Guide to the Scholarly Resources

Microfilm Edition of

The Complete Records of the

Mission of General George C. Marshall

to China

December 1945 - January 1947



Acknowledgment

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The mission of Gen. George C. Marshall to prevent the renewal of the Chinese civil war and, as a consequence, prevent the growth of Soviet influence in both Manchuria and China proper must be viewed in the context of the emerging Cold War as well as the context of American perceptions of China that go back, at least, to the days of John Hay and the Open Door. Washington's view of communism as monolithic and inherently expansionist, combined with an unstated and unrealized belief in Chinese inferiority, probably American policymakers to the conclusion that the Chinese Communist Party was merely a pawn of the Soviet Union and that containment of Soviet expansion in Asia necessitated continued rule by Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) and the Nationalists. The American experience in China during World War II, however, had led to a disillusionment with Jiang and the Guomindang (Kuomintang) on the part of many, but not all, military and diplomatic officers. One additional factor complicated the situation further: Soviet troops occupied Manchuria in the wake of the Japanese surrender and were their evacuation, ostensibly delaying because Chinese government troops were not prepared to replace Red Army formations. (The Chinese, ignorant of the atom bomb, had not anticipated the defeat of Japan before 1946.)

Marshall, who had just retired as army chief of staff, had the task of negotiating a settlement that would lead to a coalition government incorporating Nationalist, Communist, and "Third Force" parties but one that would remain friendly to the United States, hostile to Soviet expansion, and would continue to be accessible to U.S. economic penetration, which had been the object of American policy in Asia since the first Open Door note in 1899. Despite the difficulty of the problem and the limited means at his disposal (in the final analysis, the United States could not abandon Marshall achieved notable initial success. On 10 January 1946, a cease-fire that Marshall was instrumental arranging went into effect, and this was quickly followed by the resolutions of the Political Consultative Conference that looked forward to the formation of a democratic coalition government; on 25 February, the two sides reached an agreement on military reorganization that would abolish "party armies" and integrate both Communist and Nationalist forces into a nonpartisan force commanded by a professional Opposition by more hard-line factions in both bureaucracy. the Communist party and the Guomindang, together with the inability to reach a satisfactory solution to the problem of who would take over from the Soviets in Manchuria, however, produced a stalemate. On 30 June, the cease-fire, which had not been renewed, expired and, with it, any chance for successful mediation. Negotiations continued for the next six months but proved inconclusive. Marshall became increasingly disillusioned with both the Communists and the Nationalists and hoped to see a realignment in Chinese

politics that would combine moderates in both parties along with other democratic elements into a single liberal party. This hope was not consistent with the power realities of Chinese politics but does reveal some of the "cultural baggage" that Marshall brought to China.

When Marshall left China on 7 January 1947, he had apparently failed in his mission. In 1949, Jiang was driven from the mainland and Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) proclaimed the People's Republic of China. However, Chinese nationalism, which neither Marshall, nor his superiors, nor his immediate successors understood, contained Soviet influence in Asia to a significant degree as the People's Republic emerged as an independent force both in world communism and in international diplomacy.

The records of the Marshall mission held by the National Archives and Records Administration (Lot number 54 D 270) is composed of six parts: 1) War Department Records, boxes 1-18; 2) Records of the Marshall Mission Political Affairs, boxes 19-30; 3) Records of the Marshall Mission Relating to Military Affairs, boxes 31-48; 4) Records of the Division of Chinese Affairs, boxes 49-53; 5) Records of John Carter Vincent, box 54; and 6) Marshall's Report, box 55. For the most part, entries on the Roll Contents refer to individual files within the records; many of the larger files contain internal finding aids that the researcher will find useful in accessing material, despite the fact that some of the files appear incomplete when compared to the inventory or index. In an effort to facilitate use of the material, we have provided a list of individual documents contained in the background files in box l and the minutes of individual conferences in rough alphabetical order within each of the Because of the nature of the files, there is some duplication of material, and the researcher should check appropriate files in each of the various subdivisions.

The researcher will notice that the spelling of Chinese names is not consistent on the Roll Contents. This reflects accurately the inconsistency of the files and documents themselves.

The documents in this publication have been reproduced in the exact condition and order as provided by the National Archives and Records Administration.

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