

AN OUTLINE OF THE STRUCTURE AND STRATEGY OF  
THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS SYSTEM OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

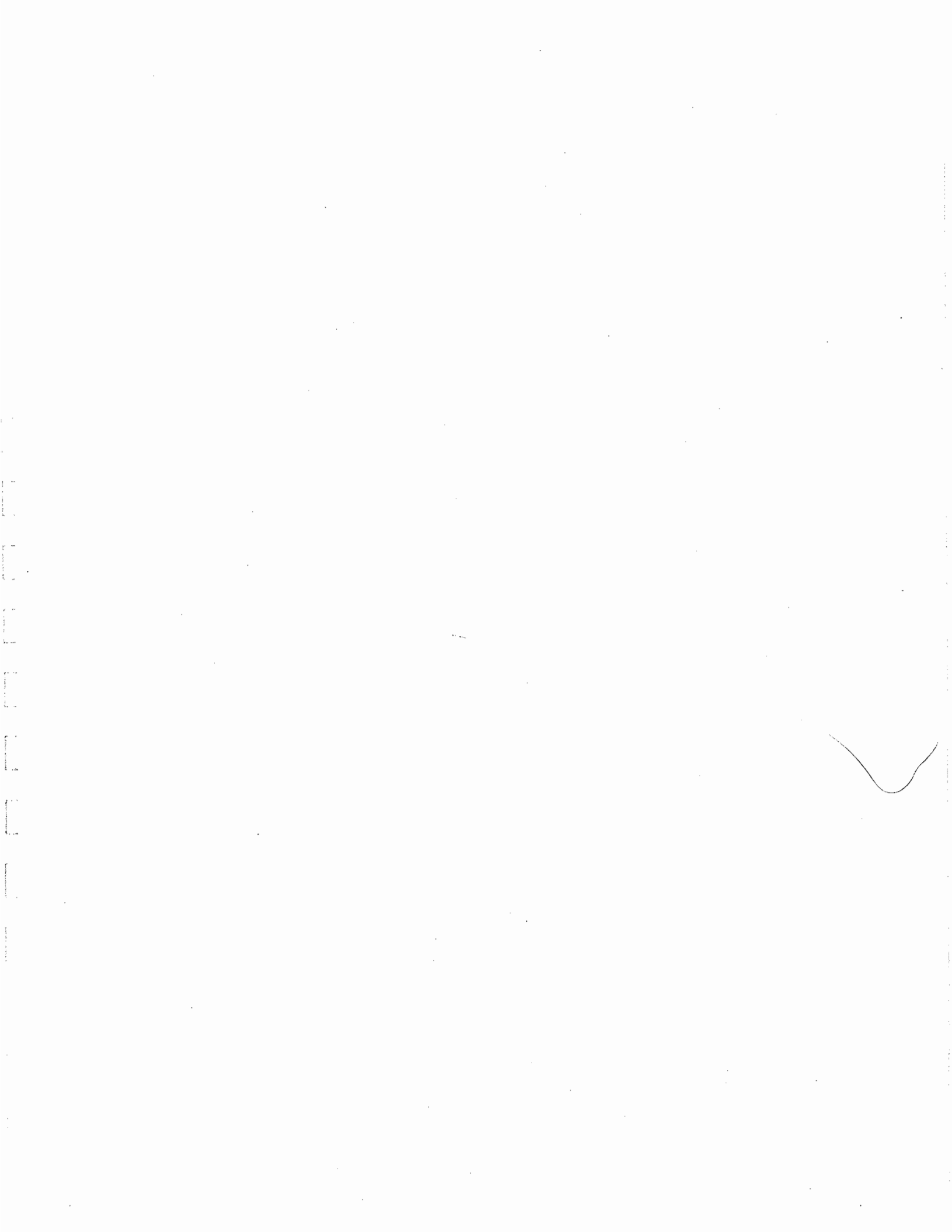
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ABSTRACT: Addressing the topic evident in the title, the paper culminates in three appendices and two bibliographies. The first appendix presents in chart form the segments of the system and their relations; the second appendix enumerates and relates goals, strategies, and tactics which illustrate the purposes toward which the system is dedicated. The third appendix relates general strategies and their broad tactical manifestations to the various agencies which might be called upon to implement them. An annotated research bibliography provides a guide for the beginning student, and demonstrates the base from which the topical bibliography was drawn. The latter is an extensive introductory bibliography of secondary materials in the English language generally pertaining to the topic.

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## CONTENTS

|   |    |
|---|----|
| <u>Introduction</u>   |    |
| The Point of the Study  | 1  |
| Broader Limitations   |    |
| The Utility of the Appendices   |    |
| The Bibliographies  | 2  |
| <u>Structure</u>  |    |
| The Chairman  | 3  |
| The Standing Committee  | 4  |
| The State Council <u>et al</u>  | 6  |
| <u>Strategy</u>   |    |
| The Party and the State   | 13 |
| Factionalism and Organization   | 14 |
| Policy-Making   | 15 |
| Goals and Strategies  | 17 |
| <u>Conclusion</u>   |    |
| Structure and Strategy  | 19 |
| Strategy and Structure  |    |
| Research Notes  |    |
| <u>Background</u>   |    |
| Footnotes   | 21 |
| Miscellaneous Charts  |    |
| Bloodworth. Power Chart   | 26 |
| Gurtov. Foreign Affairs System  | 27 |
| Chai. Decision-Making   | 28 |
| Klein. Elite Circulation and Recruitment  | 29 |
| Szymanski. Foreign Affairs System   | 30 |
| DOS. Foreign Affairs System   | 31 |
| <u>Appendices</u>   |    |
| The Foreign Affairs System of the People's<br>Republic of China - A Chart       | 32 |
| National Goals, Strategic Objectives, and<br>Tactical Expressions - A List      | 33 |
| General Strategies, Tactical Expressions,<br>and Implementing Agencies - A List | 35 |
| <u>Bibliographies</u>   |    |
| Annotated Research  | 36 |
| Topical   | 42 |

## PREFACE

In keeping with the traditions we have been studying this semester, the author suffered from the intellectual pains that generally accompany a cultural vacuum. In other words, as the accumulation of material progressed, it became very clear that no serious definitive work on the structure and strategy of the foreign affairs system of the People's Republic of China could possibly be written within this context.

There is certainly a need for such a work. Anyone who can spend the time pulling together the evidence scattered throughout the few available case studies and general policy texts, and translating new primary materials shedding light on the subject, will be doing the field a service.

Given the realization that the author was not geared for such a productive effort, and unwilling to lose the effort which had been expended, the following somewhat didactic presentation format was selected, as the means most suited to passing on what little has been collected, for action by others more suited, by time and capacity, to carry on.

## INTRODUCTION

The Point of the Study. This paper will provide an outline useful to the beginning student interested in the structure and strategy of the foreign affairs system of the People's Republic of China.

By definition, the outline will be both enumerative and concise. The student will have to look elsewhere for elaboration and the support of primary materials, although the footnotes and bibliographies are meant to be of some assistance in this regard.

Broader Limitations. Contextual questions, such as the nature of Chinese images of the world, their attitudes about international law, the impact of domestic affairs on foreign policy-making and implementation, the nature of factionalism within the Chinese arena; and questions of scholarship, such as the paucity of primary materials directly pertinent to the subject, and the methodological and paradigmatic biases of the more prominent authors active in this general area will not be addressed. References to sources which do deal with these issues will be found in the footnotes and the second bibliography.

The Utility of the Appendices. The appendices in which this paper culminates are meant to provide the student with a framework for further study. By simplifying the structural apparatus through the graph (which is by

no means all inclusive) it is expected that the student will be able to better grasp the range of structural alternatives open to Chinese decision-makers. By enumerating goals, strategies, and tactics in a somewhat specific (and yet incomplete) fashion, it is hoped that an appreciation for the nature and ramifications of Chinese foreign policy goals will be generated. The third appendix is offered as a means of suggesting the connection between the broader strategies utilized by the Chinese, and the various agencies which might be used to implement such strategies and their tactical manifestations.

The Bibliographies. Two bibliographies are provided. The first, an annotated research bibliography, is meant to provide guidance for the beginning student interested in pursuing the topic. Experience has shown that however intelligent or motivated, most undergraduates simply have not been able to acquire the necessary experience in the library. Perhaps more important, the bibliography demonstrates the foundation upon which the topical bibliography was compiled, perhaps lending credence to our comment on the lack of focused materials. The topical bibliography, partially as a consequence of the above-mentioned lack, has been deliberately extended to encompass a variety of peripheral materials which may possibly be of use in entering the subject from a variety of approaches.

## STRUCTURE

The Chairman. The Chinese Communist Party continues to dominate the affairs of China. In consequence, the chairman of the Party's Central Committee can not only expect to deal with all major issues facing the nation, but can also mobilize a great deal of power in support of his policy preferences merely by virtue of his position.<sup>1</sup> The present incumbent, Mao Tse-Tung, has been able to retain two other positions within the structure; he serves as the chairman of the Military Commission, and as a member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo. The importance of these two positions will become evident.

In addition to his positional attributes, ~~much~~ reduced from earlier times, Mao Tse-tung enjoys a unique role as the charismatic leader of the ideological belief system which permeates Chinese affairs at this time. His sensitivity to the mood and importance of the people has allowed him to mold and manipulate public opinion, steering the masses along on a course consonant with his perceptions of both the capabilities of his nation, and the environment in which it moves -- hence his nominal title, the Great Helmsman. It is Mao's control of the legitimizing ideology, and his consequent control of the masses, that provide him with his tangible power -- thus a clear distinction must be drawn between the position of Central Committee Chairman,

and the more personal (and therefore ephemeral) power of the Great Helmsman.<sup>2</sup>

Mao Tse-tung supplements his influence through the maintenance of personal relationships with the high officials of both the government and the Party, most of whom either shared his revolutionary experience or are indebted to him for support at some earlier time. Perhaps of equal if not greater importance, Mao Tse-tung relies heavily on an inner circle of friends, not necessarily high officials or revolutionary comrades, who both keep him informed and help him mobilize support, both within and without the bureaucracies.<sup>3</sup>

The Standing Committee. Members of the Committee ~~are~~ elected, together with members of the Politburo of which they are a leading part, by the Central Committee membership.<sup>4</sup> According to the Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party, the Standing Committee is charged with leading all "organs of state power" and with "attending to the day-to-day work of the Party, the government, and the army in a centralized way."<sup>5</sup> The Politburo, represented in the final analysis by the Committee, utilizes a number of institutions to carry out its mandate. These include those offices and instruments mentioned in the remainder of this section. The Central Committee, representing the National Party Congress, is essentially a



means of maintaining and reaffirming Party unity by reviewing, approving, and promulgating directives which have been issued by its more elite members.<sup>6</sup>

Very little is known about organs of the Politburo such as the Propaganda Department and the Foreign Intelligence Service. The Department is no doubt instrumental in coordinating China's domestic and foreign propaganda efforts, while the functions of the latter service need not be defined. Typical outlets for ideological messages which the elite members of the Party choose to promulgate are the Red Flag and the People's Daily.

