that indifference or ignorance in terms of responding to domestic pressures rather than to developments in Asia.

LEVIN: There were always a couple of Chinese-language officers assigned to the embassy in Saigon because of the importance of the Chinese community in Cholon and its ties all over the country. The reporting based on what the Chinese community was saying, was that the government in Saigon was extremely corrupt, that it was not becoming more effective, that there was a tremendous gap between the urban elite origin South Vietnamese army officers corps and the bulk of the ordinary soldiers of the Vietnamese army, composed of peasant youths from the countryside. Cholon, part of Saigon, was a vast Chinatown. It was the dominant economic force in the country, particularly after the diminution of French interests. These people were involved in rice milling, the movement of crops and commodities around the country, trucking companies, and so forth. The Vietnamese government in Saigon and sometimes the U.S. military would tell the American Embassy that a province was loyal and pacified and completely under their control. The Cholon Chinese would tell the Chinese-language officers that they had to pay enormous taxes to the communists who actually ran the province, or that it was no longer possible to operate in a province where the communists had taken over complete controls and they were pulling out. The Chinese in Vietnam were anti-communist, bourgeois minded, merchant-class Chinese.

The dominant group in the embassy, the ambassador and others in Saigon, often were people assigned from France who were French speakers, because we didn't have enough Vietnamese speakers. They felt that the Chinese-language officers were so intellectually overwhelmed by the recent Chinese historical experience with Communists that they couldn't judge Vietnam on its own merits. They gradually pushed these officers into the consular and administrative sections and then decided that they really didn't need them at all.

Now, your contacts in Hong Kong in the business community there, bankers and government officials, were they supportive of these gradual moves for the U.S. to replace the French in their involvement with the Vietnamese?

LACEY: The word "supportive" is too strong. The business community of Hong Kong—which meant both the Americans and the local people, who were mostly Chinese but also Parsi and Jews—saw this as a moneymaker. They were able to enjoy the prosperity that spun off from our involvement in Vietnam. As our involvement in Vietnam grew to the hundreds of thousands, the recreational programs that the army or the Pentagon sponsored for morale purposes involved many rest and recreation (R&R) trips throughout Asia, including Hong Kong.

KENNEDY ASSASSINATION

The death of John Kennedy was seen by some as arresting movement toward a more liberal China policy. Others denied that Kennedy had made any moves toward a new China policy. In the short term the assassination was followed almost immediately by the Roger Hilsman speech discussed in the next section and no initiatives that had been launched in the Kennedy years were derailed. On July 12, 1966, Lyndon Johnson would, in fact, deliver an address calling for reconciliation in Asia. Neither Beijing nor Taipei particularly mourned Kennedy's passing.

GREEN: I felt that the death of Kennedy in late 1963 put a great damper on all that we were trying to do to bring about a new attitude towards

China. What was the reaction in Taiwan to the assassination of President Kennedy?

CLOUGH: The reaction was shock . . .

GREEN: But in as much as he and his administration seemed to be moving towards a civil dialogue, discourse with China, and beginning to open up travel and trade . . .

CLOUGH: You know, not much of that had happened under Kennedy. That really came later under the early Nixon, those signals.

GREEN: No. No, there were certain moves that were already made at that time. I know, because I was the deputy assistant secretary back there, called back by Kennedy to look at our China policy. I was working with [Roger] Hilsman [assistant secretary]. Therefore, if not Kennedy, certainly people like Harriman and Bowles and others who were working under him, and the new administration in general, wasn't taking at all the rigid views that were taken under the Eisenhower administration. And what I was wondering was, when Kennedy's death suddenly occurred, whether this was greeted with any kind of, even relief, in Taiwan?

CLOUGH: I don't think so. The main reaction was uncertainty as to how this happened, for one thing. And for another, how this would affect U.S. policy. I don't think anyone was confident that a Democratic successor, Lyndon Johnson, would necessarily be any more friendly toward them than Kennedy had been.

HILSMAN SPEECH 1963

The speech made by Roger Hilsman in December 1963 became a landmark in the process of reducing tensions with China. As the Foreign Service officers interviewed here note, the speech actually said little new and could hardly be considered provocative. Nevertheless, it received plaudits at home and abroad for being an initiative toward better U.S.-China relations. It is noteworthy that Hilsman delivered the speech after Kennedy's death. Kennedy never saw the text and it remains difficult to speculate on what his reaction would have been.

GRANT: There was still a so-called Committee of One Million, which was a nongovernmental organization, proclaimed itself a million strong—it

Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson greeted by Vice President Ch'en Ch'eng and, in the middle, Chiang Kai-shek. *Courtesy of National Archives.*

probably was lucky if it had a few thousand—which was diehard pro-Guomindang. You had people like Senator [William] Knowland from California, who was sometimes called "the Senator from Taiwan."[21] There were a lot of redoubtable people who managed to sort of freeze this situation.

It seemed to me that if you could challenge the Committee of One Million and the extreme pro-Guomindang people directly, and they couldn't mount much of a counterattack, that you'd clear the way towards a more realistic policy towards China. The instrument came along. A fellow named Jim Thomson was an assistant to the assistant secretary for the Far East, Roger Hilsman. Jim and I and several others saw it very much in the same light. Jim saw an opportunity in a speech coming up in San Francisco to make the challenge, to throw down the glove, if you will. This was the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco, a good, respectable forum. There had already been a speech prepared, a

standard 1950s-type rhetoric speech. We agreed, "Let's deep-six this and see if we can now say something about China." The Hilsman speech was December 1963, and it sounds real timid now. What that speech did was to say, "We don't love the Chinese Communists. We think that they would be happier, and the world would be happier, if they had a more relaxed view of other people's rights to select their own government. But we think these people are going to be around and we're going to be dealing with them."

