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Volume VIII

The Far East:
China



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the Secretary of State

December 27, 1949—2 p. m.
ed December 27—3:55 a. m.]
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STRONG

at Taipei (Edgar)

ecember 30, 1949—7 p. m.
Chargé d'Affaires (First
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ACHESON

THE EMBASSY IN CHINA AFTER OCCUPATION OF NANKING BY CHINESE COMMUNISTS

I. VIOLATION OF AMBASSADOR STUART'S RESIDENCE; CHINESE COMMUNIST REFUSAL TO RECOGNIZE OFFICIAL STATUS OF DIPLOMATIC PERSONNEL; DEPARTURE OF THE AMBASSADOR FROM CHINA (APRIL 25–AUGUST 3)

124.931/4–2549 : Telegram

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

NANKING, April 25, 1949.
[Received April 25—3:01 a. m.]

856. The Ambassador's residence was violated this morning at 6:45 by 12 armed Communist soldiers. They persuaded the Chinese porter to open the front gate of the compound and then came in the back door of the residence where they asked the servants how many Chinese and how many foreigners lived in the residence and where the Ambassador was. On receiving reply to the last question, the soldiers all mounted the stairway promptly, went to the Ambassador's room and entered. The Ambassador was not quite awake at that hour and their appearance in his bedroom was something of a shock. While they did not threaten him, the first to enter room spoke in loud and angry tones. Those that followed were more civil and said that they had come to "look around". They wandered about the bedroom inspecting its contents and making remarks to effect that all this would eventually go to people to whom it should belong anyway. They questioned Mr. Fugh [1] but did not inspect his room. They refused to let Anderberg [2] into the Ambassador's bedroom and forced him back into his own room at the point of a gun. They inspected his room and asked him his nationality; after which inspected other bedrooms. They then left the house and the compound without having removed anything. They told one of the servants that the Ambassador should not leave the compound but this was not conveyed to the Ambassador or any member of his official staff. No other houses in the compound were visited.

Sent Department, repeated OffEmb Canton 301, Shanghai 440, Peiping 133.

STUART

[1] Philip Fugh, Chinese personal secretary to Ambassador Stuart.
[2] Edward Anderberg, Jr., Economic Analyst of the Embassy.

We believe order has been issued at high level to prohibit circulation foreigners and that inconsistency in application due simply to state of confusion prevailing during first days of take-over. We expect situation to be clarified once Military Control Commission takes over, probably within few days. As yet no guards posted Chancery compound, but personnel are being instructed stay off streets unless absolutely necessary go out. No interference thus far with entry and exit Chinese from any compound.

Sent Department 870, repeated Canton 311, Shanghai 451.

STUART

893.00/4–2649 : Telegram

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

NANKING, April 26, 1949—2 p. m.
[Received April 26—11 :53 a. m.]

874. E. Youde, Third Secretary of British Embassy, April 24 returned from his mission north of Yangtze on which he fruitlessly attempted to establish contact with Communist authorities and arrange withdrawal of British vessel *Amethyst* to either Nanking or Shanghai from her present position.[4]

He crossed river at Pukow April 21 and spent night there. Following day while walking toward battle line at Puchen suddenly found himself in middle of machine-gun battle. He waited until shooting ceased, and then surrendered to Communist troops. He explained to them purpose of his mission and was escorted back from lines, passing through successively higher echelons until he reached district commander and finally area commander. They listened to him, but persistently and pointedly regarded him as having capacity of only private British subject and lacking any diplomatic or official status. Area commander told him Communists would help extricate *Amethyst* only on condition she support Communist crossing of Yangtze. To this, of course, Youde replied in negative. Communists were much incensed by casualties British Navy had inflicted upon their troops.

Comment: This experience of Youde is first indication Communists intend to deny official status to diplomatic personnel as they have done to consular personnel.

Sent Department, repeated Shanghai 454, EmbOff Canton 312.

STUART

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[4] H.M.S. *Amethyst* had been disabled by Chinese Communist gunfire.

The Ambassador in China (Stuart) to the Secretary of State [52]

893.0093/6–1349 : Telegram

NANKING, June 13, 1949—2 p. m.
[Received June 13—7 : 48 a. m.]

1275. Diplomatic Corps has been subjected series restrictive measures which is beginning make many chiefs mission doubt wisdom remaining here longer. First, official automobiles were required registered in name of individual. In case of each ambassador, he was required add after his title "acting in capacity of foreign national". Following registration, automobiles were limited on purely arbitrary basis, from 1 to 5 cars each mission depending on its size. For most missions this is crippling and constitutes direct interference in official activities. Finally and most important, since resumption of commercial telegraphic facilities overseas, diplomatic missions have been unable to send coded messages. This has been made subject of informal protest to local Aliens Affairs Office by at least one mission without result.

There has been some agitation for meeting Diplomatic Corps and concerted action by that body vis-à-vis local authorities. However, Dean of Diplomatic Corps, who is French,[53] is unwilling to take initiative or responsibility for political reasons involving French-Chinese relations. At his suggestion, however, series of small meetings including all chiefs mission who remained Nanking were held last week at four embassies to discuss individual but parallel action. Plan of approach to local authorities on basis generally recognized privileges and immunities of diplomatic missions, drawn up by French Ambassador and approved by British, Indian and myself, met sufficient opposition from other colleagues to be discarded. Strongest objection was that if Corps approaches local authorities on this basis and receives rebuff or flat negative answer, chiefs mission, at least, would be forced to withdraw or find their position even more intolerable. Since all are not prepared to take this step now or are uninformed of their governments' desires in this connection, there is sufficient lack of unanimity to make parallel approach impractical. Abortive attempt of Diplomatic Corps to assert itself may have following beneficial results, however: (1) will inspire those chiefs mission without instructions concerning their future moves to request them and (2) quiet temporarily those chiefs mission who have been most vociferous in their complaints and demands for concerted action.
Sent Department 1275, repeated AmEmb Canton 528, Shanghai 688.

STUART

[52] The Ambassador was away from Nanking June 11–16 on a trip to Shanghai (see telegram No. 1325, June 19, noon, p. 763). Telegrams from Nanking during this period were sent in his name.

[53] Jacques Meyrier, French Ambassador in China.