The Young Communists come under the direct control of the Politburo as well as does the Military Commission, which is of course in another league entirely when it comes to mobilizing power. As noted earlier, Mao is the present chairman of this commission, which is the Party organ responsible for direct supervision of the Ministry of National Defense and the People's Liberation Army, previously one of Mao's favorite instruments of control.<sup>7</sup>

The International Laison Department is one of the more prominent Party organizations concerned with foreign affairs. In addition to maintaining Party-to-Party relations, the Department represents China through a variety of international "front" organizations, including among others the China Peace Committee, the All China Federation of Democratic Youth, and the All China Federation of Labor.

A particular advantage to the Chinese is that these organizations are not related directly to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and their representatives may on occasion represent China in an "informal" capacity when more structured relationships are precluded.

The State Council. The National People's Congress selects a Standing Committee, which in turn nominates the members of the State Council. The actual function of the Congress is the focusing of national attention on those issues which the Chinese leaders wish to highlight for the purpose of mobilizing the masses.<sup>8</sup> The Standing Committee is charged with a number of duties, the most important of which is, for our purposes, the appointment and dismissal of vice-premiers, ministers, the chairmen of the various commissions of the State Council, and its Secretary-General.<sup>9</sup> As with the Party, the actual behavior of the Committee will depend on the influence of the members of the inner circle, those clustered around Mao and the Standing Committee of the Politburo.

The State Council is the highest functioning administrative organ of the Chinese government. Its list of powers is impressive, boiling down to the general supervision and guidance of the government as a whole. While nominally an autonomous body, it must in practice adhere to the Party line, a task made easier by the fact that

all of its leading members (the premier and vice-premiers) are members of either the Politburo or the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, as are most of the Ministers.

Within the State Council may be found, at this time, twenty-six ministries, three commissions, and eighteen special agencies.<sup>10</sup> The special agencies may be established at will by the Council, but their directors do not become members of the Council.<sup>11</sup>

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is comprised of a number of functional and geographic divisions, presided over by a minister and his committee, a Party Committee, and, with fading if not negligible influence, a Revolutionary Committee. The ease with which the Party is able to make its influence felt is evident, not only in the influence of individual Party members vis-a-vis their non-Party colleagues, but in the Party representation evident within the Minister's Committee, where high officials are as a rule already Party members, and hence subject to an overriding Party discipline.<sup>12</sup>

Functional Departments include the Consular Affairs Department, the General Office, the Information Department, the International Organizations and Conferences and Treaty and Law Department, the Personnel Department, the Political Department, and the Protocol Department.<sup>13</sup>

Geographical Departments deal with Africa, America and Oceania, Asia, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, West Asia and North Africa, and Western Europe.<sup>13</sup>

Embassies and Consulates are under the direct control of the Ministry; they do however include on their staff attaches seconded from other ministries who continue to report to their parent organization.<sup>14</sup>

The Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries is indirectly related to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and is the parent organization for the numerous friendship organizations established between China and other countries, generally as a preamble or as an alternative to formal diplomatic relations.<sup>15</sup>

Also indirectly connected with the Ministry have been and are the Alien Affairs Offices, the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, and the Special Schools.

The Alien Affairs Offices were originally established in order to deal with foreign interests extant in various regions of China. Nominally under the provincial governments, they remained functionally attached to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.<sup>16</sup>

The Special Schools, including the Shanghai Foreign Languages College, the Russian Language School, the Number 1 and Number 2 Institutes of Foreign Languages in Peking, and the Academy of Sciences' Institute of International Relations, as well as the Chinese People's Institute of

Foreign Affairs, all participate in the training of Party and government personnel destined for posts within the foreign affairs system.<sup>17</sup>

The Foreign Affairs Department of the Ministry of Defense coordinates the activities and reports of the military attaches which are assigned to the Embassies and Consulates.<sup>18</sup>

The Ministry of Economic Relations with Foreign Countries is charged with developing aid programs to other countries, and assigns economic attaches to the Embassies and Consulates where appropriate.<sup>19</sup>

The Ministry of Foreign Trade, whose function is self evident, is generally detached from the formal system, operating either through its Foreign Trade Corporations<sup>20</sup> or when circumstances dictate, through the more informal China Committee for the Promotion of International Trade.<sup>21</sup>

The New China News Agency is an organization in a class of its own. Besides serving as a more overt intelligence service (input) and propaganda bureau (output), it has apparently proved quite useful to the Chinese as an informal diplomatic service, where circumstances precluded the formal recognition by the host government of the Peking regime.<sup>22</sup>

The importance of Radio Peking as a propaganda device administered by the Broadcasting Affairs Administra-

tive Bureau need not be stressed. Supplementing Radio Peking are the numerous journals, popular magazines, and printed matter made available through the Foreign Language Publications and Distributions Bureau. Examples of the former would include People's China, China Pictorial, and Peking Review. Examples of the latter would include the various translations of The Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung.

The Foreign Experts Administrative Bureau is responsible for those foreigners visiting China in an "advisory" capacity -- either as employees of the one of the special schools, or as ~~professional tourists~~ <sup>VISITING PROFESSIONALS.</sup> This is apparently largely a ~~ceremonial~~ <sup>FUNCTIONAL</sup> agency, <sup>23</sup> ~~ALBERT WITH A CEREMONIAL VENUE.~~

The China Travel and Tourism Bureau apparently handles all travel arrangements, both for visitors to China and for Chinese delegations and groups touring foreign areas. In this respect, it is closely connected to the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries.

The Religious Affairs Bureau is cited in this context because of its role in providing on occasion the religious attaches sometimes found in Chinese Embassies and Consulates. Overseeing, among others, the Chinese Buddhist Association, the Chinese Islamic Association, and the National Committee of Protestant Churches, the Bureau is in a position to serve Chinese foreign policy

goals in both a formal capacity (through its attaches) and an informal capacity (through its ties with religious communities and Chinese abroad).

The State Oceanography Bureau provides an example of a technically-oriented agency rising to prominence within the system as the issues it deals with become foreign policy issues. Its officials become representatives of China, and are accordingly briefed and evaluated.<sup>24</sup>

Non-governmental examples of the same kind of co-optation are provided by the Chinese Fisheries Association and the Chinese Red Cross. In cases where formal diplomatic channels do not exist, or where mutual antagonisms preclude even quasi-official negotiation, such "mass" or "grass roots" organizations can immediately be brought in as instruments of national policy, negotiating fishery agreements with the Japanese, or conditions of repatriation for prisoners of war.<sup>25</sup>

The People's Bank of China is the last of the agencies included in the first appendix at the end of this paper. Beyond the standard advantages of having a financial institution abroad, the Bank of China is apparently also charged with the repatriation of funds from Overseas Chinese, the disbursement of funds to various interest groups favored by the Chinese, and the supervision of programs which other agencies can not, for one reason or another, handle overtly within the host country.

In reviewing the first appendix, which brings together the preceding enumeration in chart form, it is important that the reader be aware of two points: first, the chart is by no means inclusive. Our purpose is twofold; not only is the chart meant to suggest the general structure and hierarchy extant in the foreign affairs system of the People's Republic of China, but certain of the entries, as will have become evident, were chosen solely for their representative value as types of instruments, rather than for their actual value to date to the system. Second, in keeping with the latter point, the importance of particular entries must not be over-estimated on the basis of their position on the chart or the fact that all of the boxes are the same relative size. As will become evident in the next section, a sharp distinction must be drawn between the actual policy-making groups, and those that serve as mere instruments of the policy-makers.



## STRATEGY

The Party and the State. The broader limitations set at the beginning of the paper do not allow serious discussion of the most fundamental questions -- their existence must however be brought forth here. The unique and symbiotic relationship that exists between the Chinese Communist Party and the organs of government representing the People's Republic of China must be appreciated if the policy-making process is to be understood.

Originally the founding members of the Chinese Communist Party and the People's government apparently envisioned a condition in which two parallel hierarchies reinforced one another, ~~retaining their basic autonomy.~~ **WHILE THE CCP RETAINED THE ULTIMATE AUTHORITY.** ~~This is not the case today.~~ The pervasive politicization of all issues within China, however trivial, lends increased authority to the inclinations of Party members vis-a-vis non-Party members -- forcing the government to adhere generally to the Party line at all levels. The assimilation of all high ranking government figures into the Party or its affiliated organizations -- or, rather, the tendency to support for advancement only those officials who have proved themselves by qualifying for Party membership, leads to an almost complete loss of autonomy in general terms.<sup>26</sup>

Factionalism and Organization. To say that the Party continues to dominate the Chinese political process is not to say that divergent centers of interest have not emerged. The clearest example of conflicting orientations is that of the "red" versus "expert" controversy, and the points of contention it represents.<sup>27</sup>

Beyond this overarching conflict, one must not ignore the development of class or function oriented common causes. Again, this is not to say that such clusters of interest will be deliberate or conspiratorial, merely that certain images and consequent attitudes will be shared.<sup>28</sup>

There is no question but that those who have risen to the top of the policy-making process in China have done so partially as a result of their control of supporting organizations and the loyalties of their subordinates. The ability to control information, mobilize regional opinion, or influence strategically-placed individuals are all essential if one is to maintain a relatively secure position within the inner circle.<sup>29</sup> For this reason, in considering the policy-making process, one must set aside thoughts of Mao's predominance<sup>30</sup> and look for the manner in which these implied de facto "checks and balances" operate, and the impact on the policy-making process of the images each policy-maker brings to bear in advocating a particular position.

It is at this juncture that one can appreciate the impact of domestic politics on the selection and implementation of foreign policy goals. The relative domestic standing of the various centers of interest, and the consequent degree of legitimacy which their respective images are able to acquire, will to a large extent determine their proportionate influence in selecting goals, strategies, and tactical instruments.

