

Charting America's Cold War Waters in East Asia

Shifting the focus from land to sea when considering the Cold War in East Asia, Kuan-Jen Chen sheds light on the importance of the 'oceanic' lens as a structural imperative in grand strategic thinking. Despite extensive scholarship on post-war US-East Asia relations, questions about the relationship between maritime space, national sovereignty, and geopolitics have not been fully explored. Drawing on archives in Chinese, English, and Japanese, Chen uses the western Pacific as a historical platform, illustrating the relationship between the geopolitical value of the sea and the strategic deliberations of American and East Asian decision-making. The recent deterioration of US-China relations has turned maritime East Asia into a powder keg, with no country in the region able to remain neutral. By anchoring today's maritime East Asia in the past, this book traces the evolution of historical factors that led to the current status quo in the western Pacific, and shows the origins of controversial issues in the region.

Kuan-Jen Chen is Assistant Research Fellow at the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, Taiwan. His research focuses on Cold War history, modern East Asia, and US foreign policy.



Cambridge Studies in US Foreign Relations

Edited by

Ryan Irwin, *University of Albany* Theresa Keeley, *University of Louisville, Kentucky*

This series showcases cutting-edge scholarship in US foreign relations that employs dynamic new methodological approaches and archives from the colonial era to the present. The series will be guided by the ethos of transnationalism, focusing on the history of American foreign relations in a global context rather than privileging the US as the dominant actor on the world stage.

Also in the Series

- David P. Fields and Mitchell B. Lerner (eds.), Divided America, Divided Korea: The US and Korea During and After the Trump Years
- Talbot C. Imlay, Clarence Streit and Twentieth-Century American Internationalism
- Pete Millwood, Improbably Diplomats: How Ping-Pong Players, Musicians, and Scientists Remade US-China Relations
- R. Joseph Parrott and Mark Atwood Lawrence (eds.), *The Tricontinental Revolution: Third World Radicalism and the Cold War*
- Aaron Donaghy, The Second Cold War: Carter, Reagan, and the Politics of Foreign Policy
- Amanda C. Demmer, After Saigon's Fall: Refugees and US-Vietnamese Relations, 1975–1995
- Heather Marie Stur, Saigon at War: South Vietnam and the Global Sixties
- Seth Jacobs, Rogue Diplomats: The Proud Tradition of Disobedience in American Foreign Policy
- Sarah Steinbock-Pratt, Educating the Empire: American Teachers and Contested Colonization in the Philippines
- Walter L. Hixson, Israel's Armor: The Israel Lobby and the First Generation of the Palestine Conflict
- Aurélie Basha i Novosejt, "I Made Mistakes": Robert McNamara's Vietnam War Policy, 1960–1964
- Greg Whitesides, Science and American Foreign Relations since World War II
- Jasper M. Trautsch, The Genesis of America: US Foreign Policy and the Formation of National Identity, 1793–1815
- Hideaki Kami, Diplomacy Meets Migration: US Relations with Cuba during the Cold War
- Shaul Mitelpunkt, Israel in the American Mind: The Cultural Politics of US-Israeli Relations, 1958–1988
- Pierre Asselin, Vietnam's American War: A History
- Lloyd E. Ambrosius, Woodrow Wilson and American Internationalism
- Geoffrey C. Stewart, Vietnam's Lost Revolution: Ngô Đình Diệm's Failure to Build an Independent Nation, 1955–1963



Charting America's Cold War Waters in East Asia

Sovereignty, Local Interests, and International Security

KUAN-JEN CHEN Academia Sinica, Taiwan







Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,
New Delhi – 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009418751

DOI: 10.1017/9781009418737

© Kuan-Jen Chen 2024

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2024

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

A Cataloging-in-Publication data record for this book is available from the Library of
Congress.

ISBN 978-1-009-41875-1 Hardback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



Contents

Lis	t of Figures, Tables, and Maps	page vi
Lis	t of Abbreviations	viii
Cor	nventions	xi
Acknowledgements		xii
	Introduction	I
1	Finding a Local Partner in Post-war Maritime East Asia	18
2	The Creation of a Mainland-Based Forward Strategy	51
3	Vying for Top Dog: The Navy–Army Struggle in Maritime East Asia	78
4	Termination of the Mainland-Based Forward Strategy	102
5	The 1950 Crises and America's Changing Posture of Defence	128
6	The Making of a New Maritime Strategy	160
7	The International Law of the Sea and America's Unreliable Partners	187
8	America's Strange Bedfellows in the International Arena	212
9	Fishing for Protein in Cold War East Asia	242
10	Jostling for Position: Black Gold, Natural Resource Exploration, and Shifting Political Contours	265
	Epilogue	291
Bibliography		301
Ind	Index	



