



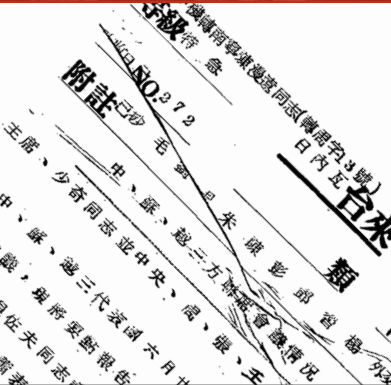
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Center
for Scholars

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COLD WAR INTERNATIONAL HISTORY PROJECT

BULLETIN

Inside China's Cold War



Featuring new evidence on:

Mao, Stalin, and the Road to
the 1950 Summit

Mongolia and the Cold War

The 1954 Geneva Conference

North Korea in 1956

Sino-Albanian Summits
1961-67

Romania and the Sino-US
Opening

Edited by Christian F. Ostermann



The Cold War International History Project

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**Christian Friedrich
Ostermann**

CWIHP was established at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C., in 1991 with the generous support of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:
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The Project supports the full and prompt release of historical materials by governments on all sides of the Cold War, and seeks to accelerate the process of integrating new sources, materials and perspectives from the former “Communist bloc” with the historiography of the Cold War which has been written over the past few decades largely by Western scholars reliant on Western archival sources. It also seeks to transcend barriers of language, geography, and regional specialization to create new links among scholars interested in Cold War history.

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Among the activities undertaken by the Project to promote this aim are a periodic Bulletin and other publications to disseminate new findings, views, and activities pertaining to Cold War history; a fellowship program for young historians from the former Communist bloc countries to conduct archival research and study Cold War history in the United States; and international scholarly meetings, conferences, and seminars.

ASSISTANT EDITORS:
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At the Woodrow Wilson Center, the Project is part of the History and Public Policy Program, directed by Christian Friedrich Ostermann. The project is overseen by an advisory committee that is chaired by William C. Taubman (Amherst College) and includes Michael Beschloss; James H. Billington (Library of Congress); Warren I. Cohen (University of Maryland, Baltimore County); John Lewis Gaddis (Yale University); James G. Hershberg (George Washington University); Robert S. Litwak (Woodrow Wilson Center); Samuel F. Wells (Woodrow Wilson Center); and Sharon Wolchik (George Washington University)

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DIRECTOR'S NOTE

Archival Thaw in China

By Christian F. Ostermann



This issue of the *Bulletin* marks an important point in the long march towards access to government documents from all sides of the Cold War. In 2004, the Foreign Ministry of the People's Republic of China began the systematic declassification of its records—ending more than half a century of precluding scholarly access to archives critical to analyzing PRC foreign policy. This opening should have profound impact on the study of China's Cold War.

To be sure, since Deng Xiaoping's policy of reform and opening in the mid-1980s, a number of valuable historical materials, including party documents, former leaders' works, memoirs and oral histories, have become available to scholars. The Chinese government has also adopted several archival laws and regulations since the early 1980s, providing—on paper—for a thirty-year rule for the declassification of archival records. Official document editions greatly improved over earlier government publications produced largely to justify the historical legitimacy of the Chinese Communist Revolution and mobilizing the party's rank and file—not to provide historians with authentic sources. In a recent example for the much-improved official collections, the CCP's Division of Central Archives and Manuscripts published in 2005 a four-volume collection of *Jianguo yilai Liu Shaoqi wengao*, the manuscripts of Liu Shaoqi, the No.2 man behind Mao prior to the Cultural Revolution.¹

In the 1990s “neibu” document compilations and histories compiled for internal party and government use became increasingly available to scholars, though often unofficially; they in fact constituted a major source for much of the new scholarship on China's Cold War experience. The unexpected wealth of Russian and East European archival sources that became accessible after the disintegration of the USSR and the Eastern European revolutions—along with an unprecedented spike in declassification of US government documentation in the first post-Cold War decade—added to a rich new historical database on PRC foreign policy. Moreover, ingenious and often courageous Chinese scholars—and a few undeterred and adventurous Western doctoral candidates and researchers—managed to exploit various local and provincial archives, such as those in Jinlin, Liaoning, Fujian, Guangxi, Yunnan and