Policy-Making. The Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, being at once the Chairman of the Military Commission, a member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo, and, most significantly the Great Helmsman of the Chinese people (and hence in control of the ideological belief system which continues to provide needed legitimacy to the regime), remains the most significant and influential member of the "inner circle" which determines Chinese policy, in this case, Chinese foreign policy.

The means by which Chairman Mao Tse-tung maintains and exercises his power are many, generally informal and outside the standard boundaries of the government apparatus.<sup>31</sup>

~~For~~ Formally, the Standing Committee of the Politburo, of which Mao Tse-tung is a member, stands as the central forum for policy-making. From this point all

instruments of the Party may be manipulated, all arms of the government may be directed (via the State Council), and all of the mass organizations may be mobilized, to the ends selected by the members of the Standing Committee and their indirectly influential associates.<sup>32</sup>

Whereas the members of the Standing Committee select strategic goals deemed appropriate to the generally agreed upon national goals, the members of the State Council act to operationalize those strategies by co-ordinating the tactical units necessary to accomplish the Chinese objectives.<sup>33</sup>

Chief among those instruments is of course the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It has become clear that the lowest significant level in the policy-making process is that of the Ministers and Vice-Ministers.<sup>34</sup> This level can expect to influence policy, not only by virtue of the information which it provides the decisional units above it, but by the very presence of its ranks among those of the Politburo and its Standing Committee. (STRATEGY)

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is itself a co-ordinating agency, maintaining connections, one way or another, with the various instruments of Chinese foreign policy.<sup>35</sup>

The lowest level of <sup>PRACTICAL</sup> policy-making, that which makes tactical decisions, takes place within the Minister's Committee (which we have noted is somewhat coextensive with the all-important Party Committee) and includes in (TACTICS)

## 4 Deputy Directors

its process the Directors<sup>A</sup> of the Functional and Geographic Departments, with whom primary responsibility lies for inter-meshing with other segments of the foreign affairs system.<sup>36</sup>

Goals. There seems to be relatively little disagreement among the policy-makers with regard to the general national goals of the Chinese people. These goals, as with most other nations, consist of, in rank order:<sup>37</sup>

|               |   |
|---------------|---|
| SURVIVAL      |   |
| SECURITY      |   |
| INTEGRITY     |   |
| MODERNIZATION |   |
| INFLUENCE     |   |
| HEGEMONY      | ? |
| <hr/>         |   |
| EMPIRE        | ? |
| SOCIALISM     | ? |

Disagreement begins when discussion of alternative strategies takes place. The broader means of achieving Chinese foreign policy goals are clear. These include:<sup>38</sup>

|                    |
|--------------------|
| PEOPLE'S WAR       |
| MILITARY ACTION    |
| DIPLOMACY          |
| AID PROGRAMS       |
| PEOPLE'S DIPLOMACY |
| LOCAL COMMUNISTS   |
| OVERSEAS CHINESE   |
| PROPAGANDA         |

One of the clearest disagreements in the past has been that between the Maoists, who, at least rhetorically, insisted on People's War and People's Diplomacy as the keys to accomplishment, and the Luists, who placed more emphasis on conventional Military Action capabilities within China, and Diplomacy and Aid Programs outside of China.

In keeping with the limited objectives of this paper, and its chosen format, no more will be said about the selection of strategic objectives, tactical expressions, and implementing agencies. Suffice to say that even among the best materials available, the subject has hardly been adequately discussed.

The second appendix attached to this paper suggests a few strategic objectives corresponding to the general national goals mentioned above, and supplies appropriate and corresponding tactical expressions of these objectives. By no means comprehensive, the appendix is meant to suggest precisely what kinds of decisions need to be made in operating the foreign affairs system of the People's Republic. The reader will readily connect historical examples to the various entries, and may in fact apply the categories to other national experiences.

The third appendix is more specific to China, since the range of implementing agencies is distinct to the Chinese. Its purpose is to relate the agencies displayed in the first appendix to the strategic objectives listed in the second appendix by demonstrating how each agency might relate to the broader strategies chosen by the decision-makers.

## CONCLUSION

Structure and Strategy. One of the key questions emerging from this outline is that of relating the structure of the Chinese foreign affairs system to its strategy. A great deal of work remains to be done in the identification of particular factions, their world views, and the manner in which their biases affect the selection of foreign policy goals and strategies.

Strategy and Structure. Equally important, and equally unexplored, is the question of relating the orchestration of the foreign affairs system to the particular strategic objective coveted by the Chinese. It would be most significant if reliable patterns were perceived, allowing one to judge the intentions of the Chinese in a particular area by the instruments they set in motion. Of course experienced diplomats and scholars will have already formulated their rules of thumb, but a synthesis of the few existing case studies would be highly instructive.

Research Notes. The Chinese arena is of course a difficult one to study, between the imposed paucity of primary materials, and the long-standing obstacles of language and culture. A few especially striking gaps in research stand out.

Some work has been done in interviewing refugees as a means of gaining insight into the actual decision-making approach. This appears to offer a great deal, and one can only hope that suitably qualified refugees become available for professional interviews in the future.

The preceding outline has fragmented the foreign affairs system into small parts, and has (in the second and third appendices) divided the goals and strategies into more easily studied parts. While the system as a whole, and its means and ends, are no doubt heavily inter-locked, it would be very profitable if research could be encouraged regarding each of the very small parts. While the research methodology for this paper left much to be desired, for lack of time, local resources, and the limitations of the author's languages, the deep impression of a void survives -- there is almost nothing more substantive than the papers by Donald Klein and Christopher Szymanski.

One of the most promising paths to follow, in terms of immediate gain, might be the review of the few case studies now available, together with the more general works on Chinese foreign policy and Chinese politics, in search of examples and patterns which would fit the outline provided above.

1. DON'T UNDERLINE PROSE.
2. DON'T CAPITALIZE TERMS UNLESS PROPER.



## FOOTNOTES

- 1 Cf. Joyce K. Kallgren, "The Chinese Communist Party: Structure, Membership, and Mass Organization," in Yuan-li Wu (Editor). China: A Handbook. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973:197-220; also A. Doak Barnett, "Mechanisms for Party Control in the Government Bureaucracy in China," in Fred W. Riggs (Editor). Frontiers of Development Administration. Durham: Duke University Press, 1971:415-436.
- 2 Cf. Michel C. Oksenberg, "Policy-Making Under Mao, 1949-1968: An Overview," in John M. H. Lindbeck (Editor). China: Management of a Revolutionary Society. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1971: 79-115; also Chalmers Johnson, "The Changing Nature and Locus of Authority in Communist China," in Lindbeck, 34-76; together with John Bryan Starr. Ideology and Culture: An Introduction to the Dialectic of Contemporary Chinese Politics. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1973.
- 3 Oksenberg's article on policy-making, supra note 2, stands alone as a superior effort in this area.
- 4 "Election" throughout this paper is used in the new Chinese sense, which implies "consultations" by the governing elite, after which the general body will unanimously support their recommendations, in accord with the precepts of democratic centralism. Cf. Kallgren, supra note 1, 201.
- 5 "The Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party, 1969, as adopted by the Ninth National Congress of the CCP on April 14, 1969," in Peking Review 12/18 (April 30, 1969):36-39, reprinted in Wu, supra note 1, 783-787.
- 6 Kallgren, supra note 1, 202.
- 7 Cf. Ellis Joffe, "The Chinese Army Under Lin Piao: Prelude to Political Intervention," in Lindbeck, supra note 2, 343-374; also, by the same author, "People's Liberation Army," in Wu, supra note 1, 261-280.

- 8 Franklin W. Houn, "Constitution and Government," in Wu, supra note 1, 224.
- 9 Ibid., 225.
- 10 Department of State. Central Government Organizations of the People's Republic of China, September 1975; a chart.
- 11 Houn, supra note 8, 227.
- 12 Cf. A Doak Barnett. Cadres, Bureaucracy, and Political Power in Communist China. New York: Columbia University Press, 1967; Christopher J. Szymanski. Bureaucratic Development in the People's Republic of China: A Case Study of the Foreign Affairs System, 1949-1973. Ph. D. Thesis, Brown University, 1975; together with Donald W. Klein. The Chinese Foreign Ministry. Ph. D. Thesis, Columbia University, 1974, the latter being the basis for a number of concise articles by Klein listed in the topical bibliography.
- 13 Department of State. Foreign Affairs System of the People's Republic of China, June 1975; a chart. A simple version of this chart (non-biographical), together with a few other charts which influenced the first appendix, will be found following the footnotes.
- 14 For instance: Economic Attache (Ministry of Economic Relations with Foreign Countries); Military Attache (Ministry of National Defense); Commercial Attache (Ministry of Foreign Trade); Cultural Attache (Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries, inter alia); Religious Attache (Religious Affairs Bureau, inter alia); and Student Attache (All China Federation of Democratic Youth, inter alia). In this regard, see particularly Klein's material.
- 15 "Informal Diplomacy" is one of the least documented aspects of the system. As a starting point, one might refer to the documents provided by Winberg Chai, (Editor). "Policies on Economic Aid, Trade, and Cultural Relations," in The Foreign Relations of the People's Republic of China. New York: Capricorn Books, 1972: 210-265; and Herbert Passin, China's Cultural Diplomacy. New York: Praeger, 1962. The discontinued efforts of Maddox and Van Ness may be noted in the topical bibliography, for possible future reference.