Now, there wasn't anything really new. Right from 1954, we'd been having ambassadorial-level talks with China. They started at that meeting in Geneva where Dulles refused to shake hands with Zhou Enlai, which has become a part of history. Sure, that was Dulles all over, this dramatic public position, but allowing the opening of ambassadorial-level talks. So we weren't saying anything very new, but we said it publicly. "These guys are going to be around. We plan to deal with them." In a sense, we challenged the conservative lobbies to do something about it, and they couldn't raise a whimper.

There was a pretty good press-alerting campaign under way. A fellow named Allen Whiting—who was actually in the Research Bureau [INR] and shouldn't have been in press contacts at all, but he was quite a wheeler-dealer—got the press alerted to this, so the press was ready and waiting. We got a tremendous reaction.

If you're interested in how decisions are made, by the way, it's rather amusing. We cleared that speech with Governor Harriman, the number three officer in State, under secretary for political affairs, cleared it actually with his special assistant, who didn't spot what was so important in it, and said, "Sure, that looks innocuous enough." We never cleared it anywhere else.

This is very important. This was generated relatively low down within the bureaucracy, using almost boilerplate language, but changing the emphasis.

GRANT: That's right. We started it. Thomson immediately, of course, told Hilsman what we were working on. Hilsman understood it. There was no problem there. We told Hilsman, "We're going to do a speech for you that's going to open it up."

Hilsman said, "Fine. Go ahead and work up the draft." We didn't go over to the White House and say, "We're about to really unload one on

China." What we did do was to create something that flew, and the Committee for One Million was barely heard from. There wasn't a whimper. Nobody complained. Everybody said, "Finally, the United States is getting its act in order."

GREEN: I think the speech gave Dean Rusk considerable agony, because he had not had proper clearance on it. But since the speech had such a good reaction in the American press as a whole and the academic community, Rusk acted as though he was entirely in favor of the speech. But it came as something of a shock to him.

GRANT: It was right in line with what the Kennedy administration liked, I mean Kennedy and his Irish Mafia. This was forward looking, this was new. It was their kind of thing. They were quite happy with it, and we never heard any complaint from the White House of not having checked it out with them.

CLOUGH: That was quite disturbing to the people in Taiwan, where Hilsman intimated that we would keep the door open to possible improvement of relations with Beijing.

HONG KONG II

At the same time as Washington wrestled with the question of opening more channels of communication with China, the American business community expanded its operations on the periphery of China. By the mid-1960s, the United States had become Hong Kong's most important trading partner, outdistancing Great Britain; some 400 American companies did business there.

BELLOCCHI: As chief of the commercial unit, I wound up with quite an accomplishment, getting an American Chamber of Commerce started in Hong Kong.

You mean they didn't have one until then?

BELLOCCHI: No, they didn't have one, and there was great resistance to it. From the policy standpoint we didn't want to raise a high profile in Hong Kong, which I thought patently ridiculous because the Seventh Fleet used to park down in the harbor every day. If we worried about

profile, why didn't we worry about all those warships in the harbor? The American business community in those days, they were the old timers, and they operated by the seat of their pants. They represented large corporations in America but they did their business on a personal basis like everyone does in China. And American Chamber of Commerce, that was alien to their kind of thinking. But there were a lot of the new multinationals that were starting to open up offices in Hong Kong and they were the modern managers, and they did want an American Chamber. So during the Cultural Revolution, the Hong Kong government was very much interested in knowing what was the American business community going to do. Were they going to bug out? There was no mechanism to get a good survey quickly as to what was the feeling of the American business community. So I used that as an argument both with Ed Martin, who was then the consul general in Hong Kong, and with the Hong Kong government secretary for commerce and industry. They finally said okay, as long as they didn't raise a high profile, which was no problem at all. The American business community didn't want to make trouble, they wanted to do business. It's become one of the largest AmChams out of Asia.

At that time, you were there, from '68 to '70, why would one want a Chamber of Commerce?

BELLOCCHI: You have to know the atmosphere in those days. There was what was called a foreign assets officer out there, and this guy really took his job seriously. There were not many Mainland Chinese stores in Hong Kong in those days, but there were a few. And this guy would go down there and stand around to see if any American tourists were buying things; that was against the law. The oil company tankers, if they bunkered in a mainland port, it was against the law. So the businessmen were very upset about the restraints that they had, and all their European competitors were making all the money. So when the AmCham opened, the secretary of commerce [Maurice Stans] was passing through Hong Kong and we used that occasion for the grand opening of the American Chamber. Jack Wolfe, who was the Caltex [petroleum company] representative, was the first president of the AmCham. He gives his talk, and boy, he hits Stans right between the eyes with this business. So it demonstrated very quickly why you have an American

Chamber of Commerce. It was not just because they wanted to deal with the Hong Kong government, they wanted to deal with their own government on some of these constraints. And it worked, they got that thing changed eventually.

NEGOTIATION WITH THE PRC II

During the last years of the decade the Warsaw talks continued but accomplished little. The combined weight of the Cultural Revolution and the American war in Vietnam left the negotiators little hope that they might agree on anything. As Donald Anderson, who attended the meetings, reports, "In many ways they were quite sterile."

DONALD ANDERSON: At that point China was in no mood, nor in any position, to entertain very many initiatives, or to take any initiatives. The arrangements for the talks were that each side had four members. There was the ambassador on each side, a political adviser, an interpreter, and a scribe, as he was called—the note taker. We would meet in this meeting room in the Mysliwiecki Palace in Warsaw. We alternated on who spoke first, and each side would deliver a prepared statement running about 15 or 20 minutes. I used to participate in drafting it, and once it was drafted and approved back in Washington I could sit down with my dictionary and translate it into Chinese. I interpreted from English to Chinese, and their guy interpreted from Chinese to English, which is the reverse of normal interpreting situations. After the two prepared statements there was sort of a give and take back and forth, oftentimes working from prepared position papers because we pretty well knew what the Chinese were going to say.