Jiangsu. Somewhat more relaxed in their access policies, these archives made available CCP Central Committee documents on foreign relations that had been relayed to regional party committees or government organs. The documents reflected the implementation of foreign policy decision-making in Beijing. As such, they provided important new insights on subjects ranging from China's aid to Vietnam to border conflicts, from the impact of the Western China embargo to Sino-Soviet relations. Similarly, the archives of ostensibly less politically sensitive central ministries have proved lucrative in terms of new information on PRC foreign policy.²

But the dramatic changes in the former Soviet and East European communist party and state archives also highlighted the troubling deficiencies of the “selected document” publications and, more generally, the lack of access in the PRC to those archives central to an understanding of Chinese diplomacy. As thousands of internal party and government documents—from local party organs and embassies all the way to the Politburo—replaced, or rather supplemented, *Pravda* and the occasional document smuggled out from behind the Iron Curtain as sources for the analysis of Soviet bloc behavior, China scholars remained dependent on the selective release and publication policy of the CCP to go beyond *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily). It remained uncertain, moreover, to what extent “neibu” histories were reliable and could be cited. Access to the archives on the periphery, uneven at best, could substitute for research in the central archives only to a very limited degree: after all, regional archives provided precious little information on the internal dynamics of the foreign policy process. China effectively remained on the sidelines of the post-Cold War revolution in archival openness.

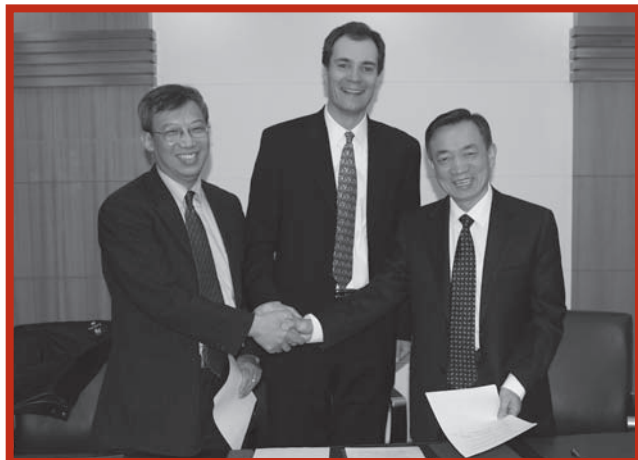
The opening at the Foreign Ministry is therefore an important moment. Since 2004, the Foreign Ministry has reportedly declassified more than 40,000 items from its diplomatic records for the period from 1949 to 1960. To be sure, the declassified documentation includes much material available from other sources and hence of lesser interest to scholars interested in foreign policy analysis: published pronouncements and agreements, official congratulatory notes, even translations of Western newspaper articles or press clippings.

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(This is nothing new for scholars who started working in the Russian archives in 1992. The declassified files included hundreds of translated *New York Times* articles.) But the newly declassified materials also contain more significant materials: directives and speeches drafted by Premier Zhou Enlai, who also served as foreign minister from 1949 to 1958, as well as directions from the Politburo and memoranda of conversations between Chinese leaders and international interlocutors; of course, diplomatic dispatches from embassies, but also intelligence and other records that did not originate with the Foreign Ministry. The Ministry has proceeded chronologically, hence the first set of declassified materials concern the establishment of official diplomatic relations between China and other countries in the 1950s; the formation and development of the Sino-Soviet alliance; and China's participation in two international conferences: the 1954 Geneva Conference and the 1955 Bandung Conference; Sino-American ambassadorial talks in the 1950s; and the Polish and Hungarian crises in 1956.³

The decision to open up the Foreign Ministry archives, no doubt taken at the highest levels, and its timing, likely stems from a complex set of motives. Certainly the decision reflects a desire on the part of the government and party to continue to shape how China's (international) story is told, both internally and externally. After all, declassification and access remain tightly controlled, and the selection—though qualitatively far superior and quantitatively far broader than prior practice—reflects political exigencies and national security concerns. Beijing, moreover, is aware that a certain degree of archival transparency has become an international standard for any government intent on projecting the image of a modern world power (though the limits of openness remain contested, not just in China, but in Russia, the United States, and even within the transitional societies of Eastern Europe: witness the recent debate about access to the records of the former East German or Romanian state security files).⁴