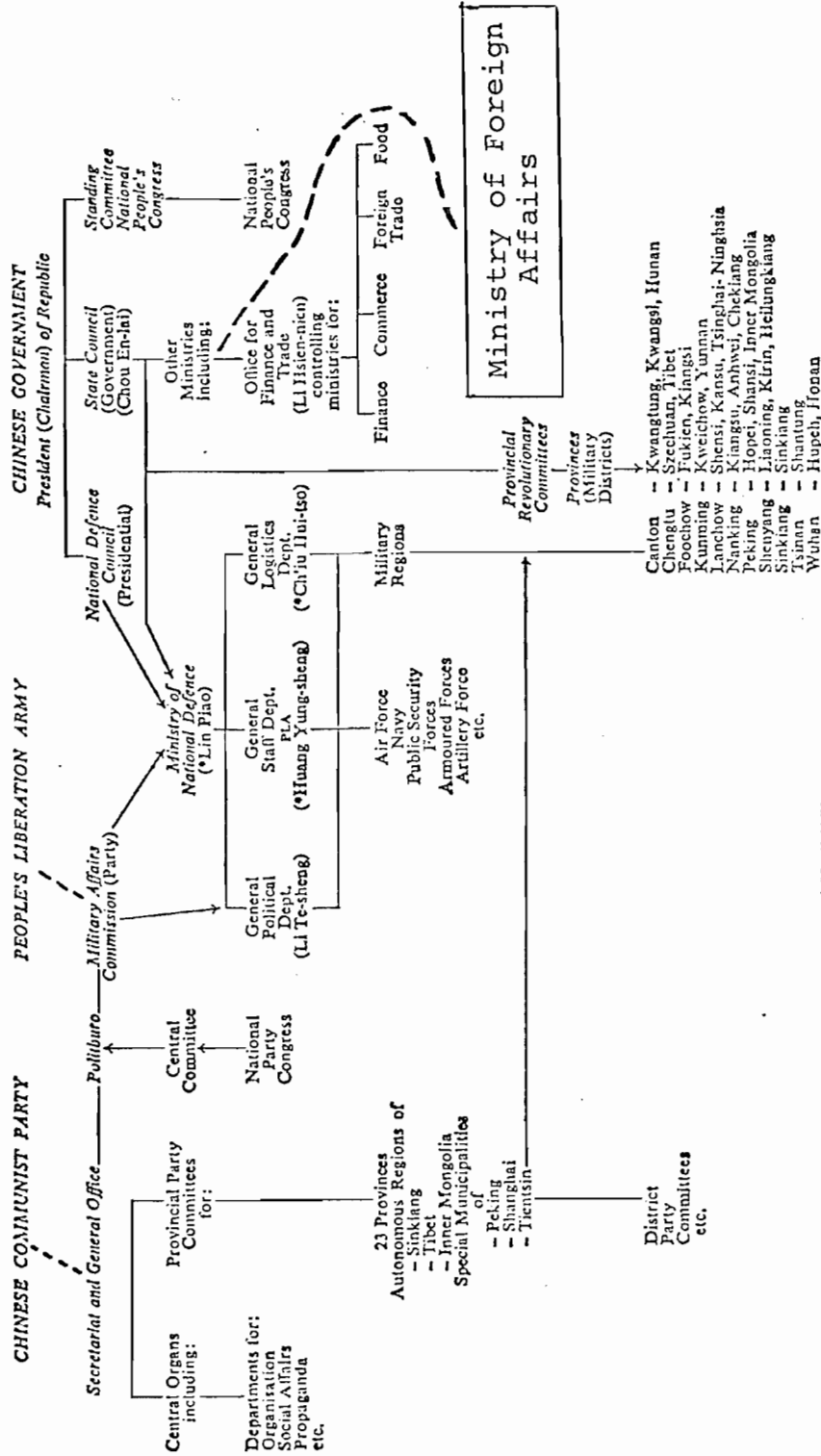
- 16 See particularly Donald Klein, "The Management of Foreign Affairs in Communist China," in Lindbeck, supra note 2, 313.
- 17 Ibid., 315.
- 18 Possibly useful references include: Bryce Frederic Denno, Communist China's Military Policy and Foreign Relations 1595-A Dissertation Abstracts International 32(1972):A:Index:191; Stephen A. Sims, "The New Role of the Military," Problems of Communism 18 (November-December 1969):26-32; together with Michel C. Oksenberg, "Occupational Groups in Chinese Society and the Cultural Revolution." Revised Mimeographed Draft, prepared for "Year in Review," Conference Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1968; and Peter Van Ness, Revolution and Chinese Foreign Policy; Peking's Support for Wars of National Liberation. University of California Press, 1970.
- 19 Few references to this topic emerged, possibly because the search strategy was somewhat restricted; one which might be followed up is that to Peter Andrew Poole, "Communist China's Aid Diplomacy," Asian Survey 6/11 (November 1966):622-29; as well as Chai's documents, supra note 15.
- 20 See the annotated list reprinted by Winberg Chai, "Information Guide on China's Foreign Trade Corporations: Their Principal Exports and Imports," in Chai, supra note 15, 409-412, from the U.S. Consulate General, Hong Kong.
- 21 A good entry point into the subject of foreign economic relations is provided by the footnotes and the bibliography contained in Fred C. Hung, "Foreign Economic Relations," in Wu, supra note 1, 595-631 (606-629 being statistical data).
- 22 Cf. Alan P. L. Liu, "Ideology and Information: Correspondents of the New China News Agency and Chinese Foreign Policy Making," Journal of International Affairs 26/2 (1972):131-145.
- 23 Klein, supra note 12, 253.
- 24 Ibid., 252.

- 25 Ibid., 253, 266.
- 26 Cf. Barnet, supra note 1; Michel C. Oksenberg, "Getting Ahead and Along in Communist China: The Ladder of Success on the Eve of the Cultural Revolution," in John Wilson Lewis (Editor). Party Leadership and Revolutionary Power in China. Cambridge: The University Press, 1970:304-347; Starr, supra note 2; and Ezra F. Vogel, "Politicized Bureaucracy: Communist China," in Riggs, supra note 1.
- 27 Cf. Tang Tsou, "The Cultural Revolution and the Chinese Political System," China Quarterly 38 (April-June 1969):63-91. Together with Oksenberg's article on policy-making, supra note 2, this article is an essential introductory reading.
- 28 Cf. Oksenberg's article on occupational groups, supra note 18.
- 29 Cf. Michel C. Oksenberg, "Methods of Communication Within the Chinese Bureaucracy," China Quarterly (January-March 1974):1-39; and William W. Whitson, "Organizational Perspectives and Decision-Making in the Chinese Communist High Command," in Robert A. Scalapino (Editor). Elites in the People's Republic of China. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1972:381-415.
- 30 Cf. Thomas W. Robinson, "Political Succession in China," World Politics 27/1 (October 1974):1-38; Philip Bridgham, "Factionalism in the Central Committee," in Lewis, supra note 26, 203-235; as well as Tang Tsou's superlative article, supra note 27. Of possible interest is Y. Wei, "Elite Conflicts in Chinese Politics - A Comparative Note," Studies Communist Countries 7/1-2 (1974):64.
- 31 Oksenberg, supra note 2.
- 32 Cf. Thomas J. Weiss, "The Ruling Elite," in Wu, supra note 1, 241-259, particularly the first paragraph.
- 33 Cf. Houn, supra note 8, specifically 227-229.

- 34 Klein, supra note 12, 176.
- 35 Ibid.; see also the charts following the footnotes. Klein's analysis is representative of the "elite school," where the emphasis is on understanding individual's and their relative movement from position to position. Personal relationships are hence one of the key means by which institutions may be related or informally co-ordinated. Chou En-lai is of course the prime example of how effective such a network might become. See specifically Ibid., 292.
- 36 Ibid., 176-177, in which the "core group" of directors and deputy directors is mentioned.
- 37 While generally recognized, exposure to these goals is directly attributable at this time to Professor Carey B. Joynt's course on the theories and concepts of International Relations at this University.
- 38 Harold C. Hinton. China's Turbulent Quest: An Analysis of China's Foreign Relations Since 1949. New and Enlarged Edition. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972:191.

# POWER CHART

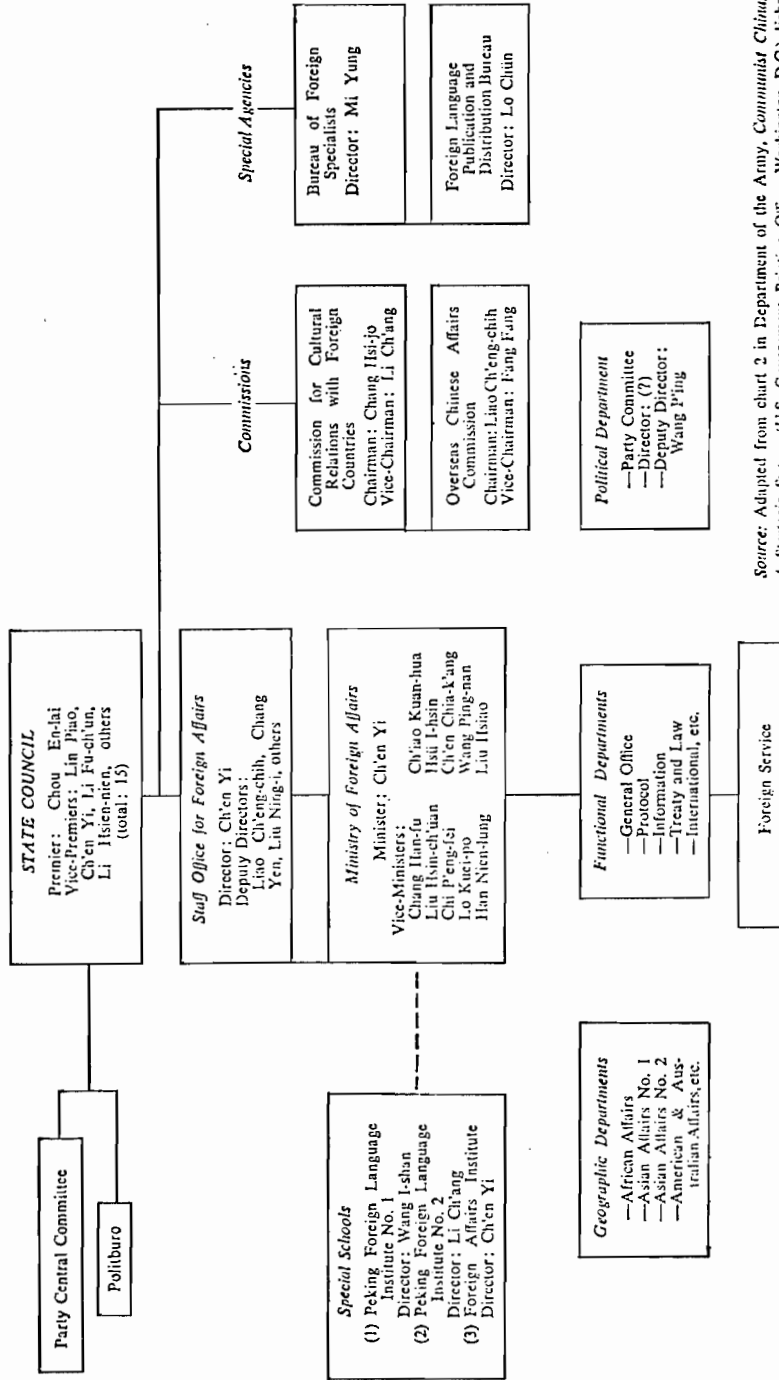
(Subject to change during the period of constant reorganisation that began with the Cultural Revolution)



• Until 1971

Ching Ping and Dennis Bloodworth. Heirs Apparent: What Happens When Mao Dies?  
 New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1973:206.