At the conclusion of the meeting—the press almost always came to Warsaw for the meetings, American press, the wire services, etc.—we'd meet briefly with the press, and usually say nothing more than, "We had a useful and productive exchange of views. No further comment."

Then the following day, we had an informal arrangement where the political adviser and the interpreter would meet with their counterparts, usually at the Chinese Embassy, and we would give them an English text of our opening statement, they would give us a Chinese text of theirs,

and if there was any confusion about terminology, or what we meant by something, we would try and straighten it out during this informal meeting. I don't know how the Chinese felt about it, but the American side felt it was a useful sort of informal contact where we could talk without the constraints of a formal negotiating session. It also turned out to be useful in other ways. At the first meeting I attended in '66, we went over to the Chinese Embassy. My predecessor, Al Harding, actually did the interpreting. The Chinese gave him a little farewell. It was rather interesting because we noted that in the meeting room where they received us on the wall over the sofa there had obviously been two portraits, there were two light spots on the wall. When we got there there was one portrait of Mao Zedong in the middle, and it was one of the really first conclusive bits of evidence that Liu Shaoqi, the former head of state, had indeed been purged, and was no longer a person.[22] Then as we left the building, on the walls in the halls of the embassy, there were pieces of paper with hand-written slogans, which was the beginning of the big character posters of the Cultural Revolution.

You say a prepared statement. Was this just two people talking past each other?

DONALD ANDERSON: In large part. In the early days we had a number of concerns that we had to address. One thing we talked about was pilots who were flying against North Vietnam but who strayed and went over into Chinese territory and were lost. We were trying to get an accounting for them. Vietnam was a major factor for meeting all the way up toward the end. But at that first meeting in '66, we did use a phrase which was intended, and I think interpreted by the Chinese, as an assurance that we did not intend to invade North Vietnam and told the Chinese in that meeting that "we seek no wider war in Vietnam."

This often was a bone of contention. Was it your feeling, and those with you, that this could really tip things if we landed at Haiphong or something like this? This could bring the Chinese in?

DONALD ANDERSON: Yes. And that's what we were trying to prevent. On the U.S. side we were trying to promote some sort of informal non-official contact. We were trying to get journalists into China for

business, and a variety of what we saw as concrete practical steps that one could take to improve the atmosphere in relations and perhaps lower the tension levels between the two countries. The Chinese were not having any of that. It was a very sterile period. They were primarily berating us on Vietnam. For example, we picked up a Chinese boat that had gotten in trouble in the Tonkin Gulf. We gave them food and fixed their ship up, and sent them back. We mentioned this as something we had done as a humanitarian gesture, and they, of course, denounced us for it.

During the Cultural Revolution period all of their diplomats were being called back to China to take part in the Cultural Revolution, so that the senior official on the Chinese side was usually a chargé d'affaires, not the ambassador, and their interpreter would come back and forth. The talks were really pretty dull at that point. The Chinese obviously had instructions that they had to have the last word, so our ambassador would respond to a charge by the Chinese, and the Chinese then felt obliged to answer again. Therefore, the talks sometimes would drag on for three hours or more. One time the chargé on the Chinese side, who was really not a political adviser—their interpreter was far and away the more influential and the brightest of any of the group—the chargé turned to the interpreter after the talk had gone on for about two and a half hours, and said, "Can I stop now?" The interpreter said, "No." So he made another charge about something. So we would usually decide this had gone on long enough, we'd let them have the last word, and then decide on the next meeting.

But the rather humorous thing about it was, the reporters didn't get anything substantive because we would come out and give them a bland statement. In 1970, toward the end of the talks, we really did make some significant progress. In fact, the two opening statements were sufficiently substantive and significant, and meshed in such a way that neither side felt that they could go beyond that particular point without getting further instructions. So the meeting lasted for about a half an hour, maybe 40 minutes, and the press, of course, interpreted it as indicating that our relations had reached the lowest point ever. But it was finally a significant and substantive meeting. So anyway, the talks proceeded through the Cultural Revolution through a very, very difficult period, and then there was a gap of a full year between talks.

The Polish intelligence service was passing everything on to the Soviets at that time. Did you have any feeling that the Chinese were using these meetings to stick it to the Russians from time to time?

DONALD ANDERSON: Not so much to stick it to the Russians, but it was obviously an inhibiting factor.

Were we ready and willing to do a lot of things, but the Chinese were not ready? Or were we stalling and not wanting to get anything going?

DONALD ANDERSON: We were stalling to a degree, and particularly we were not prepared to do much in terms of recognizing the legitimacy of the Chinese government of the People's Republic of China. What we wanted to do was the concrete, practical level of exchanges, and solving problems. They wanted to talk about fundamentals, and that's why we decided toward the end of '69, that if we were to resume the talks we ought to try and address some of these questions. At that point Nixon and Kissinger were in favor of that, and we were able to do things for the first time in terms of formulations on political relationships that we couldn't have done under Johnson, and particularly under Dean Rusk.

CLOUGH: I think that's true. What was happening in the United States in public opinion and in the Congress, was that the kind of almost automatic support for the ROC against the Chinese Communists, which had existed in the early '60s, was dissipating. Congressional hearings were held in '66 at which John Fairbank [professor of Chinese history at Harvard University] and A. Doak Barnett [journalist and scholar] and others testified. What was Doak's phrase? Can't recall, something without isolation [containment without isolation].

VIETNAM WAR II

The key point of intersection between the war in Vietnam and American China policy revolved around the question of whether China would intervene in the fighting. Countless hours of time in Washington were devoted to discussing the steps that, if taken by the United States armed forces, would bring Beijing into the war. Allen S. Whiting, a scholar and former analyst at the Rand Corporation, became a central player in this debate

because of the study he had written examining Chinese intervention in the Korean War in 1950.[23] Whiting, who served in the Office of Intelligence and Research in this period, argued that the United States had provoked the Chinese by ignoring their security interests. In Vietnam, the United States, he argued, must take greater care not to venture too close to China's border. Of course, the sense of China as a threat to American troops on the ground in Vietnam militated against improvement of Sino-American relations. In 1965, a Gallup poll showed that 53 percent of Americans blamed China for Vietcong operations, whereas only 26 percent held North Vietnam responsible.

