

711.93/6-849 : Telegram

The Ambassador in China (Stuart) to the Secretary of State

NANKING, June 8, 1949—noon.

[Received June 8—6:46 a.m.]

1235. Huang Hua invited me to tea June 6. Only other persons present were his assistant Ling Ke-yi (Yenching alumnus) and Philip Fugh. Conversation chiefly followed Huang's lead. It soon turned to relation between China and foreign countries with more particular reference to breaking off relations with Nationalist Government. I received two definite impressions from this discussion :

(1) CCP is extremely anxious to have foreign governments, particularly USA, discard a government which as Huang put it has completely lost the support of Chinese people, is in flight and will be further dispersed whenever Communist troops reach Canton.

(2) Deep sensitivity as to China's right to make her own decision in international field.

Huang had raised question of foreign relations in our first encounter (see Embtel 1021, May 14 to Department, repeated Canton 413, Shanghai 571) and I explained again why USA had to be passive; that politico-military development China was purely internal issue in which other countries should not interfere; that on emergence of new government we would want to ascertain whether it really represented people of China and was both willing and able maintain hitherto accepted international standards. I continued that after all Communist regime was at present nothing more than People's Liberation Army defeating Kuomintang troops and occupying steadily enlarging parts of country; that there were still very large areas nominally under Nationalist Government and that there was as yet not even pretense on Communists' part of administrative agency on national scale with which it would be possible for foreign countries to deal. I pointed out that presence in Nanking of chiefs of diplomatic missions (with exception of Soviet) after arrival of PLA could be regarded by CCP as significant. He quoted Mao's New Democracy to effect that CCP was willing to recognize any nation on terms of equality, mutual benefit and respect for each other's territorial and other sovereign rights.

I reminded him that this worked both ways; that while we fully acknowledged right of Chinese people to have any form of government they desired, yet if such Chinese Government had policy which threatened not to be mutually beneficial or which was committed to overthrow governments of other countries, then obviously this became something beyond purely Chinese issue.

I made further effort to explain position of consulates in occupied territory but without too much success. Huang Hua reiterated that CCP attitude toward consulates was based on latter's original establishment under and relationship with Kuomintang Government (see Embtel 1205, June 6,⁴⁶ re Soviet attitude). When asked our action should not [*National*] Government move Taiwan, I replied that in all probability we would not follow it there with diplomatic mission and that I felt that was position of other foreign countries concerned. He dodged such questions as should China be communized or industrialized first or would coalition government be as inclusive as possible to bring in Kmt liberals and other public spirited persons by replying in each case that was purely question for Chinese people to decide for themselves.

Following discussion of need of economic recovery of China, I asked what I might do to further mutual relations between our two countries which had long been my chief concern. Almost brusquely he replied that China needed to be allowed to work out her own destiny without interference; that all CCP wanted from US was stoppage of aid and severance of relations with "Kmt Government". As previously he harped on "past mistakes" of US Government, its miscalculation re strength of Kmt, its maintenance of AAG,⁴⁷ its continuing aid to Kmt, etc. Having reviewed 1948 China Aid Act⁴⁸ in earlier conversation, I merely pointed out that some shipments had been delayed and that continuing arrival of aid was result of circumstances now outside control of US Government.

I continued that, speaking for many Americans, there was widespread fear re Communist doctrine apparently supported by CCP which advocated world revolution by violence until all other nations had been communized by that process or by highly organized subversive activity; that this fear explained considerable in American attitude.

Conversation lasted about 2 hours. Certain other topics which were discussed will be reported in separate telegrams. Conversation was frank and at times almost beyond usual Chinese amenities. However, both men were very friendly to me and expressed their personal attitude of friendliness in various small ways.

Sent Department 1235, repeated OffEmb Canton 511, Shanghai 664.

STUART

⁴⁶ Not printed.

⁴⁷ Army Advisory Group.

⁴⁸ Approved April 3, 1948; 62 Stat. 158.

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The Ambassador in China (Stuart) to the Secretary of State

NANKING, June 8, 1949—6 p. m.

[Received June 8—9:38 a. m.]

1241. In recent conversation with Huang Hua I was pressed for definite details regarding my departure for consultation including date. Huang referred several times to July 1 which was date I had tentatively mentioned on our first meeting. I avoided direct answers by replying that my departure was closely related to progress negotiations for closing Mukden Consulate General.⁴⁹ However, since permission to repair Air Attaché plane here, in which I hope to exit, is related in Communist minds to date my departure, it would be useful if I could receive Department's confirmation its instructions for me to proceed US consultation within next 30 days (see Deptel 513, April 23, repeated Canton 106⁵⁰).

In preparation for departure it would be convenient to have some idea Department's intentions my future. Dept will doubtless be informed recent exchange views between my British colleague and his Foreign Office to effect once Chief of Mission leaves here he or his successor should not return until prospective Chinese Govt will have been formally recognized. Logic of this is irrefutable, yet in my special case I am of opinion that if I can be of any further service my Government it will be by returning here after sufficient period Washington. If Department agrees, perhaps some formula could be worked out for my return without violating international proprieties.

My reasons for desiring return are indicated in recent Peiping and Nanking telegrams regarding internal conditions CCP together with my belief liberals within or without Kmt are ready in large numbers to associate themselves with new regime if it can be persuaded to take more independent nationalistic as against pro-Soviet line. Am convinced our own most hopeful policy lies in this direction. In view of artificially inflamed anti-American feeling, my continuing presence here has also certain symbolic value.

Related to this question of course is future remaining Embassy staff Nanking (see Embtel 1115, May 25⁵¹) and whether Department desires maintain office of Embassy in Nanking after my departure or to reduce it to status and size of consulate.

Repeated OffEmb Canton 513.

STUART

⁴⁹ For documentation on this subject, see pp. 933 ff.

⁵⁰ *Ante*, p. 683.

⁵¹ *Ante*, p. 692.