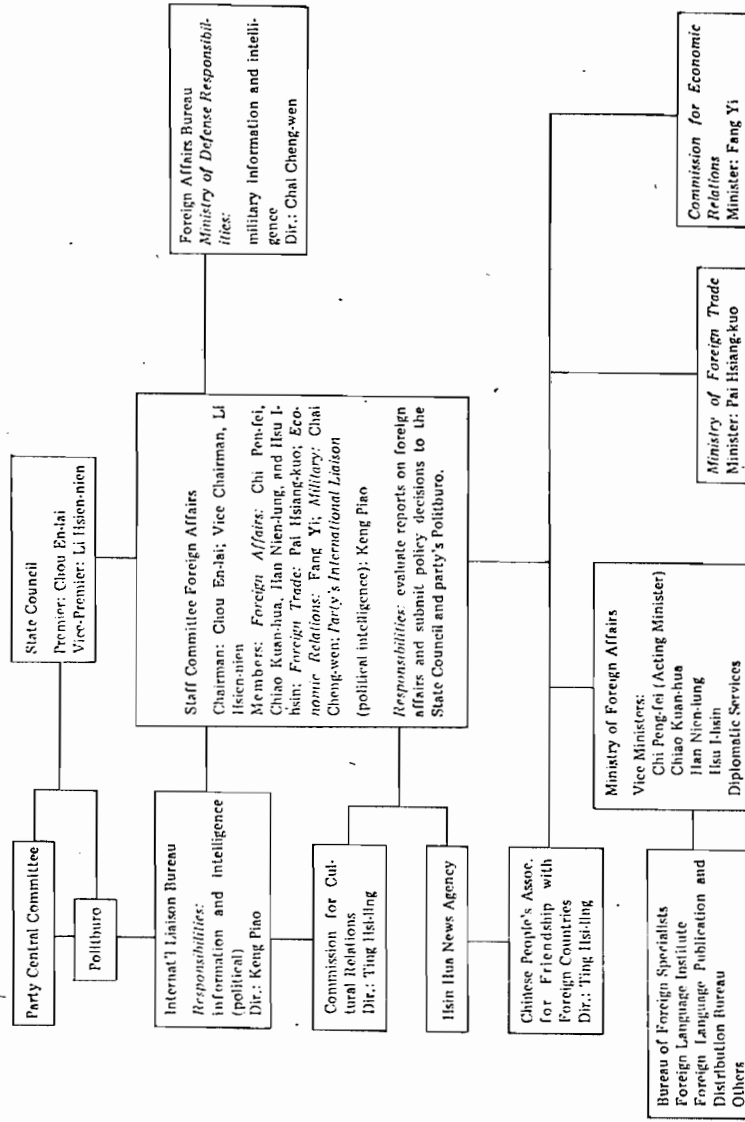
THE STRUCTURE OF COMMUNIST CHINA'S FOREIGN AFFAIRS SYSTEM (1966-67)



Source: Adapted from chart 2 in Department of the Army, *Communist China: A Strategic Survey* (U.S. Government Printing Office: Washington, D.C.), February 1966.

Melvin Gurtov. "The Foreign Ministry and Foreign Affairs During the Cultural Revolution." China Quarterly 40 (October-December 1969):101.

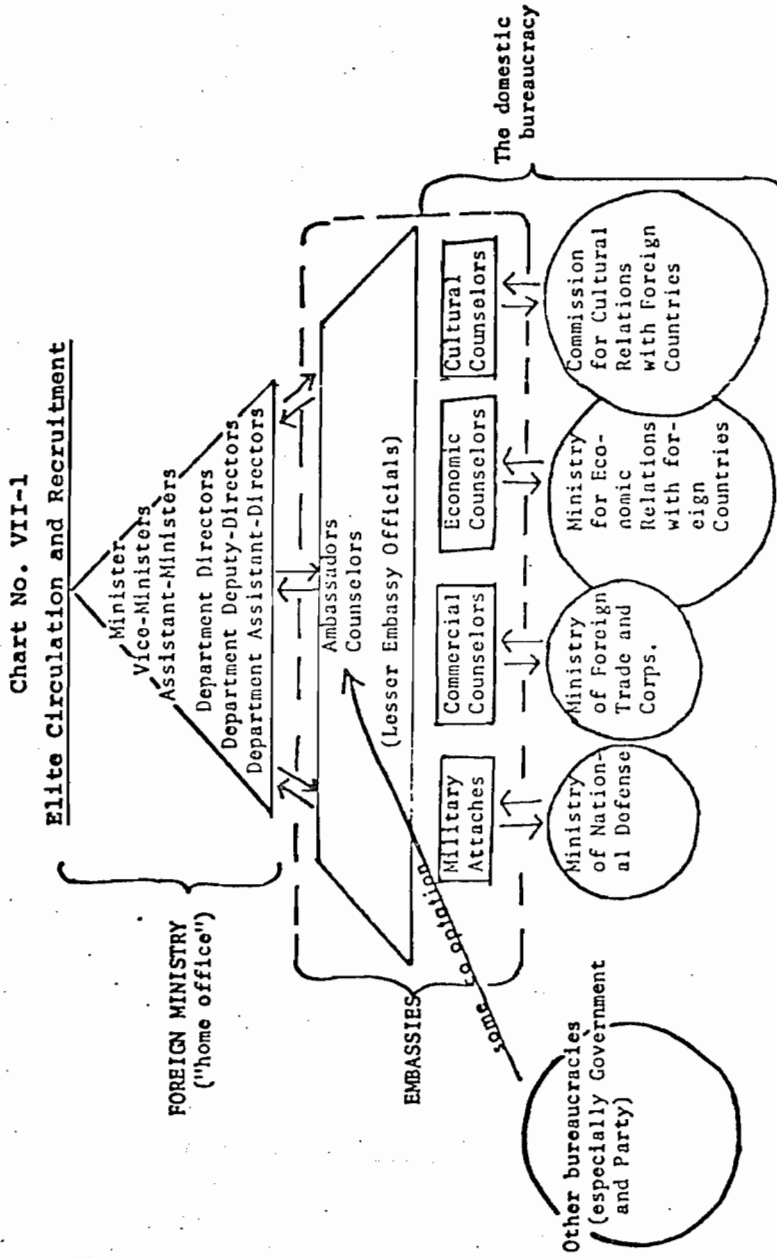
# APPENDIX B Decision-making Chart of China's Foreign Policy\*



\* From various background materials on China

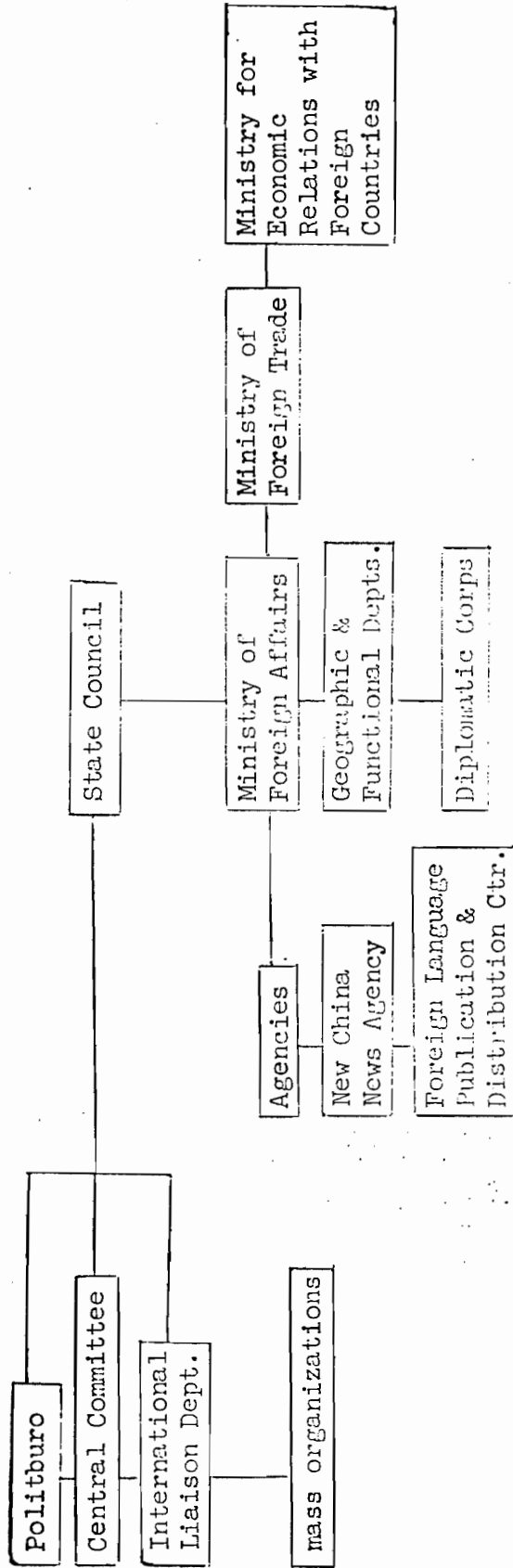
Winberg Chai, (Editor). The Foreign Relations of the People's Republic of China. New York: Capricorn Books, 1972:403.