GREEN: It was clear that, not only was the [death of Kennedy at the] end of 1963 a watershed for those of us who were hoping to bring about a modification of the rancor in our U.S.-China relations, it was also our deepening involvement in Vietnam. The new president was totally wrapped up in Vietnam. Those of us who were hoping that we could have some kind of openings to China—I remember this was a real damper.

HOLDRIDGE: I'll tell you why. That was the influence of a predecessor of mine, once removed, as the office director for Research and Analysis for East Asia and the Pacific—Allen S. Whiting. Allen had written a book, going back to the Korean War, which was entitled *China Crosses the Yalu*. He was convinced that, in a situation where China's territorial integrity was being threatened by the approach of hostile forces from the outside—as happened when the U.S. went north of the old DMZ, the 38th parallel, and then China entered the Korean War—the same was going to happen in Vietnam. Here we were, deeply bogged down or beginning to get deeply involved in the Vietnam War. Allen kept telling Averell Harriman that "The Chinese are coming. The Chinese are coming." I can recall watching on television, for example, the then-secretary of state, Dean Rusk, having his innings with [Senator J. William] Fulbright [chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee] on this whole question of China. Rusk kept saying, "Well, the Chinese are going to come in. That's why we have to keep a hard line, keep our guard up." The repercussions of this Vietnam situation really affected our China policy. It put it in a state of semiparalysis for a while.

I can remember Fulbright's reaction to Dean Rusk saying something about the Chinese are coming—"They wouldn't do that." This was said in his best Arkansas accent. In fact, they didn't.

GREEN: This is a very relevant point. I remember Bill Bundy [deputy assistant secretary for International Security Affairs, Pentagon], many years later, looking back and thanking me and John Holdridge for taking a view contrary to Allen Whiting. If only they had listened a little more attentively to this viewpoint. I didn't think that the Chinese would come massing down into Vietnam unless, of course, we carried the war up towards the borders of China. That was different. But to be conducting a war the way we were—raiding parties and that kind of thing against North Vietnam—that certainly wasn't going to bring them in.

The question to me was, how far could you go? I was deputy assistant secretary of state at that time. In 1964, we spent a great deal of time trying to figure out how far we were going to conduct this war into Vietnam. Would we bomb the North? Would we bomb Hanoi? Would we mine the harbors? Would we mine the dikes?

With strong pressure from the press and the Congress critical of our war effort, we kept making self-restrictions—imposing restrictions on our own course of action. We said that we would not bomb Hanoi and Haiphong, we would not mine the harbors, and we would not mine the dikes and flood the country. Every time we did this kind of thing, of course, it gave the enemy assurance. We just bargained ourselves out of the war. Of course, while this was going on, Beijing was getting a clear impression that there were very distinct limits to our actions. Therefore, they were not so concerned about North Vietnam.

DEAN: My feeling was that if we sent ground forces into North Vietnam, the Chinese would respond. And so, of course, the studies [by the Joint Chiefs of Staff that Dean participated in] went further than that. How would we keep the Chinese from responding? Naturally the subject of nuclear weapons came up and I felt that even the use of tactical nuclear weapons would not deter the Chinese. Mao had said on previous occasions that China had a billion people and even if they lost half of them they'd still have 500 million.

HOLDRIDGE: The idea of the Chinese—at a time when they were going through these [Cultural Revolution] throes internally—engaging in some kind of an external war of major proportions was absolutely

ridiculous. This is what we were telling people such as Bill Bundy, for example.

DONALD ANDERSON: My stint in the political section in Hong Kong ended up really being devoted in very large part to reporting on the probability of China's entering the Vietnam war. While we were in Hong Kong the Tonkin Gulf incident happened [August 1964], which produced mass rallies in Beijing and a number of very threatening editorials and speeches about the U.S. aggression against Vietnam.[24] There were a lot of people, particularly back in Washington, who still had very fresh memories of the Chinese entry into the Korean War, and there was serious concern as to what the Chinese were going to do, and how far we could pursue the war in Vietnam without provoking Chinese intervention. I was sitting out in Hong Kong reading everything we could get, trying to provide an analysis of the probability of a Chinese intervention.

How could you get any feel for what's going on? It's a controlled press . . .

DONALD ANDERSON: It very definitely was an inexact science. It was almost entirely from content analysis. Looking at the terminology they were using, talking to Chinese about, "What are the implications of this type of language coming from a Chinese source?" Really just gauging whether they were drawing a line and saying, "At this point we will react," or leaving things fuzzy. It appeared to me quite clear that they were trying to leave things fairly fuzzy. And I pretty well concluded that the United States could bomb North Vietnam, but if the United States were to cross the 17th parallel [with ground troops] and start driving toward the Chinese border, then we probably would have gone too far.

HOLDRIDGE: The [Chinese] did their bit as an ally. They did send logistical troops to help keep the roads and railways open. They also sent anti-aircraft units, but they never acknowledged the presence of Chinese forces. They used to talk about the "lips-and-teeth" relationship between China and Vietnam, but this was unacknowledged in terms of actual public announcement of the presence of Chinese forces. The Chinese were being very discreet.[25]

When we would invade what they called their territorial waters or air space, they began this series of serious warnings that they would issue—serious warning number one, number two, violation of Chi-

nese territorial air space on such and such a date over such and such a bit of Chinese or Chinese claimed territory, such as the Paracel [Islands in the South China Sea]. We actually had some aircraft that strayed into China on raids to the north, which were shot down or went down over Hainan, for example. The Chinese really didn't make anything much of it. They played it very carefully, not to bring themselves directly into the conflict. They had their internal situation to resolve. Along comes the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and this threw China into a real convulsion while a lot of the Vietnam War was going on.