Figures, Tables, and Maps

FIGURES

6.1 Pacific Command structure 6.2 Headquarters Pacific Command proposed table	page 168		
of distribution	169		
6.3 Proposed manning of CINCPAC's Joint Staff	171		
TABLES			
1.1 Ships delivered to the Nationalist Chinese government			
by 1946	43		
1.2 US ships transferred to China	48		
MAPS			
1.1 Zones of responsibility for naval operations (1945)	2.5		
2.1 Triangular defensive area in maritime East Asia	69		
3.1 Far East Command geographical area	99		
5.1 Defence area of the Seventh Fleet near Taiwan's waters	144		
5.2 Far East Command geographical area	154		
6.1 1958 Unified Command plan	173		
6.2 ROC-US Navy patrol zone in the Taiwan Strait	186		
7.1 Peace Line and map of protected fishery area	209		
9.1 Japanese fishing zone delimited by GHQ in 1945	245		
9.2 Extensions of Japanese fishing zones	247		
9.3 Taiwan's military defence warning area and the MacArth	ıur		
Line	255		



	List of Figures, Tables, and Maps	vii
9.4	Six fishing zones of the Japan-PRC Fishery Agreement in the	ne East
	China Sea and the Yellow Sea	260
9.5	Fishing zones of the First and Second Japan–PRC Fishery	
	Agreements	263
10.1	Map of Japan's, Korea's, and Taiwan's mining zones	268
10.2	Japan–Korea mutual exploration zones	286



Abbreviations

AACR Army – AG Command Reports

AAF Army Air Force

AEY Archives of Executive Yuan

AH Academia Historica, Taipei, Taiwan

AIMH Archives of the Institute of Modern History,

Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan

ANZUS Australia, New Zealand and United States

Security Treaty

CCP Chinese Communist Party
CDF Central Decimal File

CFAL Chairman's File Admiral Leahy
CIA Central Intelligence Agency

CINCAFPAC Commander-in-Chief, Army Forces in Pacific

CINCFE Commander-in-Chief, Far East CINCPAC Commander-in-Chief, Pacific

CINCPOA Commander-in-Chief, Pacific Ocean Areas
CINCSWPA Commander-in-Chief, Southwest Pacific Area

CKSD Chiang Kai-shek Diaries
CNO Chief of Naval Operations

COMNAVFE Commander of United States Naval Forces,

Far East

COMNAVJAP Commander of Naval Activities, Japan
COMNAVPHIL Commander of Naval Forces, Philippines
COMNOB Okinawa Commander of Naval Operating Base, Okinawa

COMPACFLT Commander, U.S. Pacific Fleet
ComSeventhFleet Commander of the Seventh Fleet

viii



Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-009-41875-1 — Charting America's Cold War Waters in East Asia

Kuan-Jen Chen Frontmatter More Information

List of Abbreviations

ix

DA Diplomatic Archives
DAKP Dan A. Kimball Papers

DAMOFAJ Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign

Affairs of Japan, Tokyo, Japan

DPRK Democratic People's Republic of [North]

Korea

DWR Declassification of WWII Records

FDR Franklin Delano Roosevelt FEC Far Eastern Commission

FRUS Foreign Relations of the United States

GF Geographic File
GHQ General Headquarters
GMEP George M. Elsey Papers

GRC The Government of the Republic of China

HSTP Harry S. Truman Papers

HTLM Harry S. Truman Presidential Library &

Museum, Missouri, United States

Japan's MOFA Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan

JCS Joint Chiefs of Staff
JPS Joint Planning Staff

JSSC Joint Strategic Survey Committee

JUSMAG Joint United States Military Advisory Group KMT Kuomintang, Chinese Nationalist Party

LN League of Nations

MAAG, Taiwan
NAA
Military Assistance Advisory Group, Taiwan
NAA
National Archives Administration, Taipei,

Taiwan

NAGSB Naval Advisory Group Survey Board

NARA National Archives and Records Administration,

Maryland, United States

NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

NAVFE U.S. Naval Forces, Far East

NavWestPac Naval Forces in the Western Pacific NDLJ National Diet Library, Tokyo, Japan

NSC National Security Council NSCF National Security Council File

OGS Registry Archive Group – Legal (LE)

PPS Policy Planning Staff
PRC People's Republic of China

RBFEA Records of the Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs



x List of Abbreviations

RR Renmin ribao ROC Republic of China

ROC MOD Ministry of Defence of the Republic of China

(Taiwan)

ROC MOFA Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of

China (Taiwan)

ROCN Republic of China Navy
ROK Republic of [South] Korea

RN Royal Navy

RUNCLOS Records Concerning the United Nations

Conference on the Law of the Sea

RUSAC Records of United States Army Commands
SCAP Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers
SEATO Southeast Asia Treaty Organization