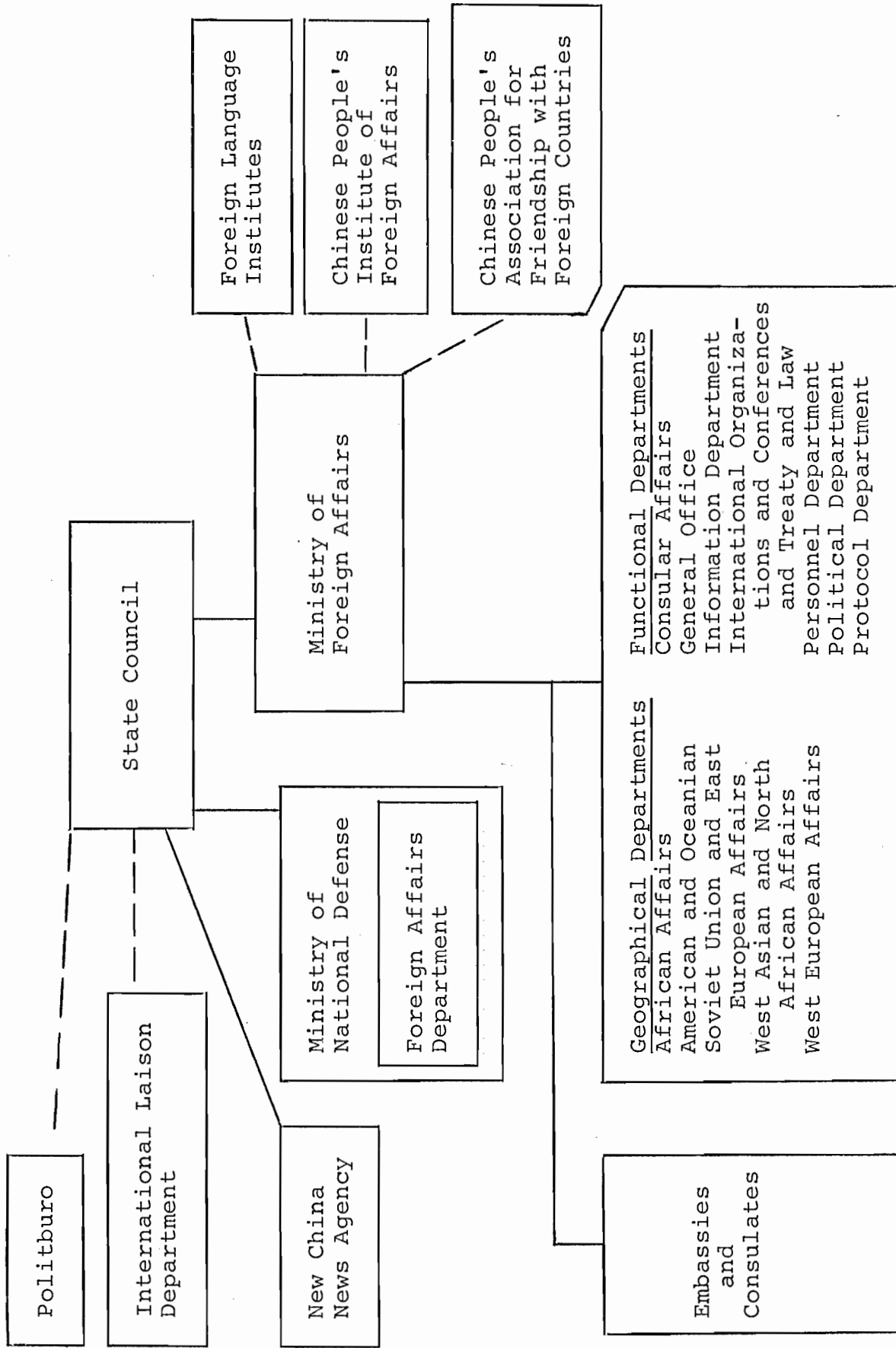


Donald Klein. The Chinese Foreign Ministry. Ph. D. Thesis, Columbia University, 1974:298.

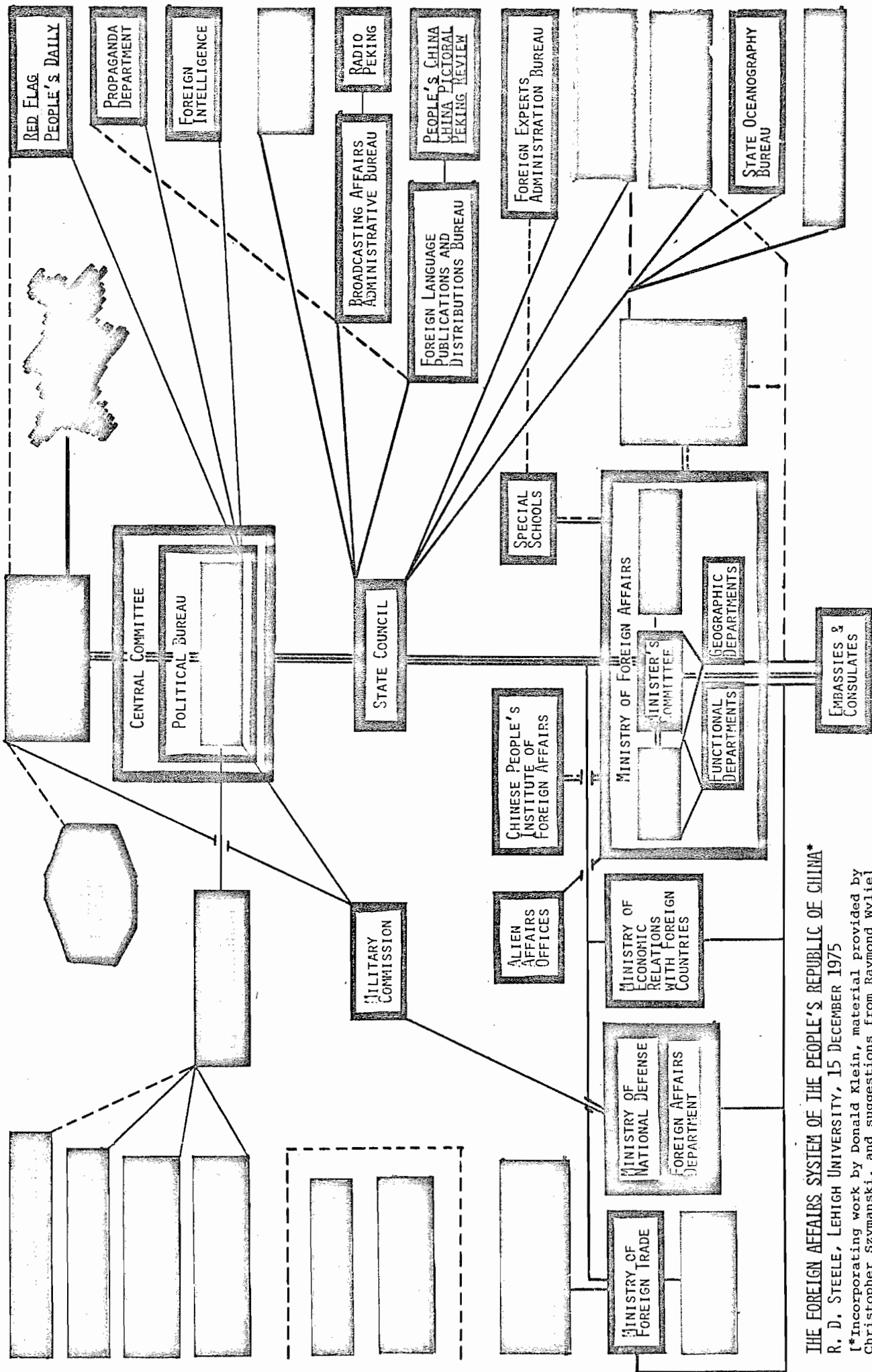
Figure 5.1: Foreign Affairs System, 1969-1973



Christopher J. Szymanski. Bureaucratic Development in the People's Republic of China: A Case Study of the Foreign Affairs System, 1949-1973. Ph. D. Thesis, Brown University, 1975:96.



Department of State/Central Intelligence Agency. The Foreign Affairs System of the People's Republic of China. June 1975:Chart; ~~ABRIDGED~~ (NAMES EXCLUDED)



THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS SYSTEM OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA\*

R. D. STEELE, LEHIGH UNIVERSITY, 15 DECEMBER 1975

\*Incorporating work by Donald Klein, material provided by Christopher Szymanski, and suggestions from Raymond Wylie

GENERAL GOAL

STRATEGIC OBJECTIVE

TACTICAL EXPRESSION

SURVIVAL

SECURE DOMESTIC CONTROL

CONTROL COERCIVE POWER  
NEUTRALIZE POPULATION  
ELIMINATE RIVAL FACTIONS  
ASSUME GOVERNMENT FUNCTIONS

SECURE BORDERS

RESPECT OPPOSING BORDERS  
SEEK RECOGNITION OF DESIRED BORDERS  
MOBILIZE BORDER PATROL  
RETALIATE STRONGLY AGAINST INCURSIONS

SECURITY

DOMINATE PATHS OF APPROACH

MAINTAIN COASTAL NAVY  
DEVELOP TACTICAL AIR FORCE  
DEVELOP REGIONAL NAVY  
DEVELOP STRATEGIC AIR FORCE

NEUTRALIZE ENEMY CONCENTRATIONS

ISOLATE RIVAL FACTIONS IN EXILE  
DEVELOP REGIONAL NUCLEAR DELIVERY CAPABILITY  
CONSTRAIN ESTABLISHMENT OF ENEMY BASES

PREVENT GROWTH OF LOCAL RIVALS

AVOID THREAT TO INTEGRITY OF LOCAL POWERS  
DISCOURAGE EXTERNAL MILITARY ASSISTANCE  
ENCOURAGE ECONOMIC EXPANSION  
DISCOURAGE LOCAL MILITARY INVESTMENT

ELIMINATE ENEMY CONCENTRATIONS

AVOID THREAT TO GREAT POWER INTERESTS  
INSTIGATE DEMANDS FOR GREAT POWER ATTENTIONS  
ELSEWHERE  
ENCOURAGE WITHDRAWAL OF LOCAL SUPPORT  
NEGOTIATE FOR EXCLUSIVE OR NEUTRALIZED ZONE  
EXCLUDING, INTER ALIA, NON-INDIGENOUS  
NUCLEAR WEAPONS

NEUTRALIZE UNFRIENDLY GOVERNMENTS

INITIATE SANCTIONS  
SPONSOR REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS  
OFFER LIBERAL MILITARY AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE

INTEGRITY

CONSOLIDATE POLITICAL POWER

MAINTAIN REVOLUTIONARY MOMENTUM  
CONTROL CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION  
ARTICULATE AND MANIPULATE THE ASPIRATIONS  
OF THE MASSES

MAINTAIN CONVENTIONAL CAPACITIES

CONTINUE CONSCRIPTION OR ENCOURAGE VOLUNTEERS  
DEVELOP TACTICAL WEAPONS  
ENCOURAGE REGIONAL SELF-SUFFICIENCY  
MOBILIZE POPULATION

ACHIEVE NUCLEAR PARITY

SUPPORT RESEARCH  
OBTAIN EXTERNAL ASSISTANCE  
REFUSE NON-PROLIFERATION OR TEST BAN AGREEMENTS

MODERNIZATION

MOBILIZE RESOURCES

DEVELOP INNOVATIVE ORGANIZATION  
PROMOTE ATTITUDINAL INDOCTRINATION  
CREATE INFRASTRUCTURE  
ENCOURAGE CAPITAL ACCUMULATION  
ACQUIRE TECHNOLOGY