GREEN: Don't you think, John, in retrospect, that we tended to regard the Chinese as ten feet tall? The fact of the matter is that they were far weaker and far more concerned with their internal situation than with any kind of external adventures.

HOLDRIDGE: We did have an intelligence break on that. Do you recall the Tibetan Papers? It turned out that a group of Khambas, operating out of Nepal, crossed the border into Tibet and managed to shoot up a Chinese military convoy, one of the trucks of which contained all of the workbooks of the political officer. When put all together, the upshot of these books was to show that the Chinese People's Liberation Army was in a terrible state. This was as a consequence, primarily, of the Great Leap Forward, and the siphoning off of energies into all sorts of nonproductive things. It was a hollow army.

Was there another side to this? The tremendous antipathy of the Vietnamese to the Chinese gets played up a lot in the post-Vietnam [War] period. They've been fighting them for centuries. Were you talking to Vietnamese experts who were saying that China would not expand this way because the Vietnamese hate the Chinese?

HOLDRIDGE: That was known. I can't recall any specific individual who came up, waving a piece of paper. It was generally accepted that the Chinese and the Vietnamese were ancient enemies and not friends, and that their relationship could hardly be congenial.

GREEN: May I say, though, that this may have been clear to you, John, but it was not clear to me. I was deputy assistant secretary at that time, and later on I was assistant secretary. I never really adequately appreciated the depth of Chinese-Vietnamese animosities. Never.

I had always assumed, even when I was assistant secretary during that period, which was '69 to '73, that the relationship between Beijing and Hanoi was, if not amicable, they both recognized the importance of staying in there together. The idea that any kind of latent hostility could break out between the two of them never occurred to me. Did it to you?

CLOUGH: At some point I began to read some of the history of Chinese-Vietnamese relations.

GREEN: I didn't have the luxury of reading back in history. If one did, one recognized that this was always an underlying possibility.

GRANT: I was very much a dove on Vietnam, but not because of China. It was because I didn't think we could win. I had to take the responsibility for North Vietnam when we created the Office of Asian Communist Affairs. I then began to inquire about what we knew about the table of organization, the basic facts of life in Hanoi, and discovered we knew nothing. I thought this was catastrophic, and I was convinced by other friends that, in fact, we were in a very bad situation.

But I did not think that the Chinese were going to come in overtly. As a matter of fact, there was a very good intelligence estimate, or war game. It had a Greek letter—I think it was Omega—run out of the Pentagon, but with State, CIA, a lot of other participation. They played the game through some time in the mid-1960s, and the way they played it, the Russians and Chinese kept putting in enough to counter our efforts, but just enough, and not moving beyond that, and we kept bogging down. If we had paid attention to that war game, we'd have gotten a very good steer as to how we should have behaved in Vietnam. It would have saved us a lot of heartache later on, because that's exactly what they did.

Assumptions that the Soviets and Chinese were working together in Vietnam, however, did not prove to be accurate, did they?

HOLDRIDGE: The Chinese for a while were actually impeding the shipment of Soviet war supplies across China to Vietnam. They were so jealous of the Soviets for having the inside track, and they were worried about Soviet encirclement of China, as a consequence of this big diatribe between Mao and whoever happened to be in power in Moscow at the time. It began to look to the Chinese as if they were being surrounded, not by the American imperialists, or the Japanese militarists,

or the Taiwan revanchists, but by the allies of the Soviet Union—the Soviet Union and Vietnam.[26]

DEAN: So there was really bad blood between the Chinese and the Soviets, and we thought that we could possibly play on this antagonism and deep antipathy. So we tried, Harriman and the others, tried to see if we couldn't exploit these differences.

Exploit them?

DEAN: We wanted both of them to agree to a bombing pause and influence Hanoi to that effect because they were both supplying Hanoi. Our view was that if they could use their leverage on Hanoi that it would be valuable. Now, we thought the Chinese might do it because they didn't want the Soviets to get more influence there. We thought the Soviets might do it because they were angry at the Chinese [for deliberately delaying their supply shipments to Vietnam] and concerned about the growing Chinese power there. But, of course, none of this happened.

With regard to Taiwan and its relationship to the war in Vietnam, did we look to them to be a source of supply or any kind of support of operations?

CLOUGH: Yes, we did. I was present when we notified them, in '65, that Johnson had taken the decision to put in 25,000 ground troops in Vietnam. Chiang Kai-shek's reaction was interesting. He questioned whether American troops would be very effective in the kind of war which was going on in Vietnam. Of course, he had his own ulterior motives. His view was that you don't really solve things in that part of the world until you get rid of the Chinese Communist regime.

GREEN: But basically they must have greeted this American involvement in Vietnam with some relief, didn't they?

CLOUGH: It became clear fairly soon that we were going to have to depend on them to support the military operations. Early on in the '50s, when I was in the State Department, we had appropriated $20 million to improve an airfield near T'ai-chung to accommodate the B-52, the big aircraft, in case we might need it. It didn't become an American base, but we created the facilities there so we could use it. And then, when the Vietnam War came, we did base aircraft there. We had refueling aircraft for the B-52s, which came from Guam, and we had transport aircraft to take things into

Vietnam. Taiwan was also important as a place for repair and maintenance. They had very good facilities at Air Asia, which had CIA antecedents. They could repair fighter aircraft, overhaul engines, overhaul tanks, trucks and so on.[27] And, of course, Taiwan, Taipei was a very important R&R place for people coming out of Vietnam, American soldiers. So there were various ways in which Taiwan became important.

GREEN: Did Taiwan benefit economically from the war?

CLOUGH: Yes, sure. It benefited economically, and it benefited diplomatically from this.

GREEN: And in as much as China was giving active assistance, lots of supply assistance and encouragement to North Vietnam, I would think it would be greeted with some relief in Taiwan to realize that now we saw that really our enemy was Communist China, and that all this propitiating of Communist China was certainly something we wouldn't continue in this atmosphere.