The opening at the Foreign Ministry is also a result of the persistent efforts by Chinese and international scholars—including CWIHP—in the 1990s to bring the persistent imbalance of archival sources to the attention of the authorities, in part by making freely accessible copies of declassified US, Russian and East European documents on China. These collections underlined the fact that until the PRC opened its files for research, China's history would be written based on Russian, Mongolian, Hungarian or Albanian documents! Within the span of just a few years, several new centers for Cold War research emerged in China, most prominently at Beijing University and East China Normal University (ECNU) in Shanghai. In 1999, entrepreneur-turned-historian Shen Zhihua, an adjunct professor at Beijing University and specialist on Sino-Russian relations, and Li Danhui, a former CWIHP fellow (1998-1999) and expert on China's border conflicts, founded the *Beijing Daxue Xiandai Shiliao Yanjiu Zhongxin* (Modern History Research and Archives Center, Beijing University). The Center, run by Beijing University's History Department in conjunction with the International



Signing of the March 2007 Memorandum of Understanding between the PRC Foreign Ministry Archive, CWIHP, and Cornell University

From left to right, Chen Jian (Cornell University), CWIHP Director Christian Ostermann, Ambassador Chongli Guo, the director of the FMA

Studies Department, has published *Guoji lengzhanshi yanjiu zhiliao* (*Cold War International History Bulletin*), a journal of declassified and translated documents. The Center also launched a series of excellent scholarly workshops that provided a forum for the discussion of new research on China's Cold War history. Barely two years later, ECNU set up a new Center for Cold War International History Studies, which now publishes an academic journal, *Lengzhan guojishi yanjiu* (*Cold War International History Studies*), and has attracted leading and emerging scholars to its faculty, including Chen Jian, Dai Chaowu, Li Danhui, Yang Kuisong, Yu Weimin, and Shen Zhihua. The Center has created a website (www.coldwarchina.org) as a central outlet for the dissemination of research by Chinese scholars and has proactively promoted collection, collaboration and exchanges. Its collections now boast more than 20,000 declassified Russian documents as well as documents from the United States, East Europe, Vietnam, South Korea, and Japan. In December 2006, ECNU (and CWIHP) hosted a major international conference on "Transforming the Cold War." Due to their increasing activities, the two centers have joined the ranks of other leading international research projects.⁵

This new institutional capacity reflected the emergence of Cold War history as an important and dynamic field of scholarly inquiry in China. But it also signified the government's increased role: both centers host larger research and publication projects that have either been recognized as prestigious "national projects" (such as Beijing University's project on "The Cold War and Great Powers Relations") and/or obtained substantial government (Ministry of Education) support (such as ECNU's "Studies on Major US Foreign Policy Decisions during the Cold War"). At ECNU alone, over \$1 million has been committed to buying new source materials and supporting research projects and conferences.

Shortly after the archival opening at the Foreign Ministry,

a CWIHP delegation discussed with officials at the Foreign Ministry's Department of Archives the need to make the newly declassified materials available to a broader international community. Subsequent discussions by Professor Chen Jian (Cornell) and myself in Beijing (in close coordination with Shen Zihua and other China-based scholars) led to the signing of a memorandum of understanding in 2005 between the Department and CWIHP, providing for the release, translation, and publication of a first set of materials on the 1954 Geneva Conference. Confirmed in an exchange between then-Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing and Wilson Center President Lee H. Hamilton, the agreement launched a series of conferences, publications and other activities, including an international conference at the Wilson Center on "The 1954 Geneva Conference and the Cold War in Asia" (February 2006). A follow-up memorandum of understanding was signed in March 2007 to cover the publication of documents on the Bandung Conference (1955).



Coincidental to the "China opening," several other opportunities for new archival evidence on China's role in the Cold War have emerged that complement the documents being made available in Beijing. New releases and publications in Moscow—introduced in this issue of the *Bulletin* by Sergey Radchenko and David Wolff—document the difficult road to the Sino-Soviet alliance in the 1950s. Many of the Russian documents featured in this issue originate in the still largely inaccessible Presidential Archive in Moscow and only recently became available in Russia.