ESTABLISH INTERNATIONAL TRADE POSITION

EXPLOIT LABOR MARKET  
EXPLOIT NATURAL RESOURCES  
OFFER FAVORABLE TRADE AGREEMENTS  
ACCEPT POLITICAL COMPROMISES

National Goals, Strategic Objectives, and Tactical Expressions

## INFLUENCE

LEGITIMIZE HERITAGE

ESTABLISH TRADITIONAL FOUNDATION  
DEMONSTRATE POPULAR SUPPORT  
ACQUIRE DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION  
ACQUIRE POSITIONS IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS  
CONSTANTLY REITERATE ACHIEVEMENT

PROMULGATE "IDEAL MODEL" OF  
DEVELOPMENT

STRESS ACHIEVEMENTS  
PROGNOSTICATE  
OFFER LIBERAL ASSISTANCE

DOMINATE REGIONAL ECONOMY

OFFER FAVORABLE TRADE AGREEMENTS  
OFFER LIBERAL ECONOMIC AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE  
SUBSIDIZE HOME INDUSTRIES  
SUBVERT HOST INDUSTRIES

MAINTAIN FRIENDLY GOVERNMENTS

OFFER LIBERAL ASSISTANCE  
RESTRAIN REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS  
SUPPORT HOSTS ON LOCAL ISSUES

DOMINATE REGIONAL ALLIANCE

CREATE TENSION  
CREATE ORGANIZATION  
CONTROL RESOURCES  
SHARE RESOURCES  
RESOLVE TENSION  
REWARD ALLIES

## HEGEMONY

ELIMINATE UNFRIENDLY GOVERNMENTS

MAINTAIN SANCTIONS  
SUPPORT REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS  
SEND "VOLUNTEERS"

PROMULGATE IDEOLOGY

GAIN CONTROL OF MASS MEDIA  
INFLUENCE SCHOOL CURRICULA  
OFFER ASSISTANCE AT MOST FUNDAMENTAL LEVELS

MAINTAIN REGIONAL STABILITY

ARBITRATE AMONG CONFLICTING NATIONAL GROUPS  
INDOCTRINATE MASSES, SHIFTING LOYALTIES  
DISARM SUBSIDIARY GROUPS

EXCLUDE OTHER GREAT POWERS

NATIONALIZE FOREIGN BUSINESS INTERESTS  
INSTIGATE DEMANDS FOR GREAT POWER ATTENTIONS  
ELSEWHERE  
MAINTAIN STABILITY AND SOLIDARITY IN REGION

ESTABLISH TRIBUTARY SYSTEM

CENTRALIZE TAXATION  
CENTRALIZE PLANNING  
CENTRALIZE WELFARE

## EMPIRE

DOMINATE INTERNATIONAL TRADE  
PROMULGATE "IDEAL MODEL"  
PROMULGATE IDEOLOGY  
DOMINATE MIDDLE POWER ALLIANCE  
SUBVERT GREAT POWERS  
DISARM GREAT POWERS

## SOCIALISM

MOBILIZE ECONOMIC RESOURCES  
CONSOLIDATE POLITICAL POWER  
CONTROL MASS MEDIA  
ELIMINATE BUREAUCRACY  
ESTABLISH COMMUNISTIC WORLD  
INDOCTRINATE MASSES

GENERAL STRATEGY

TACTICAL EXPRESSION

IMPLEMENTING AGENCIES

PROPAGANDA

POSITION STATEMENTS

EMBASSIES & CONSULATES  
NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY  
MINISTERS & CHAIRMEN

IDEOLOGICAL STATEMENTS

CHAIRMEN & MINISTERS  
PROPAGANDA DEPARTMENT  
RADIO PEKING  
PEKING REVIEW  
RED FLAG  
PEOPLE'S DAILY

IDEOLOGICAL DEMONSTRATIONS

YOUNG COMMUNISTS  
RED GUARD  
YOUTH & LABOR

MILITARY DEMONSTRATIONS

MINISTRY OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

PRAGMATIC REPRESENTATION

INTERNATIONAL LAISON DEPARTMENT  
PEOPLE'S BANK OF CHINA  
FOREIGN TRADE CORPORATIONS  
CHINESE PEOPLE'S ASSOCIATION FOR  
FRIENDSHIP WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES  
MINISTRY OF ECONOMIC RELATIONS  
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
EMBASSIES & CONSULATES

LOCAL AFFILIATION

NATIONAL MAOIST PARTIES  
RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS BUREAU  
CHINA TRAVEL AND TOURISM BUREAU

OVERSEAS CHINESE

POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR PEKING  
POLITICAL PRESSURE ON HOST  
FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR PEKING  
FINANCIAL PRESSURE ON HOST

EMBASSIES & CONSULATES  
RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS BUREAU  
PEOPLE'S BANK OF CHINA  
FOREIGN TRADE CORPORATIONS

LOCAL COMMUNISTS

POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR PEKING  
POLITICAL PRESSURE ON HOST  
MILITARY PRESSURE ON HOST

INTERNATIONAL LAISON DEPARTMENT  
NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY  
MINISTRY OF NATIONAL DEFENSE  
FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE  
PEOPLE'S BANK OF CHINA

PEOPLE'S DIPLOMACY

ESTABLISH INFORMAL RELATIONS

CHINESE PEOPLE'S ASSOCIATION FOR  
FRIENDSHIP WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES  
CHINA TRAVEL AND TOURISM BUREAU  
NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY  
FOREIGN LANGUAGE PUBLICATIONS AND  
DISTRIBUTIONS BUREAU  
PEOPLE'S BANK OF CHINA  
NATIONAL MAOIST PARTIES  
CHINA COMMITTEE FOR THE PROMOTION  
OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE  
FOREIGN TRADE CORPORATIONS

CONDUCT TRADE

AID PROGRAMS

ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE  
MILITARY ASSISTANCE  
GENERAL ASSISTANCE

MINISTRY OF ECONOMIC RELATIONS  
MINISTRY OF NATIONAL DEFENSE  
FOREIGN TRADE CORPORATIONS  
PEOPLE'S BANK OF CHINA

DIPLOMACY

MAINTAIN FORMAL RELATIONS

EMBASSIES & CONSULATES  
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS  
SPECIAL DELEGATIONS

MILITARY ACTION

GAIN A PARTICULAR OBJECTIVE

MINISTRY OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

PEOPLE'S WAR

SUBVERT FOREIGN GOVERNMENT

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE  
NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY  
PROPAGANDA DEPARTMENT  
MINISTRY OF NATIONAL DEFENSE  
NATIONAL MAOIST PARTIES

General Strategies, Tactical Expressions, and Implementing Agencies

## RESEARCH BIBLIOGRAPHY

Note. In addition to the "search strategy" outlined in the following pages, as distributed to the members of the class earlier, the following additional items were examined. This separate research bibliography is provided in order to both demonstrate the representative character of the topical bibliography which follows it, and in order to prevent the duplication of effort which might occur if anyone chooses to pursue the topic along the lines drawn in the paper.

### Guides to Sources of Information.

Ash, Lee (Compiler). Subject Collections: A Guide to Special Book Collections and Subject Emphases As Reported by University, College, Public, and Special Libraries and Museums in the United States and Canada.

Kruzas, Anthony T. et al. (Editors). Encyclopedia of Information Systems and Services. Orange, New Jersey: Academic Media, 1971. MR 010.78 K94E

This source yielded a reference to:

Association of Research Libraries (ARL)  
Center for Chinese Research Materials (CCRM)  
1527 New Hampshire Avenue, North West  
Washington, D. C. 20036.

The Center undertakes bibliographic projects for librarians, and provides copies of scarce materials relating to contemporary China.

Modern China Studies International Bulletin: An Annual Bulletin of Current Post-Graduate Research, New Research Materials, Conferences, and Staff Movements. London: Contemporary China Institute, School of Oriental and African Studies, London University. 951.005 M689

This source obviously has the most potential of any of the materials mentioned here. It led to Szymanski, among others. A disadvantage is that projects mentioned turn out to be incomplete or temporarily shelved, but it seems one of the best ways for the outsider to learn who is moving in the area -- Peter Van Ness on Informal Diplomacy, for example.



White, Carl M. et al. Sources of Information in the Social Sciences: A guide to the Literature (Second Edition). Chicago: American Library Association, 1973. MR 300.16 W583S

This source provided approximately fifteen references; however, only three of them were new ones.

In addition to the above materials, the bibliographies in a few basic texts were examined, and footnotes from all reviewed material were followed up if they looked interesting.

The Social Science Citation Index was not utilized as carefully as it might. A new search through this reference source, using a list of authors compiled from the topical bibliography, is sure to yield at least some new material. A few examples of what might turn up:

Boardman, R. "Chinese Foreign Policy - Toward Authentic Social Science." B Con As Sc (abbrev.) 6/2:2 (1974). 45 References.

The author's address (e.g. for a reprint):

Dalhousie University  
Center for International Relations  
Halifax, Nova Scotia  
Canada

Kegley, C. W. Jr. "A General Empirical Typology of Foreign Policy Behavior." Sage Professional Papers 2/14 (1973).

Poole, Peter Andrew. "Communist China's Aid Diplomacy." Asian Survey 6/11 (November 1966):622-29.

Wei, Y. "Elite Conflicts in Chinese Politics - A Comparative Note." Stud Com Co (abbrev.) 7/1-2 (1974:64. 33 References.

Memphis State University  
Communist Asian Studies  
Memphis, Tennessee 38111

The China Quarterly, Asian Survey, and Problems of Communism were scanned for articles from 1970 onwards, but at a time when the topical area was narrowly defined.

The following search strategy is not necessarily demanded by members of the department. The sources listed are for your guidance. Comments reflect the opinion of R. Steele.

A good way to begin with many topics is:

R  
031  
B86E  
1974

The New Encyclopaedia Britannica in 30 Volumes: A Macropae-  
dia, Knowledge in Depth. 15th Edition. Chicago: William  
Benton, Publisher, 1974.

This will often provide perspective on the subject, and may suggest sources and keywords which would not have been related to the topic beforehand. The concise summary may help define the paper topic, or suggest an alternative approach which would be more fruitful.

It is often useful to try to find works which enumerate or review all previously published material on the topic, allowing for the convenient selection of a few directly pertinent items with the least amount of manual searching.

R  
016.016  
1970...

Bibliographic Index: A Cummulative Bibliography of Bibliog-  
raphies. N.Y.: The H. W. Wilson Company.