123 Stuart, J. Leighton : Telegram

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

NANKING, June 18, 1949—7 p. m.
[Received June 19—2:01 a. m.]

1322. Now that I have completed Shanghai visit only remaining major problem before my departure China is safety, withdrawal Mukden ConGen staff. Although wall of silence finally broken, progress this problem slow, doubtful. These [*There*] is also reported pre-Political Consultative Conference Peiping which I surmise Chen Ming-shu and others have gone north to attend. I should like to obtain some firsthand information on it before my return Washington. Chang Tung-sun,[60] who may still visit me Nanking en route Shanghai next month, will be delegate. (See Peiping's 644, June 9, repeated Department 969,[61] Canton 155.) Consequently if there is not too great discrepancy between happy conclusion Mukden affair and termination pre-PCC, I should like to delay my departure China until I can have received firsthand accounts of Communist position, possible future coalition government from some of my old friends in attendance. (See Embtel 1280, June 13, repeated Canton 529, Shanghai 693.) In any event I shall comply with Department's instruction to consult re exact date my intended departure within next few weeks.

Present status plans other major powers to recall Ambassadors for consultation are as follows:

1. Netherlands Ambassador expects recall and will not return China. (For Department's confidential information, I believe he is resisting recall.)

2. British Ambassador has no specific instructions to return but convinced it is HMG's intention recall him eventually and before formation Communist Nationalist [*National?*] Government. HMS *Amethyst* affair is of course holding Stevenson here as Mukden affair detains me.

3. French Ambassador has no instructions to return and on contrary believes his Government desires him remain China until France has worked out details recognition Chinese Communist Government. (Department may wish to try to bring French Government into line with others since it is absurd to believe that Communist aspirations French Indochina will be influenced by appeasement policy followed by French Ambassador, Nanking.)

4. Canadian Ambassador plans to return Canada for normal home leave this summer.

5. Belgian, Italian and Portuguese have no instructions, but Italian Ambassador is suggesting his return Rome during summer and following my departure. Believe Portuguese will follow our [and] British lead.

[60] Professor at Yenching University, Peiping; member of the Democratic League.
[61] *Ante*, p. 376.

6. Indian and Burmese Ambassadors apparently have a... to leave at any time and are planning to return their respective ... tries as soon as exit permit facilities established and transport... available.

7. Thailand Ambassador instructed close Embassy Nanking ... return Bangkok.

8. Afghan Minister recalled Kabul, leaving First Secretary ... charge Nanking.

Sent Department; repeated OffEmb Canton 550, Shanghai 71... Sr...

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123 Stuart, J. Leighton : Telegram

The Minister-Counselor of Embassy in China (Clark) to the Secretary of State

CANTON, June 19, 1949—10 a...
[Received 11:49 p. m...

Cantel 612. Agree that visit Ambassador [to] Canton en ro... Washington for consultation will excite speculation and misinterp... tation (Department's 705, June 16 to Nanking, telCan 342, Shang... 1213). In answer to inquiry which have received from various G... ernment sources, have invariably replied felt sure Ambassador wo... wish visit Canton but feared Communists might refuse him ex... permit except on condition he proceed direct US. Regardless Co... munist attitude, believe disadvantages possible repercussions An... bassador's visit here outweigh advantages conferring with me pri... return Washington. From my telegrams he is aware trend my thinki... ing. Also there is increasing evidence disintegration Kmt Govern... ment. By appointing Strong First Secretary and detailing him... Chungking [62] we will give Government great boost morale. For... Ambassador come south would, I believe, be overdoing it.

Am inclined agree Department's tentative view that in event simul... taneous absence China [of] Ambassador and myself Strong should be... appointed Chargé d'Affaires, Chungking. Both Soviet and Czech... Missions in absence chiefs missions have appointed Canton represent... tive Chargé and it may yet develop that both will move Chungking... with Government. After all it will be Strong who will be represent... ing US Government near Chinese Government and to let it be known... that someone Nanking was assuming charge in absence Ambassador... might lead embarrassing publicity as well as detract from gesture... of support incident maintaining diplomatic contact Chungking.

Sent Department; repeated Nanking 409, Shanghai 348.

CLARK

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[62] See telegram telCan No. 315, June 10, p. 696.

attention. Any changes in my instructions as result thereof could reach me in Okinawa as late as July 18 which is still only target date as our exit permits have not yet been approved.

Sent Department; repeated OffEmb Canton 641.

STUART

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123 Stuart, J. Leighton: Telegram

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

NANKING, July 15, 1949—2 p. m.
[Received July 15—5:45 a. m.]

1532. Embassy has already informed local Communist authorities details flight plans, including maps and E.T.D., of Air Attaché's plane as far as Okinawa and we have every confidence Communist Armed Forces will be appropriately alerted. Air Attaché made successful test flight yesterday.

Air Attaché and I had considered possibility notifying Nationalist Government but had discarded it as unnecessary and even involving some security risk. However, in light recommendations in Deptel 828, July 14, agree appropriate to inform CAF at Canton and Taipei and request assurances safe conduct. We will not, however, delay trip for receipt such assurances.

Following for Clark and Edgar: Please inform appropriate authorities Headquarters CAF your post that I plan depart Nanking 0800 hours July 18 in American aircraft C–47. Course will be set from Nanking 96 degrees to 25 miles at sea for turning point to 137 degrees Naha, Okinawa, altitude 10,000. This course will take plane approximately 50 miles north Shanghai. Since delay obtaining exit permits myself and party now foreseen, possible plane may be delayed one or two days. Consequently appropriate Chinese Armed Forces should be alerted for 19th and 20th as well. We will communicate promptly any change above schedule.

Sent Department; repeated OffEmb Canton 642, Taipei 63.

STUART

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123 Stuart, J. Leighton: Telegram

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

WASHINGTON, July 15, 1949—5 p. m.

833. Urtel 1526, Jul 14. Dept greatly disturbed over "shop guarantee" requirements for Amb and other official passengers AirAtt plane and believes dangerous precedent wld be set if "shop guarantees" from either Chi or Amer firms for official dipl or con personnel

were provided Chi Commie auths under any conditions. If this ... prove not local but attempt to impose countrywide procedure ... application to such outlying places as Mukden for example wi... virtually impossible fulfillment. While Dept of opinion any ... delay Amb's departure wld be unfortunate, question of "shop g... antees" believed of sufficient importance warrant postponing dep... ture until requirement such guarantees waived for official ... personnel. For ur info, Chi Commie requirement "shop guarante... believed unique and no similar restrictions applied in [iron] curt... countries Eastern Europe.