As a result of six years of cooperation between the Albanian Cold War Studies Center, led by Prof. Ana Lalaj, and the Project, CWIHP is pleased to present the first set of Albanian documents in the pages of the *Bulletin*. Obtained following a CWIHP visit to Tirana in November 2004, the transcripts of discussions between the Albanian Labor Party leadership and their PRC counterparts chronicle the rise of possibly the most



CWIHP Director Christian Ostermann meets with PRC Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Qiao Zonghuai (March 2007).

unlikely and idiosyncratic alliance during the Cold War. Yet for both China and Albania the other's allegiance was crucial at the moment it occurred: ideologically, psychologically, strategically and economically. Both sides went to considerable lengths to accommodate the other's needs; and to assure each other that neither would desert the other during a crisis: "Albania is not Cuba," as the Chinese reassured their Tirana counterparts.

McGill University-based historian Lorenz Luthi documents North Vietnam's efforts to maneuver the Sino-Soviet split based on an unprecedented array of sources sampled in this issue of the *Bulletin*. In a second article for this issue, Sergey Radchenko looks at Mao's China through recently released Mongolian and other documentation. CWIHP Associate Mircea Munteanu rounds out the collections of new evidence on China by looking at the short-lived Romanian channel in the Sino-American rapprochement in 1969-1972. Documents from the Romanian foreign ministry detail the ambitious but flawed and ultimately futile attempt by Nicolae Ceausescu to propel his regime from pariah status in the Soviet bloc to the center stage of world politics.



Documenting North Korea's foreign policy through the archives of the DPRK's erstwhile communist allies remains a focal point for CWIHP and its new partner project within the Wilson Center's History & Public Policy Program, the North Korea International Documentation Project (NKIDP). Launched in January 2006 in partnership with the University of North Korean Studies (UNKS) in Seoul, the NKIDP presents a major new set of communist archive documentation in this issue of the *Bulletin*. James Person, who succeeded Kathryn Weathersby as NKIDP coordinator in early 2007, and Japanese scholar Nobuo Shimotomai discuss the international and domestic dynamics that led to the near coup d'état against North Korean leader Kim Il Sung in the volatile months after the Twentieth CPSU Congress. The collection follows the publication of German, Hungarian and other sources on North Korean foreign relations during and after the Korean War in *Bulletin* 14/15 (Winter 2003/Spring 2004) and a series of CWIHP Working Papers and online publications on the subject. NKIDP has launched a new website (www.wilsoncenter.org/nkidp), which contains an online archive with historical documents, scholarship, and publications related to North Korean history. Additional documents (and translations) from Albanian, German and Russian archives will appear on the NKIDP and CWIHP websites in the coming months. These publications and other NKIDP activities are made possible with generous support from the Korea Foundation (Seoul).



CWIHP activities since the publication of the last issue of the *Bulletin* go far beyond those represented by new documentary findings in this issue. CWIHP continues in its role as a

clearinghouse for research in the archives of the “other sides” of the Cold War. The Project facilitates the discussion of new findings through sponsoring and co-sponsoring international conferences. These included conferences and workshops on “*Mongolia and the Cold War*” (Ulaanbataar, March 2004); “*China and Eastern Europe*” (Beijing, March 2004); “*Towards an International History of the Iran-Iraq War, 1980-1988: A Critical Oral History Conference*” (Washington, D.C., July 2004); “*The 1960-1961 Congo Crisis and the Cold War: Towards an International History, A Critical Oral History Conference*” (Washington, D.C., September 2004); “*The Impact of Cold War Broadcasting*” (Stanford, CA, October 2004); “*The International History of the Bandung Conference and the Origins of the Non-Aligned Movement*” (Sveti Stefan, Serbia and Montenegro, May 2005); “*The Warsaw Pact: From its Founding to its Collapse, 1955-1991*” (Washington, D.C., May 2005); “*The Carter Administration and the “Arc of Crisis”: Iran, Afghanistan, and the Cold War in Southwest Asia, 1977-1981: A Critical Oral History Conference*” (Washington, D.C., July 2005); “*The 1954 Geneva Conference and the Cold War in Asia: New Evidence and Perspectives*” (Washington, D.C., 17-18 February 2006); “*From Helsinki to Gorbachev, 1975-1985: The Globalization of the Bipolar “Confrontation”*” (Artimino, Italy, April 2006); “*Europe and the End of the Cold War 1985-1991*” (Paris, June 2006); “*The Quest for Self-Reliant Security in the Two Koreas, Then and Now*” (Washington, D.C., September 2006); “*Indochina between the Two Geneva Accords, 1954-1962*” (Montreal, October 2006); “*Transforming the Cold War: China and the Changing World, 1960s-1980s*” (Shanghai, December 2006); “*North and South Korea: System Formation and Foreign Relations*” (Beijing, May 2007); “*Forty Years Later: New Interpretations of the 1967 Six-Day War*” (Washington, D.C., June 2007), and “*Revisiting Stalinism*” (Washington, D.C., November 2007). Further information on these meetings is available in this *Bulletin* as well as the CWIHP website (www.cwihp.org).