CLOUGH: Yes, and that was what happened, actually. I was in the Policy Planning Council from '66 to '69, and I was responsible for East Asian Affairs. I came up with a couple of minor things in the field: international relations, dealing with international organizations where we would soften our position a little bit with respect to Communist China and Nationalist China. But the International Organizations Bureau was still dominated by Ruth Bacon and people who still were acting very vigorously against any slippage at all. During the Vietnam War, I think Dean Rusk felt that it would be a mistake to divert any attention from getting that war ended to doing something about China.

KREISBERG: Rusk commented to one of the senior officers in the secretariat of the department back in 1967—'66 or '67—that there are some young officers in the department of State who are trying to persuade us to change our China policy, and we are *not* going to do it.

TAIWAN II

The phasing out of American economic aid in the mid-1960s did not slow Taiwan's economic boom. By 1966, industrial output exceeded agricultural production for the purpose of earning foreign exchange and the introduction of an export processing zone at Kaohsiung further boosted the government's export promotion strategy. After 1967, under pressure from the

United States Congress, the Pentagon reduced military support as well, but security relations between Washington and Taipei remained strong. Meanwhile, Chiang Ching-kuo consolidated his power on the island. The government remained in the hands of the Guomindang and political expression continued to be suppressed in the name of fighting communism.

What was the political situation in Taiwan from 1965 to 1968?

HUMMEL: It was very much under control. Chiang Kai-shek was in charge, and his son, Chiang Ching-kuo, was minister of defense. I got to know them all extremely well. I had dozens of personal meetings with them, one on one. There was a huge CIA establishment there. It was mostly China watching.

It wasn't concentrating on what was happening in Taiwan?

HUMMEL: Not concentrating, but that was also a target for the CIA station. They did a pretty good job of that, too. We would discover, generally through the CIA chief of station, that the Chinese Nationalists there were training people to use rubber boats to go to the mainland and carry out pinprick raids and so forth and maybe capture some unfortunate sentry, kidnap him back to Taiwan and grill him. This was absolutely forbidden. The United States had insisted, you will not do this. We will not assist you in any way. There will be hell to pay if we catch you at it. But the Nationalists kept preparing operations like this, often with the knowledge and assistance of the U.S. Army Intelligence Unit. We would have to rap knuckles all over the place when we learned of an operation like this.

What was your impression of the Generalissimo, at this period of his long career?

HUMMEL: He was a very old fashioned, authoritarian figure. Not very well educated. Not understanding a whole lot about the dynamics of foreign countries, even the government of the United States, which, I would think, he ought to have known better. How we work, what Congress does, what can be done, and what can't be done. He was very narrow minded and authoritarian. Yet you had to give him credit for holding the country together during the anti-Japanese war. You could see his

iron will, assisted by long experience. I would say that there were people who were trickier and maybe smarter than he was around him.

What was the role of Mme. Chiang Kai-shek?

HUMMEL: Well, she was known to be mercurial. I don't think that anybody really liked her. I never liked her. In her disingenuous way she attracted a great deal of American attention during the fight against the Japanese, with her lectures and speech tours, when she spoke to the Congress of the United States, for example. She was a spoiled, ex-beauty who was surrounded by the Soong family, some of whom were very unsavory and corrupt characters. Nevertheless, she was still an important figure. I knew that it would be very important not to make an enemy of her.

What about Chiang Ching-kuo, the Generalissimo's son? What was your impression of him?

HUMMEL: I liked him. He had an unsavory past as a really iron-fisted enforcer of security in Shanghai and on the mainland of China. He was obviously a tough character. However, we got along very nicely. We had a lot of business to handle—mainly Defense Department matters. He was defense minister. His Russian wife was very nice and pleasant.[28] He was smart.

Were you able to play the "Nationalist guerrilla" card with the GMD? The fact that, as a young man, you had been involved with the Nationalist guerrillas—was this something that helped you?

HUMMEL: Yes, it was an asset to me to be known as a friend of Taiwan who had fought as a member of GMD guerrillas. This gave me a certain amount of face. Some of my Chinese Nationalist guerrilla friends were there in Taiwan.

The Chinese Nationalists had a constant desire to do something with Mainland China—conduct clandestine raids or launch balloons, or something like that. I don't think that we did anything to stop them from sending balloons carrying propaganda over Mainland China when the prevailing winds were right. We certainly had to keep the Chinese Nationalists

on a short leash for intelligence operations. They, of course, conducted intelligence operations through Hong Kong. Frankly, we never knew a great deal about that. They managed to screen that off from us.

From the point of view of the American military and also the embassy, what was our impression of the Chinese Nationalist military establishment?

HUMMEL: We thought that they were pretty staunch and ready. They were constantly carrying on training exercises and constantly upgrading their equipment and teaching their people how to use the equipment. Hawk anti-aircraft missiles were easily absorbed into their training programs. We thought that they made good use of the equipment that we gave or sold to them. The Chinese Nationalists were good pilots. They maintained their aircraft very well. During my time there most Taiwanese felt, just as the Mainlanders did, that there was a perceptible danger of the Chinese Communists coming over, taking over Taiwan, and doing very bad things to the people.[29]

Taiwan was on a very even keel. My arrival in Taiwan coincided exactly with the end of the last fiscal year in which we gave any AID assistance to Taiwan. Taiwan had graduated. The Chinese Nationalists were very nervous about this. They wanted us to continue the aid program. But we said, "No, you've graduated." Everything went very well. All the AID people left, except one, who was a member of the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR), which had been extremely successful, first on the mainland, in land reform. They were the ones who helped to spark the land reform in Taiwan, which produced the capital and the impetus for the enormous progress which they have made.

Was there any residue of the old China Lobby from Congress? Did you feel this breathing down your neck?