Dept also of opinion similar guarantees by Emb or individual E... officers extremely undesirable and might lead to endless complicati... resulting from trumped up charges brought against Olive [12] or oth... members party fol their departure.

Dept has considered possibility giving wide publicity to planne... date Amb's departure and list passengers accompanying in attempt... to effect permission departure as planned without requiring "shop ... guarantees", but concerned lest such action might make Commies ... even more obdurate and leave no room for face saving retreat. Wi... appreciate Emb's comments this point.

Emb shld in meantime point out to Commies unprecedented nature ... their demand (and only reminiscent of tactics Manchu Li Fan ... yuan [13]), which completely contrary accepted internatl custom and ... usage with regard dipl and consular officials, and inform them under ... instructions US Govt Emb can under no circumstances accede. Emb ... might also in its discretion give Commies understand any unreasonable delay in departure will be full responsibility Commie auths and ... wide publicity re reasons for delay not unlikely.

ConGen Peiping instructed make similar representations Chi ... Commie auths there.

ACHESON

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123 Stuart, J. Leighton : Telegram

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

NANKING, July 16, 1949—1 p. m.
[Received July 16—2:23 a. m.]

1537. In compliance Deptel 833, July 15, we informed Director Alien Affairs Office this morning that, under instructions US Government, Embassy could under no circumstances accede to requirement ...

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[12] For documentation on the case of Vice Consul William M. Olive at Shanghai, see pp. 1155 ff.

[13] The Li-fan Yuan, established in 1638, was a Manchu board in charge of affairs relating to Koreans and Mongols.

of "shop guarantees" for myself and official party. Huang Hua replied that such decision was out of his competence and that he would refer entire matter to Peiping urgently. Suggest Department give no publicity to these difficulties until Peiping authorities have had opportunity to reply this reference.

In light of this development and approaching week end I see no possibility of maintaining original schedule. Consequently I will now plan to depart Nanking morning of July 19 circumstances permitting.

Consul General Cabot, Vice Consul Olive and wife arrived from Shanghai this morning. (Deptel 832, July 14.[14]) We will not be assured of latter's exit China until we have submitted applications for exit entire party, presently being delayed by "shop guarantee" requirement.

Sent Department, repeated OffEmb Canton 645, Taipei 64, Department pass Peiping 277.

STUART

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123 Stuart, J. Leighton : Telegram

The Minister-Counselor of Embassy in China (Clark) to the Secretary of State

CANTON, July 16, 1949—6 p. m.
[Received July 16—6:37 a. m.]

Cantel 749. Although impossible obtain reliable information regarding duration Generalissimo's visit Canton, best I can get is week–10 days (Nanking's 1531, July 15 to Department, repeated OffEmb 641). Included [*Inclined*] agree impossible convince public visit Ambassador and Generalissimo Canton simultaneously was pure coincidence. Fact remains, however, that henceforth Generalissimo may be expected assume more public control and a motivation Department's instructions Ambassador come Canton may be unaffected by his presence here. Feel we can be sure Communists will take full advantage visit regardless whether Generalissimo present.

Sent Department; repeated Nanking 495.

CLARK

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[14] Not printed.

Sent Nanking 853; repeated Department, Shanghai 813.

CLUBB

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128 Stuart, J. Leighton : Telegram

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

NANKING, July 21, 1949—9 p. m.
[Received July 21—1 : 09 p. m.]

1571. I regret publicity US "shop guarantee" question and agree that premature release our difficulties exit permits may make solution more difficult (Deptel 1428 to Shanghai July 18, repeated Nanking 843, Canton 463, Taipei 187 and Embtel 1537, July 16 to Department, repeated Canton 645, Taipei 64). When *New York Times'* string man Nanking called Embassy July 20, he already had full story my difficulties "shop guarantees". We were noncommittal. Explained for his background information that it was unwise to give any publicity to present negotiations for my departure which might have adverse effect upon Communist authorities. All we could say for his use was that my plans to depart were proceeding and that there was no ETD as yet. I can only assume local *New York Times'* correspondent obtained his information from other Embassy. Last week I had several small informal conferences with my diplomatic colleagues to say farewell. Because of their obvious interest in details of my departure, I felt it only fair to advise them of Communists' requirements and of progress on my negotiations to reach satisfactory conclusion. I assume that this confidence was not respected in all instances.

We are waiting from day to day for call from Aliens Affairs Office regarding our exit permits. Apparently no new instructions have been received from Peiping (see Peiping's telegram 853, July 20 to Nanking, repeated Department 1204,[26] Shanghai 813). I feel we should not display too much impatience as evidence to Communists of our weakening over question of "shop guarantees", other immunities connected with my departure. Obviously however delay cannot be permitted to drag on indefinitely and Department may wish prepare statement for release to press when we here feel that no advantage to further waiting or if negative instructions from Peiping received. I would suggest that any release state obvious; that despite absence diplomatic relations, one right which we all possess, and which should be beyond question, is our right to leave in same manner that we entered China.

Before making release Department may wish to inform Embassies other foreign governments having representation Nanking with suggestion those governments may themselves wish to take official

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[26] July 21, 9 a. m., *supra*.

cognizance this denial most fundamental right of exit to f
representative sovereign state.
Repeated Canton 660, Shanghai 881, Taipei 67.

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123 Stuart, J. Leighton : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in China (Stu

WASHINGTON, July 22, 1949—6 p.

871. Urtel 1571 July 21. Since any statement made by Dep
"shop guarantee" and ur departure wld be designed for Chi
sumption rather than world or US, Dept desires you prepare
forward soonest draft statement for release by Dept when you
time propitious or when negative reply recd from Commies. S
ment shld be designed facilitate ur own departure as well as f
movements US cit[izen]s desiring leave or travel within China.

ACHE

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123 Stuart, J. Leighton : Telegram

The Minister-Counselor of Embassy in China (Clark) to the Secre of State

CANTON, July 22, 1949—9 p.m.
[Received 10:30 p.m.]