SFOACA Subject Files of the Office of Asian Communist

Subject files of the Office of Asian Communist

Affairs

SP Shun Pao

TNA The National Archives, London, United

Kingdom

TPPCCK The Papers of President Chiang Ching-kuo
TPPCKS The Papers of President Chiang Kai-shek

UN United Nations

UNARMS United Nations Archives and Records

Management Section, New York, United States

UNC United Nations Command

UNDP United Nations Development Programme

UNSG United Nations Secretary-General

US United States

USDSF U.S. Delegation Subject File
USFWS U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service
USSR Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

WSCD Wang Shih-chieh Diaries

ZYRB Zhongyang ribao



Conventions

This book uses the Chinese Pinyin and Wade–Giles transliteration systems apart from a few exceptions. For some well-known Chinese and geographical names, such as Chiang Kai-shek, Kuomintang, and the Yellow Sea, I have used established English spellings. In the case of Japanese, long vowels are marked by a macron, as in Satō Eisaku, but not in words that have become part of the English language, such as Tokyo. As for Chinese and Japanese primary sources in the footnotes, I offer only translated titles without their original spellings and languages, but I provide both for non-English secondary scholarship, which allows the audience to access the existing scholarship. In addition, all East Asian names, including Chinese, Korean, and Japanese names, are written in the traditional order, with surname preceding given name.



Acknowledgements

Without the generous assistance of many colleagues and friends, this book could not have been published. I am deeply grateful to the Isaac Newton Trust of Cambridge University, Taiwan's Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation, the NIAS-ADI Fellowship of Copenhagen University, SHAFR's William Appleman Williams Emerging Scholar Research Grant, the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, and the Japan–Taiwan Exchange Association for supporting my research.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor, Andrew Preston. Andrew has been an exceptional supervisor, colleague, and friend. His guidance has been instrumental in helping me navigate the uncharted waters of American foreign policy. Despite his busy schedule, he went above and beyond to proofread my entire PhD thesis and continually encouraged me to publish my book with a prestigious university press. He frequently greeted me with, 'How's your manuscript coming along?' I believe I can now answer that thanks to his mentorship, my manuscript is at a better place.

I owe Barak Kushner and Mami Mizutori a deep debt of gratitude for everything they did for me during my time in Cambridge. Barak and Mami-san made me feel like I never left home. I was enlightened by their refined taste in wine, as well as their academic insights. Barak generously took the time to read my manuscript chapter by chapter, offering critical but constructive feedback. I could not have completed this book without their invaluable academic and psychological support.

Numerous colleagues and friends in Cambridge, London, Stanford, Paris, Seoul, Tokyo, and The Hague helped me with this book. Jeff Kurashige, Arnaud Doglia, Deokhyo Choi, Andrew Levidis, Sherzod Muminov, Aiko Otsuka, Mujeeb Khan, Ghassan Moazzin, Ronald C. Po, Victor Louzon, and



Acknowledgements

xiii

Casper Wits went to exorbitant lengths to share their experiences of writing a PhD thesis and of how to survive in the hyper-competitive job market. Hsiao-ting Lin kindly assisted me with checking Chiang Kai-shek diaries at the Hoover Institution, while Joshua Batts and Stephanie Galasso provided helpful feedback on the book proposal. Matthew Jones' feedback on my PhD thesis was instrumental in laying the groundwork for this book. Bi-yu Chang kindly invited me to share my research with outstanding colleagues at SOAS. Jonathan Yeung carefully read through the manuscript and helped identify errors I would have taken years to find. Hyun Kyung Lee was of tremendous help in obtaining copyrighted third-party material from South Korea. Erik Schicketanz also kindly helped me check rare primary sources at the library of Kokugakuin University in Japan. During my seven years in Cambridge, I have fond memories of each chat, drink, and formal dinner with Fei-yang Huang, Cheng-ven Lao, Chieh Sang, Javier Fernández Marqués, Bill Moriarty, Xi Fang, James Dawson, Hung Shen-hsing, Helen Lin, Avital Rom, Yasuhiro Okazawa, Lee Kan, Ria Roy, Mikwi Cho, Giulia Garbagni, and Anya Melkina. These encounters were always entertaining and thoughtprovoking, and I feel a strong sense of nostalgia for those times.

During my sojourn in Japan supported by the Japan Foundation in 2016, my local advisor, Kawashima Shin, kindly allowed me to participate in his seminar and *kenkyūkai* at the University of Tokyo. Although the transition from an English-speaking to a Japanese-speaking environment was challenging, I thoroughly enjoyed the experience. Thanks to Kawashima-sensei, I had the opportunity to learn a great deal from experts such as Nishizaki Fumiko, Aono Toshihiko, Mori Satoru, and Sahashi Ryo. I also cherished the pleasant conversations I had during coffee breaks with Shimotomai Nobuo, Nakano Katsuro, and Fukuda Madoka, whose knowledge and insights were truly admirable. I also thank Shinozaki Shinichiro for providing me with an opportunity to share my research at the Development Bank of Japan.

