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**OFFICIAL ATTITUDES TOWARD  
CHINA BETWEEN 1945 AND 1957:  
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE  
NON-RECOGNITION POLICY**

Thesis presented in partial fulfilment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
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## **Abstract**

This thesis examines how an official attitude of negativity was translated into the policy of non-recognition toward Communist China between 1945 and 1957. It argues that once established the non-recognition policy remained, essentially, a China policy imperative throughout the 12 year period under review. Therefore, with the policy approach fixed there was a need to explain why it was maintained.

In order to demonstrate how the non-recognition policy was established and maintained a number of periods, or stages of development have been identified, each of these correspond to a chapter of the thesis. Within each stage certain events, issues, or themes have dictated the particular chronological parameters. The first encompasses the years 1945 to 1948, and looks at New Zealand's post-war perceptions and attitudes toward China. Another covers 1949 through until 1951, it is in this time frame that the non-recognition policy is established and subsequently maintained by the new National Government. After these two key stages the decision to postpone recognition then became fixed, despite the inclinations of some in official circles to reconsider the non-recognition policy.

How the non-recognition policy was established and maintained is explained by reference to a series of major categories of influence. In the main all of these categories occur throughout the length of the period under examination, some can be stressed more than others, while certain influences are more important in some stages than in others. These categories of influence include: the role of personalities as policy determinants, the importance of events, the influence of allies, the lack of direct New Zealand interests in China, questions of approach like 'dialogue versus isolation' or 'appeasement versus standing up to aggression', and perceptions of a divisible versus monolithic Communism.

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## List of Abbreviations

<i>AHS</i>	<i>Australian Historical Studies</i>
<i>AJHR</i>	<i>Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives</i>
<i>AO</i>	<i>Australian Outlook</i>
AusDEA	Department of External Affairs (Australia)
AusMinEA	Minister of External Affairs (Australia)
Anzac	Australia-New Zealand
ANZUS	Australia, New Zealand and the United States (Tripartite Security Treaty) 1951
ATL	Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency (United States)
CRO	Commonwealth Relations Office (United Kingdom)
DEA	Department of External Affairs (New Zealand)
<i>DNZER</i>	<i>Documents on New Zealand External Relations</i> , [3 vols., Wellington: Government Printer, 1972, 1982, 1985]
DS	Department of State (United States)
EA	Department of External Affairs & Prime Minister's Department records, National Archives series classifications
<i>EAR</i>	<i>External Affairs Review</i>
<i>FRUS</i>	<i>Foreign Relations of the United States</i>
IPR	Institute of Pacific Relations
JIC	Joint Intelligence Committee (New Zealand)
MDT	Mutual Defence Treaty (United States-Republic of China) 1954
MFAT	New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade

MinEA	Minister of External Affairs (New Zealand)
MinEACan	Minister of External Affairs (Canada)
MP	Member of Parliament
NA	New Zealand National Archives, Wellington
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NL	New Zealand National Library, Wellington
NP	Nash Papers, National Archives, Wellington
NSC	National Security Council (United States)
NZAmWash	New Zealand Ambassador, Washington
NZCP	New Zealand Communist Party
<i>NZEAR</i>	<i>New Zealand External Affairs Review</i>
<i>NZFAR</i>	<i>New Zealand Foreign Affairs Review</i>
<i>NZFPS&amp;D</i>	Ministry of Foreign Affairs, <i>New Zealand Foreign Policy Statements and Documents 1943-1957</i> , Wellington: Government Printer, 1972.
NZHCAus	New Zealand High Commission[er], Australia
NZIHA	New Zealand Institute of International Affairs
<i>NZIR</i>	<i>New Zealand International Review</i>
<i>NZJH</i>	<i>New Zealand Journal of History</i>
NZLeg	New Zealand Legation
NZLP	New Zealand Labour Party
<i>NZPD</i>	<i>New Zealand Parliamentary Debates</i>
NZPDUN	New Zealand Permanent Delegation, United Nations
NZPRUN	New Zealand Permanent Representative, United Nations
PLA	People's Liberation Army (PRC)
PM	Prime Minister's Department
PMM	Prime Minister's Meeting

PRC	People's Republic of China
RAF	Royal Air Force (United Kingdom)
Rep	Representative
SEATO	South East Asia Treaty Organisation
SecEA	Secretary of External Affairs (New Zealand)
SSCR	Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations
SSDA	Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs
UK	United Kingdom
UKHCWell	United Kingdom High Commissioner to New Zealand, Wellington
UN	United Nations
UNC	United Nations Command (Korean War)
US	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Wash	Washington
Well	Wellington