Cantel 801. Urge desirability advance information Canton for r
lease here at proper time by Connors[27] of publicity contemplate
Deptel 825, July 20 to Nanking, repeated Canton telCan 470. Ad
vance knowledge details Department's plans and *en clair* message r
release would be most valuable.

CLAR

124.931/7–2349 : Telegram

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

NANKING, July 23, 1949—1 p.m.
[Received July 23—6:42 a.m.]

1590. Afternoon of fire (see Embtel 1585, July 22 to Department, repeated Canton 664, Shanghai 887[28]) in Service Attaché's compound (adjoining mine) Huang Hua telephoned to inquire of my safety and to assure me that he had ordered all fire fighting equipment Nanking to scene to prevent fire spreading my compound. At same time

[27] W. Bradley Connors, Attaché in China.
[28] Not printed; the Embassy repeated a Nanking newspaper story of a fire on the Embassy premises (124.931/7–2249).

he referred my departure a
Safety had been unduly z
been included on exit perm
Bureau. He suggested w
that he would have ground
tion our problems. Yest
Officer called Public Safet
(1) Official and person
(2) My baggage exem
to other members of par
(3) Exit permit Amb
However all other ex
with statement that "sh
that their forms were th
Fugh attempted all
Huang Hua without su
Bureau had not unders
case, only I am to be e
We will inform Depar
Affairs Office is clarif
thorities remaining ac
members my party (al
grateful for Departm
(Deptel 833, July 15)
Sent Department,

124.936/7–2349 : Telegram

The Ambassado

1595. Following
USIS[29] from MCC
"As the United S
States Department
ernment has no dip
the United States
from today. Such
news bulletins, th
exhibition of illus

[29] Josiah W. Benne
Service.
[30] Military Control

Liu Po-cheng, Director Nanking Military Control Council and Mayor. *Fugh*, who had never met General Liu before, had impression their meeting in Huang's office was not pure coincidence. After exchange of the usual amenities, General Liu said he understood Dr. Stuart's privacy had been violated by Communist soldiers in early days of Nanking "liberation". When Fugh confirmed this, General Liu continued that he had been most sorry to hear of this unfortunate incident, that he had regretted it exceedingly, and that the officer and soldiers responsible had been returned to Peiping for further indoctrination. (We understand that "to be returned North for further indoctrination" is roughly equivalent to our military being returned to base for corrective instruction and, as such, a form of degradation.) The remainder of the conversation was of general and insignificant import, and we suspect that General Liu created this occasion to express in an indirect way his regret for the incident involving the violation of the Ambassador's premises.

STUART

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123 Stuart, J. Leighton : Telegram

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

NANKING, July 24, 1949—2 p. m.
[Received July 24—3:51 a. m.]

1603. Fugh saw Huang Hua this morning preparatory to a conference with me Monday afternoon 4 o'clock (4 a. m., Washington time) to discuss my departure, principally question of "shop guarantees". After Fugh had restated US position (see Deptel 833, July 15), Huang replied that Communists feel that they had already made great and special concessions my case in permitting me to leave with confidential mail, immunity from baggage search and waiver of any guarantee; that to deviate further from a procedure which they have established for exit of foreigners during transitional period of non-recognition would establish precedent for other foreign diplomats for which they are unprepared. He begged Fugh to impress upon me their own dilemma and to express the hope that we would help them in finding satisfactory solution. Huang Hua feels that he has made every possible concession to facilitate my departure and I am inclined to believe that within the framework of his own limitations this is true. The principal point at issue was requirement of "shop guarantee" for other members of my party which he insists is only a formality and should not be magnified by US into a major controversy. (See Embtel 1590 July 23).

Certainly our case before the Chinese people and in world public opinion is considerably weakened in light of concessions already

made for Chief of Mission. The local authorities have already a
that "an American" can sign as guarantor. We now find that
ican Foreign Service and army officers leaving Peiping in
and April complied with requirement of "shop guarantee" in
to exit Communist China under Department's instructions (i.e.
man transferred to Shanghai, Major Moyer [32] transferred to
king), also that members of ConGen staff Shanghai going on
under orders have already obtained "shop guarantees" pursua
local requirements which are similar to those in Nanking. The
Chief of Mission leaving Nanking with permission to exit C
(Afghanistan Minister) complied with "shop guarantee" require
to extent of having his Chargé sign guarantee.

We recognize force of the Department's arguments in its tele
833 and the dangers which compliance with these requirements
hold for other American officials. On the other hand it shou
considered that a rigid adherence to our stand may in itself act
barrier to the exit of any US official personnel for an indefinite pe
through their inability to comply with exit requirements. As of
Mukden, Ward reports that members his staff are planning depar
Peiping next week and has reported no trouble over their exit p
mits. Among my colleagues I find that their principal concern
been over treatment Chief of Mission and I am inclined to be
that they would not consider it unreasonable if members of their
obtained a guarantee. Thus we may well find that regardless of
position many others will comply with the guarantee require
for members of their staffs. The mere fact of my exit witho
guarantor would be a welcome precedent for my colleagues. Dep
ment should therefore consider possibility that at a later date it
be compelled by general procedure to reverse its position and ac
to Communist demands in order to enable members Foreign Ser
to depart and that it may face a morale problem of critical prop
tions among its personnel in China, once transportation is avail

In light of the above and desirability of my departure in com
ance Department's instructions at earliest possible date I recomm
I be authorized to tell Huang when I see him tomorrow aftern
that as a special concession my Government has agreed that
Embassy Nanking will act as guarantor for the other members
my party. This in effect is what the Embassy would normally
in an informal manner for any members of its staff who inadvertent
might have left debts or other unsettled obligations and would s
the most appropriate exit from the present impasse. If Huang agre
this arrangement and we thus reach solution on basis of mutual
cessions, I feel that it will have a beneficial effect not only upon

[32] Maj. Maynard G. Moyer, on duty in China for the Department of the Army.

EMBASSY AT

Embassy's relations with
cans generally in this a
most urgent reply if I ar
afternoon on any new ba

123 Stuart, J. Leighton : Telegra

The Secretary of St

876. Dept studying su
careful consideration.
structions in time your
so inform him.

123 Stuart, J. Leighton : Telegr

The Ambassador in

1625. I talked one ar
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He reviewed again
and continuing recog
larging as previousl
aggression and war s
revolution. There w

[33] Chinese Communist

Embassy's relations with him in future but also on position of Americans generally in this area. Department will appreciate need for most urgent reply if I am to discuss matter with Huang Hua Monday afternoon on any new basis.