Two CWIHP conferences centered on newly declassified US National Intelligence Estimates on China and Yugoslavia. Leading international scholars reviewed Cold War era national intelligence estimates on Mao’s China released by the National Intelligence Council for an October 2004 CWIHP conference on “*Tracking the Dragon*,” which featured a keynote by former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger. A similarly illustrious group of experts—including former Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger—discussed declassified NIEs on the former Yugoslavia at a December 2006 CWIHP conference entitled “*From National Communism to National Collapse: US Intelligence Community Estimative Products on Yugoslavia, 1948-1990*.” Together with the National Security Archive, CWIHP also hosted the third conference in the Cambridge History of the Cold War series (March 2007) and a workshop on “*New Scholarship on the Truman Administration*” (April 2007, co-sponsored by the Harry S. Truman Library and Museum). Often webcast live, CWIHP also sponsored over 100 Cold

War seminars, book launches, conference panels, declassification workshops and press briefings, from Washington D.C. to Algiers, from Ulaanbataar to Dakar, just in the last few years.

Though much of the Project’s recent efforts have focused on the PRC foreign ministry archive, new archival ventures (and adventures) were not limited to the “Middle Kingdom.” CWIHP is contributing to several new projects that explore the archives and Cold War dynamics in Southeast Asia. Together with Christopher Goscha (UQAM) and Martin Thomas (University of Exeter, UK), CWIHP has been exploring other archives in the global South. An exploratory trip to Algiers in May 2005 allowed for first findings in the Algerian National Archives, such as documentation on the Algerian Revolutionary Government’s diplomacy in Southeast Asia and transcripts and notes of conversations with world leaders from John F. Kennedy to Mao Zedong. Similarly, the Senegalese archives in Dakar proved an important side view into hotspots in Africa and a rich source for the interaction between decolonization and the Cold War (as became evident during a CWIHP meeting in Dakar in May 2006). The Cold War International History Project is committed to bringing sources and perspectives from the global South into the larger debate about the international history of the Cold War.

Building on CWIHP’s long-standing and fruitful collaboration with the Machiavelli Center for Cold War Studies (CIMA) and the National Security Archive in organizing a series of conferences on the Rise and Fall of Détente, the Project and CIMA (along with several partner institutions) recently launched a new initiative on the international history of proliferation. This new initiative seeks to further understanding of the dynamics of one of the most pressing challenges of our time by working towards a global history of nuclear proliferation.⁶

Other CWIHP projects include larger documentation initiatives on the former Yugoslav archives (with particular emphasis on the now accessible personal papers of longtime Yugoslav leader Josip Broz Tito); the Non-Aligned Movement (spurred in part by the recent releases in Beijing and Belgrade but also by new sources ranging from Lebanese to Japanese documents; and the Warsaw Pact’s records recently declassified by the Polish government. CWIHP activities include a prospering Romania Initiative that will bring a new generation of young Romanian historians to the Wilson Center and exploit archival opportunities in Bucharest. At the same time, CWIHP is nearing completion of a decade-long research effort in collecting and translating Stalin’s conversations with foreign leaders between 1944 and 1953.