THAYER: By 1966, the China Lobby had pretty well dissipated, but it was still there, and some of the well-known figures of the China Lobby were around. Because of our dealing with the Taiwan Embassy, the Republic of China Embassy, we saw a lot of these folks—Walter Judd, for example.

BELLOCCHI: [Admiral] Jerauld Wright [USN ret.] was [ambassador, 1963–1965] a conservative. Nothing could be better than Chiang Kai-shek and his people, so one had to be a little careful on how they were criticizing these Taiwanese Chinese, to protect your own career.

DONALD ANDERSON: I remember when I went back to the department—it would have been the mid-'60s—if you used the word "China" without "Communist" in front of it, there were people who would question what you were talking about. There was a long time, for example, that you couldn't use the word "Peking," you had to use the word "Peiping" which was the Nationalist name for the former capital of China. It was a very emotional issue, and the China Lobby was still at that time fairly strong. People still remembered what had happened during the McCarthy period, and the whole issue that we lost China. I had friends who said, "Why do you want to study Chinese?" I guess I took the long view. I figured that I had probably another 20 or 25 years in the Foreign Service and that things would inevitably change.

CHINESE ACTIVITIES IN INDONESIA AND THE THIRD WORLD

The United States government had virtually despaired over the actions of Indonesia's President Sukarno in the early 1960s. Not only had Jakarta mounted an armed campaign against Malaysia, it also threatened to nationalize American companies and it walked out of the United Nations at the end of 1964. Increasingly it shunned American aid and advice and turned instead to the Chinese Communists for support. Fearful that the Indonesian Army would attempt to obstruct growing Chinese influence, the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) staged a coup against armed forces leaders in September-October 1965. The Army crushed the PKI and eliminated Beijing's power. Tens of thousands of Chinese living in Indonesia were killed by anti-communist elements in the melee that followed.

GREEN: Going back to this period of 1963 and up to 1965, the Chinese clearly had a position of considerable standing and ambition in terms of influence—not military, but political influence—in Africa. They were

putting a major effort in Africa. They were also making a major effort in the non-aligned countries of the world. They posed as a non-aligned country. Clearly, they were the biggest and most powerful non-aligned country. They were willing to let [President] Sukarno be their cat's paw. They had these big meetings in Bandung. They made a major effort to make the PKI the dominant party—which it already was by the time I arrived there in 1965—definitely pro-Chinese. The Chinese had a great deal of influence in Jakarta. They were putting up a new CONEFO (the Committee of the New Emerging Forces) complex right outside Jakarta.[30] It was a huge building built with Chinese money. Millions of dollars went into it from China. They were just nearing completion when all this effort of the Indonesia Communist Party, PKI, collapsed in 1965.

The PKI was in cahoots with Beijing to pull off a successful coup that would put up a Nasakom government [an acronym for Nationalism, Religion, and Communism] under the titular leadership of Sukarno, who was very compliant and working closely with the communists. That failed.[31] It was a tremendous setback to China in terms of its external policies. This, of course, caused something of a breakdown of democratic centralism in Beijing. It sent shockwaves all over the communist world—far more than people have recognized.

HOLDRIDGE: I don't quite agree. I don't think the Chinese were that deeply involved.

GREEN: I think that Sukarno was a willing tool. Whether or not Sukarno was designing to establish a communist government, or thought that he could control such a government, that is beyond my ability to evaluate. There were a series of blows to China at that time, which had a great deal to do with Chinese attitudes and with the problems that we had in our relations with China.

HOLDRIDGE: The Chinese became even more surly and churlish as a consequence of some of these setbacks. The Vietnam War went on for years, and Indonesia was no great plum for the concepts of Mao such as, "Long Live the Victory of People's War." As a matter of fact, the collapse of the coup came only a few weeks after Lin Biao had issued this little pamphlet on, "Long Live the Victory of People's War."[32] Along comes the Cultural Revolution, and the whole country went into a convulsion. This is precisely the period when we were becoming most deeply involved in Vietnam.

GREEN: This meant the end of Chinese efforts to have influence in the outside world—not necessarily military, but ideological influence in Africa, Southeast Asia, etc. In a way, they were competing against the Soviet Union in these areas, too.

HOLDRIDGE: It was quite plain. Indeed, they were making a deliberate, direct challenge for the leadership of the world communist movement, vis-à-vis the Soviet Union. The Soviets actually resented it, which led to this whole situation. The changes which then occurred, we were wise enough to attempt to exploit.

GREEN: Ideologically, China was out to make marks all around the world.

HOLDRIDGE: But, militarily it was extremely defensive.

CULTURAL REVOLUTION

At the same time as the Americans debated the likelihood that China would intervene in Vietnam, the Chinese argued over whether the escalating U.S. military presence in Vietnam comprised a security threat to China. Apparently Mao Zedong determined that the external danger posed less of a hazard to the PRC than the internal erosion of revolutionary élan and priorities. Thus, even with war on China's doorstep, Mao launched the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. For American diplomats, understanding and coping with a China caught up in the frenzy of the Cultural Revolution made the decade from 1966 to 1976 challenging and perplexing. The radical tilt it lent to China's foreign policies in the early years of the movement precluded any real advance in Sino-American relations. American diplomats could only watch from afar as China imploded, relieved not to be experiencing lessons in revolutionary martyrdom directly.

Red China was going through tremendous turmoil at this point in the mid-'60s. Did you think of this as an awesome power or a disintegrating power?

THAYER: China had its first nuclear test in 1964. It had beaten up the Indians in [1962]. We had the Jinmen issue in '58. Communist China was a threat, and we saw it as a threat. We saw—at least I did—the GMD as the only sensible part of China to support. Maybe eventually something else would happen, but in those days there wasn't much doubt as to what

we needed to do in our relationship with the GMD. There was a fair amount of discussion of the need for our relationship with the PRC to evolve. So there was a degree of realism, but we didn't see any rapid evolution about to take place.