STUART

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123 Stuart, J. Leighton : Telegram

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

WASHINGTON, July 24, 1949—noon.

876. Dept studying subject urtel 1603 July 24, which requires most careful consideration. As it doubtful you will receive further instructions in time your Monday meeting Huang Hua you may wish so inform him.

ACHESON

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123 Stuart, J. Leighton : Telegram

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

NANKING, July 26, 1949—5 p. m.
[Received July 26—12:38 p. m.]

1625. I talked one and half hours July 25 with Huang Hua. Our personal relations were cordial as usual, but I came away with feeling of discomfiture. His Communist mind is impermeable to argument and even to facts.

I began with "shop guarantee" issue, expressing appreciation of special treatment accorded me and explaining at length views of my Government. He described reasons for this provisional arrangement and admitted that Communists had not thought of peculiar problems affecting diplomatic personnel. He implied that he might give matter further consideration (see Deptel 876, July 24 to Nanking). I said that before my departure it would be helpful to know whether CCP [33] wished our consulates closed and nationals withdrawn, stating that incessant denunciation of our "imperialism" and experiences of individuals especially in Shanghai had led many Americans to ask this question. He quoted Mao's June 15 speech as evidence that Americans and others who stay in China on Mao's terms would be welcome.

He reviewed again CCP grievances against USA, chiefly for aiding and continuing recognize Chiang Government. I countered by enlarging as previously on American desire for peace and fear of aggression and war springing from CCP-avowed advocacy of world revolution. There was nothing new in any of this and I doubt if

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[33] Chinese Communist Party.

ments for departure of Ambassador and party prior to deadline established in Deptel 875, July 23, repeated Canton telCan 490.[36]
Sent Department; repeated OffEmb Canton 682.

STUART

893.00B/7-2749 : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Consul General at Peiping (Clubb)

WASHINGTON, July 27, 1949—3 p. m.

490. Dept considering instructing Amb to present *aide mémoire* to Huang Hua on eve of departure reciting intolerable actions and inquiring whether these perpetrated with view to making untenable position Amer reps in China and stating if so notification hereby given we are prepared close Emb and progressively Consulates as interests in area permit.

Dept wishes receive urgently your reaction and main outlines of character of note you wld advocate having not only current situation in mind but also that which will come to pass when Chi Commie auths organize themselves as govt, invite recognition and it is not readily forthcoming from US.

Wld not Dept be well advised seek opportunity to close Emb Nanking fol Ambs departure in view of likelihood Peiping being new capital and attempt make advantage out of eventual necessity?

ACHESON

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123 Stuart, J. Leighton : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in China (Stuart)[37]

WASHINGTON, July 27, 1949—7 p. m.

890. Urtel 1603 Jul 24 brings out facts re previous compliance by Amer and fon official personnel with "shop guarantee" demands which Dept previously unaware. Dept remains concerned at implications any official compliance these demands. It knows no auth of law or availability appropriated funds whereby Emb in behalf US Govt may be permitted assume responsibility possible personal obligations, if any, of its personnel. Nevertheless, it wld appear we are being subj[ected] to duress requiring *ad hoc* measures to meet a situation involving possible safety, well-being Amer personnel. To meet this extremity, Dept authorizes fol procedure: Emb sign as guarantor. In event financial loss resulting procedures, Dept will consider use funds

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[36] Not printed; the deadline was August 1.
[37] Notation by the Secretary of State: "Approved by the President. D. A."

for emergencies arising dipl and consular service for purpose relieving any expenditure involved in obligations. Where personal liabilities established for individuals concerned Govt wld reserve right of recovery from them expenditures made their account.

If FonServ personnel remaining at post required sign on personal unofficial basis (in keeping with Commie insistence they do not recognize FonServ Officers' official status and capacity act), this action wld be considered by US Govt official act of US Govt employees.

In complying this procedure Emb shld emphasize to local authorities that this treatment of US Govt reps is considered contrary to international custom and usage and does not constitute a waiver of any rights under such internatl usage.

It shld be stressed that status of dipl personnel in internatl law is clear. Internatl practice contemplates that such personnel are exempt from the jurisdiction of the country in which stationed, not being amenable to civil or criminal process. They partake of a sovereign character and any interference with the freedom of their movements or the discharge of responsibility in the manner demanded is considered repugnant to internatl custom and usage.

ACHESON

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123 Stuart, J. Leighton : Telegram

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

NANKING, July 29, 1949—5 p.m.
[Received July 29—5:26 a.m.]

1644. Please inform appropriate authorities CAF that I intend depart Nanking for Okinawa in Embassy plane Monday August 1 8 a.m. (see Embtel 1532, July 15 to Department, repeated Canton 692, Taipei 63). Information contained in reftel still holds.

Sent OffEmb Canton 692, Taipei 70, repeated Department.

STUART

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123 Stuart, J. Leighton : Telegram

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

NANKING, July 29, 1949—5 p.m.
[Received July 29—6:28 a.m.]

1645. I informed Huang Hua yesterday of Department's concession in permitting Embassy to sign as guarantor of members my party (Deptel 890, July 27). He said he would have to refer matter to Peiping. Today we are informed that local public safety bureau will accept Embassy as guarantor. Consequently applications for exit

permits are being submitted to pu
Embassy's "chop" and signature
(Bacon). Statement of US Gover
this requirement (Deptel under refer
tomorrow when I expect to have fina
I have tentatively set date my dep
arriving Okinawa 12:30 same day.
doubt that this "early date" would
preparations, he agreed to try. It
pone departure one day. I shall keep
Sent Department; repeated OffE
Taipei 71.