With support from the Project, the Cold War Group Bulgaria continues to mine the Bulgarian national, military and intelligence archives, producing major document collections on Bulgarian foreign intelligence as well as Bulgaria and the Middle East. The latter is part of an expanding CWIHP effort to use the former Communist-world archives to shed new light on the Cold War in South and West Asia. Critical oral history conferences organized by CWIHP on the 1980s Iran-Iraq War and the Carter Administration & Iran (see above) as well as

research trips to Tehran (February 2004) and an international source workshop (June 2007) have begun a process of bringing into the international research agenda authentic documentation and voices from a region that has dominated international attention and concern in recent years.

The Cold War International History Project has been actively involved in making the results of scholarly research accessible to high-school and college students since it first co-hosted a NEH summer school and developed an online teaching tool with its Cold War Files website (www.coldwarfiles.org). Not only do entire classes of college and high-school students participate regularly in CWIHP's Washington seminar series, the Project is planning future summer schools (with the Gilder Lehrman Institute for American History). Internationally, CWIHP has worked closely with leading Romanian civic activists Romulus Rusan and Ana Blandiana of the Sighet Memorial for the Victims of Communism and Resistance in Sighet, Romania, to participate in the Memorial's 2006 summer school and develop a special Cold War exhibit, funded by the Fundatia Academia Civica (Bucharest).



This issue of the *Cold War International History Project Bulletin* as well as the many activities that generate new archival findings and research would not be possible without the Project's global network. This network involves a growing number of partner institutions around the world, such as GWU's George Washington Cold War Group (GWCW); Harvard University's Project for Cold War Studies, the LSE Cold War Studies Centre, the University of California-Santa Barbara Cold War Center, the Cold War Museum (Fairfax, VA), the John A. Adams Center at the Virginia Military Institute, the Institute for National Remembrance (Warsaw), The Gramsci Foundation (Rome), The National University of Singapore and the Singapore Defense Institute, the German Historical Institute as well as the Goethe Institute, Mannheim University's Project on the History of the CSCE, The Ratiu Democracy Center (Turda, Romania), the Czechoslovak Documentation Center (Prague), the International Spy Museum (Washington, D.C.), Syracuse University's Center for Technology and Information Policy, Libera Università Internazionale degli Studi Sociali Guido Carli (Rome), the Gorbachev Foundation (Moscow), the Boudiaf Foundation (Algiers), The Hungarian Cold War Studies Center at the Institute for the History of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution (Budapest), the Institute of Political Studies (Warsaw), Hong Kong University's Department of History, The Slavic Research Center (Sapporo), the Zikic Foundation (Bonn), Tampere University, Peking University's International Relations and History Departments, The Hamburg Institute for Social Research; Erfurt University's Chair for North American History, Kyungnam University's Institute for Far Eastern Studies (Seoul), the Truman Presidential Library and Museum (Independence, MO), The China and Asia-Pacific Studies Program at Cornell University (Ithaca, NY), the Cornell Cold

War Project, The Universite Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV), The Hoover Institution (Stanford University, CA), and the Parallel History Project for Cooperative Security (Zurich)—in addition to those named above.

As has been the case since its inception, the project and its flagship publication depend on the intellectual, archival and logistical contributions from numerous individuals. In addition to my colleagues at the Wilson Center, in particular Lee Hamilton, Michael Van Dusen, and Robert Litwak and the Project's Academic Advisory Committee (William C. Taubman, Michael Beschloss, James Billington, Warren Cohen, John Gaddis, James G. Hershberg, Samuel F. Wells, Sharon Wolchik), which remains deeply involved in the Project's manifold activities, I am deeply indebted for advice, support and contributions to Amitav Acharya, Ang Cheng Guan, Jordan Baev, Oliver Bange, Tom Blanton, Frederic Bozo, Gregg Brazinsky, Bill Burr, Malcolm Byrne, Joseph Chan, Chen Jian, Michael Cox, Elena Danielson, Enkel Daljani, Lubomir Dimic, Ilya Gaiduk, Gary Goldberg, Christopher Goscha, Massimiliano Guderzo, Jussi Hanhimaki, Hope Harrison, Paul Henze, A. Ross Johnson, Sulmaan Khan, Lukazs Kaminski, Noam Kochavi, Mark Kramer, Ana Lalaj, Melvyn P. Leffler, Li Danhui, Lian Zhengbao, Liu Xiaoyuan, Lorenz Lüthi, Pawel Machcewicz, Jürgen Martschukat, Sergey Mazov, Joe Mocnik, Malcolm 'Kip' Muir, Lise Namikas, Niu Dayong, Leopoldo Nuti, Sue Onslow, Krzysztof Persak, Merle Pribbenow, Sergey Radchenko, Svetozar Rajak, Hannu Rautkallio, Marie-Pierre Rey, Priscilla Roberts, Kihl-jae Ryoo, Bernd Schaefer, Shen Zihua, Jong-dae Shin, Jounyung Sun, Jeremi Suri, Martin Thomas, Vladimir Tismaneanu, Nancy Bernkopf Tucker, Radina Vucetic, Dong Wang, Kathryn Weathersby, Odd Arne Westad, David Wolff, Louise Woodroffe, Sulin Zhang, and Vladislav Zubok. Last but not least, my dedicated staff, Mircea Munteanu, James Person, Ryan Gage, Kristina Terzieva and Timothy McDonnell, as well as a group of talented interns (named in the masthead) have been invaluable in bringing this *Bulletin* and so many other projects to fruition.