HOLDRIDGE: At this time, it is conceivable—had it not been for Mao coming out of the wilderness again in August 1966 with the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution—that there might have been an easing of the tensions, but there wasn't.

CLOUGH: During the Cultural Revolution, for a couple of years there, they practically had no foreign policy. It started in '65, and the worst period was through '67 into '68. By '68, the military was taking over and calming things down. The severe fighting between various groups of Red Guards and troops and so on was ended by '69.

Was the Cultural Revolution Mao Zedong going off in a rampage? Or was this a breakdown in authority? What was causing this as far as we saw it?

DONALD ANDERSON: It was the combination of things. It was a power struggle first and foremost. Mao felt that after the Great Leap Forward had failed certain elements of the leadership—Liu Shaoqi was then head of state, Deng Xiaoping, and a number of others were leading China in a direction of revisionism, or capitalism, which they were. They were trying to put the country back together economically from a very dangerous point.

HOLDRIDGE: These were the ones who wanted to run China in a pragmatic, realistic way, with a diminished ideological content, as opposed to Mao, who wanted to carry the revolution forward to the end, both at home and abroad.

DONALD ANDERSON: Mao felt he was being shunted aside. He had his own vision of what revolutionary China should be and he decided to mobilize the masses, essentially destroy the system, and then put it back together again. And then obviously there were many people who, for their own purely selfish personal reasons, joined into this struggle for their own personal aggrandizement, or power position—notably his wife—and the people around her [the Gang of Four].[33]

What was our view of the Cultural Revolution? I suppose, in many ways, this was your main preoccupation, wasn't it?

DONALD ANDERSON: It was. Well, it was very clearly an unmitigated disaster for China. By that time we were getting a lot of intelligence, mostly through Hong Kong, of what was happening in the provinces. There were a number of places in China where it was nothing short of civil war. They were using artillery, and the factions were engaged in pitched battles. Bodies would come floating into Hong Kong harbor that had been executed. Sometimes multiple bodies all tied together would float into Hong Kong from these factional fights that took place just up in Guangdong province. And, of course, it was a tremendous guessing game as to who was doing what to whom in the upper reaches of the government in Beijing. It was sort of an analyst's dream. So much of the indications of where things were going was done in the press, largely through historical allegories and this kind of stuff. It was great fun to play the game, but it was very, very hard to read.

We did have very good intelligence on the degree of chaos that was going on in China. I remember Bill Bundy during the '60s—during the height of the Cultural Revolution—set up sort of a Wise Men's Group of some academic scholars. They were the best in the United States: John K. Fairbank, Robert Scalapino, A. Doak Barnett. They would come to Washington periodically to discuss "whither China." One of them finally told me, "You know, we're getting more out of this than you are." Because we were assiduously collecting everything we could get by way of intelligence from the provinces, and probably knew about as much as anybody, which certainly wasn't enough.

What was our estimate of Mao Zedong? Was he canny politically? Or was he sort of a bull elephant in a china shop?

DONALD ANDERSON: Oh, no. Mao was a major political thinker, an ideologue, and a truly great leader. Even despite everything he'd done he's still revered by the people of China. He's probably a leader that should have died about 1951. But he brought the revolution to a successful conclusion for the communists, introduced a system which brought a certain amount of hope. There were a lot of excesses, but there was also some hope and a feeling that China was making progress in the early '50s. But really from '57-'58 on, it was just one series of disasters. There was the Hundred Flowers campaign, and then the anti-rightist cam-

paign, and then the Great Leap Forward, then the Cultural Revolution. Basically the Cultural Revolution wasn't really over until Mao died in 1976.

How did we view Zhou Enlai? He always seemed to be a very practical person, but yet he survived under Mao.

DONALD ANDERSON: He was a remarkable individual in that, I really can almost literally say, I've yet to find anyone who doesn't admire the guy. He obviously had to be a magnificent opportunist in the sense of knowing where to land, and when to give and when to attack. But he was universally revered. I was in Hong Kong when he died, and in Hong Kong the lines stretched down the street to pay their respects at the memorial service. It was just tremendous, and genuine. I know Chinese today that have fled China, have been persecuted by the Chinese, and who hate the communist system, but one person they can't say anything bad about is Zhou Enlai. It's amazing. He was always recognized as a pragmatist, and someone who, if there was anybody we could do business with, it was probably assumed it would be Zhou.

HUMMEL: From 1966 to 1976, the Cultural Revolution spilled over into Burma in the same way that it did in Sri Lanka, Nepal, Hong Kong, and other places where, believe it or not, Chinese youngsters and students—and also older people—were stimulated by Beijing propaganda to try to get everybody in the world to wear "Mao Zedong" buttons and to acknowledge Chairman Mao as the leader of everything. This resulted in anti-Chinese riots in quite a few places, and in Burma, in particular, where the Chinese community had a very bad time. Chinese shops all over Burma were burned down. Some people were killed, and a lot of ethnic Chinese were run out of town. The Chinese government in Beijing was so annoyed that they established, right next to China and within Burmese territory, a brand new area of Burma Communist Party insurgents. Up to this time the Burmese government had done an excellent job of maintaining basic peace with the ethnic insurgents—the Kachins, the Shans, and the Karens, who had traditionally been restive. The communist insurgency had virtually been beaten. However, when the Chinese Communists set up their new system, it enabled some of the Burma Communist Party leaders to flee to the Chinese border. They established this brand new insurgency.

This was part of an almost worldwide promotion of national liberation movements. Zhou Enlai toured Africa, proclaiming publicly in the capitals of the various governments that China supported the insurgents. This was an astonishingly stupid performance. The Chinese Communists had a "Pan-Thai Movement" going, with a radio, supporting people of the Thai language and cultural group. So the Chinese Communists were going through a phase of expansionism and support for what they called "national liberation movements." We saw this as contrary to our own interests and also to the interests of all of our friends.