893.00/7–2949 : Telegram

The Consul General at Peiping (

1263. ReDeptel 490, July 27. Int
for Communists generally due fail
Overall political situation therefo
who could have been right in foll
past 3 years only if war near wh
won but not lose if USSR lost. U
may still advise Soviet war immin
group]) but Communists may n
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Economically Communists were
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before 1950 harvest with resultant
nomic failure would weaken Co
China's usefulness to USSR.
In present circumstances Comm
withdraw somewhat from extre
taken. Such retreat quite fitting
only by natural reluctance admit

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[38] This reference is to the Berlin airli
closed off from western Germany.
[39] North Atlantic Treaty signed at
of State Treaties and Other Interna
(pt. 2) 2241.
[40] *Ante*, p. 443.

permits are being submitted to public safety this afternoon with Embassy's "chop" and signature of Embassy certifying officer (Bacon). Statement of US Government's position in acceding to this requirement (Deptel under reference) will be made to Huang Hua tomorrow when I expect to have final interview with him.

I have tentatively set date my departure Monday, August 1, 8 a. m., arriving Okinawa 12:30 same day. While Huang expressed some doubt that this "early date" would give him time to make necessary preparations, he agreed to try. It may be necessary for me to postpone departure one day. I shall keep Department regularly informed.

Sent Department; repeated OffEmb Canton 693, Shanghai 916, Taipei 71.

STUART

893.00/7-2949 : Telegram

The Consul General at Peiping (Clubb) to the Secretary of State

PEIPING, July 29, 1949—5 p. m.
[Received July 29—2:59 p. m.]

1263. ReDeptel 490, July 27. International political situation worse for Communists generally due failure re Berlin,[38] re Atlantic Pact.[39] Overall political situation therefore worse for Chinese Communists who could have been right in following virulent anti-American line past 3 years only if war near when they thought, to win if USSR won but not lose if USSR lost. USSR has used them as pawns and may still advise Soviet war imminent (see Contel Nanking [garbled group]) but Communists may now suspect international political game going badly. I believe this probable. Note Lo Lung-chi's leading questions (see Contel 1195, July 19 [*20*]) [40].

Economically Communists were wrong from beginning in attempting too much. Economic situation steadily deteriorating, grave shortages both food and industrial materials can be expected develop before 1950 harvest with resultant famine industrial breakdown. Economic failure would weaken Communist political authority, reduce China's usefulness to USSR.

In present circumstances Communists could logically be expected withdraw somewhat from extreme anti-foreign position originally taken. Such retreat quite fitting in Communists' own logic, hampered only by natural reluctance admit errors even implicitly, innate Chi-

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[38] This reference is to the Berlin airlift operation when the western sector was closed off from western Germany.

[39] North Atlantic Treaty signed at Washington, April 4, 1949; Department of State Treaties and Other International Acts Series No. 1964, or 63 Stat. (pt. 2) 2241.

[40] *Ante*, p. 443.

123 Stuart, J. Leighton : Telegram

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

NANKING, July 30, 1949—5 p.
[Received July 30—6:16 a.

1662. As soon as exit permits members my party granted and ETD firm, I intend to release to local American and foreign respondents following press statement:

"The American Ambassador to China, The Honorable J. Leigh Stuart, is proceeding to the US for consultation in compliance w instructions received from his Government the latter part of A Ambassador Stuart plans to leave Nanking in the Embassy's air on August blank. He intends to proceed directly to the US e for normal stopovers and a change of plane en route as required trans-Pacific travel. It is anticipated that he will arrive in W ington about August blank.

"The pilot and co-pilot of the plane are Air Attaché Colonel Jo Dunning and Assistant Air Attaché Major Robert Van A Crew members are Sergeants Edward Memczer and Charles F ame, members of the Air Attaché's staff. In addition to the and crew, the Ambassador's party will consist of: Mr. John M. C Counselor of Embassy and Consul General in Shanghai; Mr. Harr Hinderer, Embassy Administrative Officer; Vice Consul and William M. Olive; Mr. Philip Fugh, the Ambassador's private secretary."

If I do not hear from Department to contrary, I will assu concurs.

Sent Department, repeated Shanghai 921, OffEmb Canton 69 Connors.

Stu

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123 Stuart, J. Leighton : Telegram

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

NANKING, July 30, 1949—10 p.
[Received July 30—11:33 a.

1663. Exit permits being issued today and local Communist auth ties have tentatively fixed Tuesday morning August 2 as date for departure Nanking (see Embtel 1645 of July 29). Consequently will by [*be*] my ETD unless I advise to the contrary. Time of take 8 a. m.

Taipei and Canton please inform appropriate authorities C change my ETD.

Sent Department 1663, repeated EmbOff Canton 697, Shanghai Taipei 73.

Stu

EMBASSY A

123 Stuart, J. Leighton : Telegra

The Ambassador in

1664. With reference effort to depart not late July 30.) Communist to alert their armed for is only tentative ETD. August 3 in any event.

123 Stuart, J. Leighton : Telegr

The Ambassador in

1671. Philip Fugh J dum stating US Gover procedure as stated De but returned it on usua and People's Governm

123 Stuart, J. Leighton : Teleg

The Ambassador in

1679. Relinquished via Air Attaché plane Sent Department 16

123 Jones, J. Wesley : Telegra

The Counselor of Emb

1680. I have assume at Nanking as of today Sent Department, re

[45] Not printed.

correspondent believes transmission may be delayed by radio administration.

Sent Department 2645, repeated Nanking 1467, Peiping 193.

CABOT

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123 Olive, William M.: Telegram

The Consul General at Shanghai (Cabot) to the Secretary of State

SHANGHAI, July 7, 1949—5 p. m.
[Received July 7—8:51 a. m.]

2646. ReConGentel 2641, repeated Nanking 1463, Peiping 191. On July 6 at 11:30 p. m. Vice Consul William Olive had been missing from Consulate General approximately 10½ hours. Inquiry various police stations by phone disclosed Olive jailed in Wayside police station. William J. Supple accompanied by M. E. Meyer, local stateless employee formerly employed Chinese police, arrived Wayside police station approximately 12:30 a. m. July 7. Refused permission see Olive and police superintendent contacted by telephone refused talk with us and instructed police clerk on night duty not to give us any information. We did learn Olive was brought Wayside police station because he had not obeyed traffic order to go to the other side of the street because of CC parade. Olive booked about 3:15 p. m. at Wayside. Night police clerk further advised that Olive was charged with assault and battery and breaking wristwatch of inspector in charge. Night police clerk advised us to return about 9 a. m. July 7 and that we could bring Olive food.