I owe a very special debt of gratitude to two individuals: Dr. Kennette Benedict, our longtime partner at the MacArthur Foundation, where she served as the director of the International Peace and Security Program until 2005, and to Lisa Katchka, who makes it all worthwhile—and fun.

Last but not least, this *Bulletin* would not be possible without the generous contributions of The Henry Luce Foundation (New York), The Korea Foundation (Seoul), and The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation (Chicago) as well as other institutional and individual donors.

Notes

1. Four volumes (Beijing: *Zhongyang Wenxian Chubanshe*, 2005)—For further information, see Michael H. Hunt and Odd Arne Westad, “The Chinese Communist Party and International Affairs,” A Field report of the New Historical Sources and Old Research Problems,” *China Quarterly* No. 122 (Summer 1990), pp. 258-72; Michael Hunt, “CCP Foreign Relations: A Guide to the Literature,” *CWIHP Bulletin* 6/7 (Winter 1995/96), pp 129, 136-43; Steven M. Goldstein and He Di, “New Chinese Sources on the History of the Cold War,” *CWIHP Bulletin* No. 1 (Spring 1992), pp.4-6; Chen Jian, “Not Yet a Revolution: Reviewing China’s “New Cold War Documentation,” Conference on the Power of Free Inquiry and Cold War International History (College Park, 1998), <http://www.archives.gov/research/cold-war/conference/chen-jian.html>; Chen Jian, *Mao’s China and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), Introduction; Chen Jian, “Questions Concerning China an the International Cold War,” *Journal of East China Normal University*, December 2001; Shen Zhihua, “To further Promote the Opening and Publication of China’s Historical Archives—Remarks on Reading of ‘Liu Shaoqi’s Manuscripts since the Founding of the

PRC’,” see www.shenzhijhua.net/wsz/000165.htm; this introduction also draws on an excellent recent review of Chinese Cold War scholarship see Yafeng Xia, “The Study of Cold War International History in China: A Review of the Last Twenty Years” *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 10:1 (Winter 2008), 81-115.

2. See, for example, Chen Jian and Shuguang Zhang, *Chinese Communist Foreign Policy and the Cold War in Asia: New Documentary Evidence, 1944-1950* (Chicago: 1996), Zhai Qiang, “Beijing and the Vietnam Peace Talks, 1965-68: New Evidence from Chinese Sources,” *CWIHP Working Paper #18* (1997), and Dong Wang, “The Quarrelling Brothers: New Chinese Archives and a Reappraisal of the Sino-Soviet Split, 1959-1962,” *CWIHP Working Paper #49* (2006).

3. Curiously there is very little material on the Korean War in the first set.

4. See “Romanian Government passes Emergency Executive Order Governing Access to Securitate Files after Romanian Constitutional Court declares CNSAS Unconstitutional,” on www.cwihp.org.

5. See Yafeng Xia, “The Study,” 83-84.

6. For further information contact Dr. Leopoldo Nuti at the University of Roma Tre or CWIHP director Christian Ostermann.

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