Published three times a year, with the third issue being the annual cummulation, this reference serves as its title implies. Besides articles and books published as bibliographies, it guides the user to chapter bibliographies and other less easily found lists of references. It is a quick way to locate specialty bibliographies, such as the annual

[R]  
950.016  
B582  
1969...

Bibliography of Asian Studies. Association for Asian Stud-  
ies, in association with the Knowledge Availability Center,  
University of Pittsburgh.

The latter appears to be particularly good at picking up international references in various languages.

R  
082  
D613a

Dissertation Abstracts International, A: The Humanities and  
Social Sciences. Retrospective Index, Volumes I-XXIX; An-  
nual Indices, Volumes XXX-XXXIII; Monthly Indices, Volumes  
XXXIV-XXXVI.

One of my favorite sources, Dissertations will often lead you to a doctoral dissertation on your specific topic. The one disadvantage is that you may encounter problems in attempting to borrow the dissertation through Inter-Library Loan. If it is important enough (something you can judge by reading the abstract in the appropriate monthly listing which is cited in the index), dissertations may be purchased for approximately eleven dollars. This suggests the importance of starting early, since delivery may take a couple of weeks.

Good dissertations or dissertations of current interest will often be published, and may be found, together with books published earlier which remain in demand, in:

RR  
018.4  
P976ab  
1974

Subject Guide to Books in Print, 1974 (etc.). N.Y.: R.R. Bowker Co. Two Volumes.

In some cases this can be an excellent way to start. In others (such as the case of China), there may be such a large amount of material listed under the general headings that one will lose interest. If you have the time, this may help you find the one book with the right title.

It may be of interest at this point to mention the services of the Inter-Library Loan Librarian at Lehigh, Mr. William Finke. Should you desire a book which is not available at Lehigh and does not look like it's worth purchase, Mr. Finke will attempt to obtain it (and any reasonable number of other books) from libraries which do have them. Undergraduates are generally limited to attempts within the Lehigh Valley, although I imagine exceptions are made. If you should ever run into this barrier, and believe the book important, ask a member of the department for assistance. There are no limits on faculty (who also don't pay fines on the book you may want to keep over-due).

Books and dissertations will often be at least a year out of date. In some fast changing topic areas, this may be relegate them to historical catagories, in which case a search for contemporary articles will be in order. The best place to start such a search is in the:

R  
016.3  
P976

Public Affairs Information Service Bulletin. New York: Public Affairs Information Service, Inc.

Starting with the most recent quarterly index, and working back through the cummulative indexes, you will quickly sense how well served your topic area is, and will be able to decide how discriminating you can afford to be in noting items which may be of use. In sparse areas you may have to note an incredible number of items, if only to be able to select the ten best at the end of it all.

Depending on the utility of PAIS for your area of interest, you may have to resort to one or two other reference works:

R  
050  
I61a

Social Sciences Index (Previously encompassed by the Social Sciences & Humanities Index). N.Y.: H.W. Wilson Company.

SSI has a reputation (to which I can't testify) for better coverage of international journals than PAIS.

R  
050  
R286

Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature: An Author and Subject Index. N.Y.: H.W. Wilson Company.

The Reader's Guide will sometimes pick up items which for one reason or another did not appear in the other sources. It is not, however, usually worth your time. It is also a more general guide, including such "common" magazines as Time, Newsweek, Popular Mechanix, and Motor Trends, which makes it very useful the next time you want to find all articles assessing the performance of various 4 wheel drive utility vehicles.

The government or its affiliated institutions (such as the Rand Corporation) will often have very good material on topics such as those being covered by the class. Congressional Hearings, CIA reports, primary material translations, and a lot of trivia will often be found through the following sources:

RR  
051.73  
U5m

Monthly Catalog of United States Government Publications. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

This is published monthly, with an annual cumulative index provided in the December issue.

MRI  
016.6  
U581ia

Government Reports Announcements. U.S. Department of Commerce, National Technical Information Service.

The only reference on this list which is located in Mart Library. I haven't used this one enough to evaluate it properly. It looks like it may be a better place to start prior to looking at the Monthly Catalog or PAIS, in the hope of finding a RAND report that would be as cumulative as a dissertation.

The polish to your search will be provided by the following two steps, which may appear tedious, but are often very productive. First, you may care to physically examine the current and past issues of journals relevant to your topic. This has the advantage of allowing you to pick up important articles related to your topic which would not have been covered by the few keywords you chose to work with, and which will add breadth to your report. Isolating the journals is best done by simply asking the professor. In our case, Hinton mentions on page 340:

The China Quarterly (London). [Current/Past] 9/951.005-C539.  
Asian Survey (Berkeley) 9/950.05-A8321.  
The Far Eastern Economic Review (Hong Kong) 3/330.95-F219.  
Problems of Communism (D.C.) DOC./DOC.IA1.8  
China News Analysis (Hong Kong) not available at Lehigh.  
Journal of Asian Studies (Ann Arbor) marginal, but see their annual bibliographies.

Depending on your topic, Professor Wylie is sure to suggest other journals and specialty bibliographies.

The last step in your search procedure is perhaps the most important in terms of finding and using the latest material which is most highly regarded by the professionals in the field. The only convenient way in which we can do this is through the:

R  
300.16  
S678

Social Science Citation Index. Philadelphia: Institute for Scientific Information.

This index is produced in May August, and December, the latter being the annual cummulation. It is divided into four sections.

The Citation Index (sometimes two volumes) lists each author whose past work was cited during the period in question, divided by the work cited. In other words, if you have an article written by Raymond Vernon on the "Sexual Fantasies of Multinational Corporate Presidents" in 1962, and this is precisely your topic area, then it follows that anyone that cites this work is 1975 is likely to be of interest to you. Look under Vernon, and under Vernon look for 62 and the abbreviated title of the journal in which the article appeared (Harvard B R). If the date and title appear at all, you will find at least one author and some bibliographic information listed below.

The Source Index will provide complete bibliographic information for each of the entries provided by the citation index. This will allow you to judge on the basis of title if the authors you found listed under Vernon are right on your track, or too peripheral. This is the only way I know, short of trapping Vernon in an elevator, of finding out who is doing the latest in your narrow area of interest.

The Subject Index may prove to be a short-cut allowing the elimination of all of the preceeding steps. I have, however, found enough bugs in it so that I would caution anyone planning to rely solely on it (among other things, many authors can not write intelligent descriptive titles, and the index doesn't properly list titles which are hyphenated - so that China - Cultural Revolution would disappear. There are a surprising number of hyphenated titles. However, by looking under China, and then the secondary terms (taken directly from the titles) listed underneath, you may be able to list a few authors whose Source Index titles may send you off.

. . . . .

I do not mean to suggest that a good paper can only be produced by investigating each of the above sources. Rather, I have tried to outline the most basic options. Should you be doing a thesis, there are far more sources that will be vital to your work, including among others the indexes to the New York and London Times, specialty collections and information retrieval services located elsewhere, and so on. The reference librarians will guide you to more sophisticated sources.

## TOPICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

Note. The following bibliography is limited to English-language secondary materials. It was found necessary to vastly expand the scope of the bibliography as the paucity of materials focusing on the topic area was realized. It is hoped that some of the peripheral materials cited below will prove useful as entry points into segments of the outline which the paper provides.

A small check-mark in the left-hand column identifies those materials reviewed in preparing the outline; most of the articles are in the author's xeroxed collection; many of the books are in his library, or are easily available either at Lehigh or through Inter-Library Loan. The abbreviation DAI refers to Dissertation Abstracts International, with the accompanying numbers referring to DAI's notation system.

Ahn, Byung-Joon. Ideology, Policy and Power in Chinese Politics and the Evolution of the Cultural Revolution, 1959-1965. 365-A DAI 33(1973):A:INDEX:197.

American Academy of Political and Social Science. China in the World Today. (Richard D. Lambert, Special Editor). Philadelphia, Pa.: The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1972.

An, Tai-Sung. Communist China and "Peaceful Coexistence": An Analysis of Communist China's Foreign Policy. 24/10/4275 64-3478 DAI:RETROSPECTIVE INDEX IV:152.

✓ Barnett, A. Doak. Cadres, Bureaucracy, and Political Power in Communist China. New York: Columbia University Press, 1967.

\_\_\_\_\_. Chinese Communist Politics in Action: Studies in Chinese Government and Politics, 1. University of Washington Press, 1969.

✓ \_\_\_\_\_ . "Mechanisms for Party Control in the Government Bureaucracy in China," in Fred W. Riggs (Editor). Frontiers of Development Administration. Durham: Duke University Press, 1971:415-436.

Bary, William Theodore de, Wing-Tsit Chan, and Burton Watson (Compilers). Sources of Chinese Tradition. New York: Columbia University Press, 1960.

- Baum, Richard Dennis. Revolution and Reaction in Rural China: The Struggle Between Two Roads During the Socialist Education Movement (1962-1966) and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-1968). 6120-A DAI 31(1971):A: INDEX:166.
- ✓ Bedeski, Robert E. "Institutional Legitimacy and External Affairs in Modern China." Orbis 16 (Spring 1972):237-256.
- Berton, Peter, and Eugene Wu. Contemporary China: A Research Guide. Stanford: The Hoover Institution, 1967.
- ✓ Bianco, Lucien. Origins of the Chinese Revolution, 1915-1949. (Muriel Bell, Translator). Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967.
- ✓ "Bibliography of Asian Studies" Journal of Asian Studies. Coral Gables, Fla.: Association for Asian Studies, Annual.
- Bibliography and Index to the United States Joint Publications Research Service Translations. CCM Information Corporation, 1971.
- Bishop, John L. (Editor). Studies of Governmental Institutions in Chinese History. (Harvard Yenching Institute Series Number 23). Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968.
- Boyd, R. G. Communist China's Foreign Policy. New York: Praeger, 1962.
- Bressi, Giovanni. "China's Foreign Policy." European Review 23 (Spring 1973):4-6+.
- ✓ Bridgham, Philip. "Factionalism in the Central Committee." In John Wilson Lewis (Editor). Party Leadership and Revolutionary Power in China. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970:203-235.
- ✓ Carrington, Goodrich. A Short History of the Chinese People. (Revised Edition). New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1951.
- Chai, Trong Rong. Professionals in Communist China: Conflict and Accomodation. 3081-A DAI 30(1970):A:INDEX:98.
- ✓ Chalmers, Johnson. "The Changing Nature and Locus of Authority in Communist China." In John M. H. Lindbeck (Editor). China: Management of a Revolutionary Society. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1971:34-76.

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### Conclusion and Review

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