Approximately 8:30 a. m. July 7, before going to Wayside, Supple learned that an Indian guard, Boor Singh, employed Italian Consulate General, was detained at Wayside during time Olive was brought in. Approximately noon Boor Singh reported verbally to Meyer and Supple:

"Approximately 5 p. m. Olive brought into Wayside station, taken to a back room, approximately 10 minutes later Olive brought back to front counter. Olive argumentative, hit the counter with hands two or three times, several other police officers came in and one took hold of Olive's arm to pull him away, Olive reached for the counter and pulled a letter box off the counter, splashing ink in his own face and over his clothes, also clothes of police officer, whereupon blows and kicks were exchanged between Olive and police officers, Olive being knocked to the floor and handcuffed after which police officers kicked and beat him. Olive kicked back and one police officer drew his gun threatening to shoot, Olive begged for mercy, was told to enter the detention cell with Boor Singh and two Chinese. Olive refused and

was picked up bodily and thrown into the cell. Olive later asked to use phone but police refused to listen. Boor Singh stated he was released approximately 6:15 p. m., Olive remaining in the cell." [95]

Nine-thirty this morning Supple went with Meyer by car to Wayside district police station taking breakfast food. Chase for reasons close personal friendship with Olive (rather than official function) accompanied them with idea remaining background in car but available for possible consultation. Upon approaching entrance (Muirhead Road) to police station compound, they found two police and two military sentries at gate. As sentries made no sign objecting to car's entrance and as Supple had brought in car without difficulty previous evening, they drove car into compound and Supple, Meyer entered building. Chase remained in car. Supple, Meyer approached duty police sergeant explaining politely they came from Consulate General with purpose inquire regarding welfare and charges against Olive and requesting if possible see officer in charge. Sergeant referred inquiry to near-by civilian dressed man, evidently political commissar, who answered curtly that they could see nobody. Sergeant repeated statement and refused further talk on ground no interpreter had been brought. When Meyer proved his ability speak Chinese, he said no recognition the American Consulate General and matter "ordinary" affair involving foreigners. Supple, Meyer then asked whether as private citizens they could give their food to Olive and referred to Mao Tze-tung's eighth point regarding protection foreigners. Such approach proved no avail and Supple, Meyer then left building. As they were about to rejoin Chase in car, sentry indicated car would not be permitted to leave compound. Returning to building to inquire reason this action, Meyer met police officer (former acquaintance on Settlement police) who offered to get permission for car leave. At this point, however, order came, apparently from political commissar, summoning Chase, Supple, Meyer to "lecture" room. Here commissar informed them they had been guilty "serious" violation regulations in bringing car into compound rather than first alighting and approaching gate on foot to request permission enter. When Consulate General officers expressed regrets for having been unaware of such regulations of which sentries had given them no indication commissar proceeded harangue them at length in loud and most abusive, insulting manner. Main lines of his attack were:

1. Who do you think you are, behaving thus, having nerve to drive straight into compound? Do you take us for dance hall or public place? What was your idea of coming here in first place? (A simple reply they had come to inquire regarding Olive was ignored and followed by renewed tirade.)

[95] For summary of Mr. Olive's account of affair, see telegram No. 2678, July 9, 7 p.m., from the Consul General at Shanghai, p. 1220.

2. We don't recognize American Consul General and Americans no longer have any voice in China. During Kmt they could assume airs and attitudes, but that is all finished: All foreigners must now obey our laws or be punished—Consulate or no Consulate—which means nothing to us.

3. Do you realize how serious this offense is? We could shoot all of you right now for it. If you had attempted to drive away in car, our sentries should have shot you.

4. If you foreigners want to go back to your countries, so much the better. But first we shall find out if you are good or bad people (implication obvious). At several points Consulate General officers, with careful effort to speak with courtesy and restraint, and believing useless if not dangerous attempt argument, reiterated quietly their regret at having been unaware of violated regulations. Each such "apology" elicited renewed outburst of sarcastic sneers regarding "meaningless apologies" and further vituperation. Was clear that commissar, whether or not considering more extreme action, was determined do everything possible humiliate Consulate General officers before large crowd of police, military personnel, onlookers. More crowd gathered, more loud and aggressive he became. Consulate General officers were addressed as if criminals and kept continuously standing. He finally produced paper and told Chase, Supple, Meyer to write (1) personal history (with details former occupation), (2) explanatory statement why they had ventured visit police station, and (3) apology. He then said such statement would be sent police headquarters ("where full information to verify statement would be available") to verify "whether good or bad people". Said he assumed we wanted go back to car and asked whether would agree write such statements. If so, would be released from detention provided statements seemed to justify. Believing that nominal compliance under duress would satisfy police and be preferable to refusal and incarceration, Consulate General officers and Meyer wrote desired statements about 1½ pages each providing routine facts and statement to effect "it is to be regretted that through unawareness violated regulations". Upon completion statements police constable took them to next room (to which commissar had meanwhile removed) and after about 3 minutes returned to state all three could leave in car. He added that hereafter should clearly realize that any matter for discussion with police should be taken up with Alien Affairs Office Bureau Public Safety and never with police station direct.

During period when written statements being prepared, there was apparently made from next room phone call to police headquarters concerning case. Chase, Supple feel headquarters probably directed prompt release and that without instructions they and Meyer would very likely still be detained.

After departure from police station it was learned from Consulate chauffeur who drove car that he also was quizzed by police. Among other things, they asked him which one of three Consulate General representatives was Consul General (to which he answered "none"

they are all employees) and stated that he was a bad man for working for the Consulate General.

Repeated Nanking 1468.

Department pass Peiping in its discretion.

CABOT

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123 [Olive, William M.] : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in China (Stuart)[96]

WASHINGTON, July 7, 1949—6 p. m.

793. Re Shanghai's 2646 Jul 7 rptd Nanking 1468, gist being telegraphed Peiping by Dept.[97] If not already done, Emb shld immediately make protest to appropriate Chi Commie auths in strong and forceful term re arrest, beating, detention incommunicado Vice Consul Olive. Dept recommends immediate oral protest to Alien Affairs Bureau to be fol by written memo detailing facts in case as outlined by ConGen Shanghai but leaves final decision as to method protest to discretion Emb. Emb shld impress on Commie auths that US Govt takes extremely serious view this flagrant violation established internatl law re treatment consular officials. Emb shld also protest on humanitarian grounds insulting and arbitrary treatment accorded consular officers who went to police station merely to inquire re Olive and bring him food.