In 2021, I relocated to Denmark for my second academic appointment at the University of Copenhagen. I am immensely grateful to the Nordic Institute of Asian Studies and Asian Dynamics Initiative for providing me with an excellent environment to complete my book. Every conversation I had with Duncan McCargo, Sangpil Jin, Petra Alderman, Terese Gagnon Taro Takizawa, Myunghee Lee, and Mai Van Tran had been inspiring. I must also express my gratitude to Senior Editor-in-Chief of NIAS Press, Gerald Jackson, who kindly assisted me in charting maps for this book, as well as to our librarian, Inga-Lill Blomkvist, who seemed to have an innate ability to anticipate my research needs. David Stuligross also gave me



xiv

Acknowledgements

valuable suggestions on academic writing that helped me tremendously. I would also like to extend my heartfelt appreciation to Sam Chang and his wonderful family for treating me like a member of their family.

In Taiwan, my sensei and senpai were wonderful. Huang Fu-teh, Ying Chun-hao, Huang Wen-de, Hsiao Tao-chung, Lin Guo-sian, Wang Wenlung, Hsu Feng-yuan, Wu Chun-ying, and Liang Jheng-jie unremittingly shared their experience of how to access, analyse, and decipher handwritten primary sources. When I was working on this book, they also provided me with perspectives from East Asian history, so that the book would not become too America-centric. Chang Su-ya, Wong Hao, Chao Hsiang-ke, Shao Han-yi, Hung Shao-yang, and other colleagues shared invaluable primary sources in the United States and Taiwan. William Dan often helped me polish my English and discussed the structures of good argumentation, for which I am incredibly grateful. I would also like to express my gratitude to Huang Jen-tzu, who jokingly warned me that I have to mention her name in a decent way. JT, like my sister, always encouraged me when I hit a wall. Her generous sharing of her expertise in the history of Taiwan also strengthened the sections concerning Taiwan in this book. Additionally, I must say that I was so lucky to meet Hsuan-yu after I took up my current academic appointment in Taiwan. Her charming smile makes my life colourful, and each chat about little joys eases my anxiety as I finalise this book.

Meanwhile, I cannot ignore my colleagues at the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica. Sean Hsiang-lin Lei, Lu Miaw-fen, Lien Lingling, and Wu Jen-shu have created a friendly working environment, providing researchers with absolute freedom and abundant resources to pursue our interests. My erudite colleagues, Huang Fu-ching, Lin Manhoung, Chang Li, Huang Tzu-chin, Yu Miin-ling, Chang Che-chia, Marlon Zhu, Sun Huei-min, and Su Sheng-hsiung, have kindly shared their knowledge of modern East Asia and maritime history to help me with this book. Additionally, Paul R. Katz, Mårten Söderblom Saarela, Jia-chen Fu, Wang Chen-cheng, Chen Chien-shou, Shiuon Chu, Joshua L. Freeman, and Li Kai-kuang have generously shared their publishing experiences and offered me invaluable suggestions. I am also grateful to the Director of Archives, Ning Jennifer Chang, who granted me permission to use the maps from the Archives of the Institute of Modern History. Tsai Jung-ju also helped me modify these maps. Furthermore, I would like to express my appreciation to all the excellent archivists and librarians who have supported me throughout this project. Although I apologise for not being able to list all your names here, please know that I am wholeheartedly grateful for your contributions.



Acknowledgements

ΧV

I am indebted to Anne Marie Jackson, who carefully proofread and polished the manuscript. In addition, I am thankful to Cambridge University Press. Lien-Hang T. Nguyen took the time to read my book proposal and helped move everything forward. The insightful reports from anonymous reviewers were crucial in shaping the final version of the manuscript. I would also like to express my appreciation to Cecelia Cancellaro and Victoria Phillips of Cambridge University Press for their unwavering support and effort in turning my ideas and arguments into a book. I do believe that they have been mentioned several times in acknowledgements of other books, but I have to repeat it again here.

Lastly, I would like to dedicate this book to my family: Chin-tse, Meichu, Kuan-yu, Hsiao-ting, Aliza, and Kuan-cheng. Without their unwavering support, I doubt I would have been able to complete my PhD at Cambridge and develop my academic career. Although they may not always understand why I travel so much, they do know that I am contributing to the body of accumulated human knowledge. If this book has any merit, it belongs to all of them.

Chapters 5 and 6 of this book are partially derived in part from an article published in *Cold War History* (Taylor & Francis, November 2021), available online: www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14682745.202 0.1752676. Chapter 10 is an extension of an article published in *The Journal of American–East Asian Relations* (Brill, July 2020), available online: https://brill.com/view/journals/jaer/27/2/article-p169 169.xml.