ConGen Peiping requested take similar action.[98]

ACHESON

102.22/7–749 : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Consul General at Shanghai (Cabot)

WASHINGTON, July 7, 1949—9 p. m.

1358. Urtel 2643 July 7. Dept considers procedure you proposed in para 4 as best move at this time and suggests it be followed.

Navy now has under consideration ur suggestion concerning special negotiators, which we agree would be desirable if feasible.

ACHESON

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[96] Repeated to the Consul General at Shanghai as No. 1356 and to the Consul General at Peiping as No. 417.

[97] Telegram No. 418, July 7, 6 p. m., not printed.

[98] The Consul General at Peiping in telegram No. 1151, July 10, 10 a. m., reported he had sent letter on this matter that day to the Headquarters of the Communist "People's Liberation Army".

authorities but only as personal views of McConaughy. Feng courteous throughout, maintained slightly quizzical set smile which masked his undoubted realization of seriousness of issues he was required to dodge by mouthing party line clichés.

Sent Department 2679; repeated Nanking 1498.

CABOT

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123 Olive, William M.: Telegram

The Consul General at Shanghai (Cabot) to the Secretary of State

SHANGHAI, July 9, 1949—7 p. m.
[Received July 9—1:15 p. m.]

2678. Five p. m., 8th, plain-clothes officer from Wayside police station called on Mrs. Olive her apartment. Brought letter from Olive wherein he admitted "serious errors", reported "good treatment" and asked for clothes to be sent him and money readied (about US $50) to pay "damage he had caused". Officer tried impress Mrs. Olive husband unhurt, well-treated and intimated hope for speedy settlement his case which was not serious except for fact that "he had to be reeducated". When she asked why neither she nor others had been permitted see him for 2 full days, officer replied Olive had refused give his name so case could not be handled. Said nobody could be present when case came up for decision. However, promised notify Mrs. Olive next day so she could see husband if not already released.

Olive released about noon today, allowed return home accompanied by wife whom police had summoned by phone. Consulate General will shortly submit his detailed story, salient points of which follow:

After leaving Consulate General about 1:30 p. m. of 6th, Olive had crossed Garden Bridge, was proceeding along Broadway, with no parade within sight when police signaled him to turn off small side street. As way blocked by 2 carts he sounded horn, hallway cleared and was about proceed when several heavily armed Communist soldiers apparently infuriated over coolies being forced make way for foreigners came up and compelled him back all way to Broadway. On reaching Broadway he started return to Consulate General and was nearing Garden Bridge when civilian police halted him in rough manner. Same group of soldiers then appeared, harangued him, forced him wait about 2 hours, then took to Wayside police station.

He was held but few minutes at Wayside during which a friendly sergeant (take-over from old regime) warned him he was in for bad time being foreigner and regretted his lack authority permit Olive to phone Consulate General. Then take[n] to Foochow Road central police station Office Alien Affairs where only subordinate in charge (as result parade holiday) characterized matter as "very minor of-

fense" and issued written instruction for return Olive to Wayside station for quick settlement case.

On return Wayside sergeant started reassure Olive regarding release when noted that central police official's written order had been amended by Wayside officer to read "is to be detained". During ensuing talk with sergeant, Olive, while appealing for sergeant's intercession to prevent detention, was gripping and leaning on intervening table edge. Soldiers reappeared and forcibly jerked him away from table, causing him lose balance, knock ink wells and cup from table and himself fall to floor, one arm inadvertently striking soldier as he fell. Soldiers, tempers inflamed, instantly surrounded him, striking him with gun barrels, etc., and terrifying him to point where he resisted in instinctive self defense.

He was then put in handcuffs (which not removed for almost 24 hours), brutally beaten up about body and legs and then hauled to preliminary detention cell (housing 3 other prisoners including Indian information source previously reported by Consulate General). Later was taken to another cell in which were already crowded 15 poor Chinese who treated him kindly, even offering tea.

Next morning he was compelled (with armed soldiers surrounding) to write "full confession" of guilt for various offenses including assault and original traffic "violation" (driving on a street which it appeared was among those declared reserved for parade in announcement made noon of 6th—quite unknown to him). Drafted 3 statements none of which satisfied police who then made him write 4th statement with virtually every word dictated by them. During this and various other humiliating points of his experience he was repeatedly photographed. In connection with this and other shorter statement which he was later forced to sign (including apologies to prison guards and people municipal government) he was also pressed to include denunciation of American Government—which he managed evade fairly well.

Following preparation of his confession he was given farcical "trial" charged with no less than 8 offenses, lectured lengthily (several times) on American Government's sins, manner in which foreigners should conduct themselves under people's regime, etc. Was then compelled write down summary of what had been told him.

Following trial he was taken solitary confinement cell in which, while lying, was not even allowed turn over and while sitting forced maintain painful crouched position for hours—at point of guards' guns.

Only nourishment he received during entire stay police station was bread and water—not enough water.

His requests for doctor examine his injuries were refused. He was not even permitted wash till shortly before release.

Such was severity and brutality of his treatment he cannot even recall clearly sequence and character events during latter part his detention—is hazy for example as to number and differentiation of apologies he was forced sign. He clearly recalls however that subsequent to trial he was twice forced make additions to his original confession: First, that he had been well treated and "suffered no injuries while under detention" (phrasing which Olive finally accepted as at least technically correct—injuries being inflicted before detention); and second, that his confession was made voluntarily.

About 3:30 afternoon 8th Olive noted sudden marked change in attitude of his jailors (McConaughy called at Foreign Affairs Bureau at 11 that morning); they became solicitous even to point offering him foreign cigarettes, asking him write wife, etc. Before his release they had him washed, shaved, barbered.

In connection with his apologies he was forced to make 3 waist-deep bows while photographers took pictures.

Before leaving Olive required pay fine. Actual cash paid over only JMP [10] 30500. But jailors had apparently deducted other amounts for "expenses" from cash on his person.

Preliminary superficial exam indicates Olive's bodily injuries probably not serious; but am of course having him thoroughly examined including X-ray—results to be recorded by physician's certificates supported by photos of injuries. He is naturally in highly exhausted, nerve-shaken state—dreading further arrest and torture; and psychological shock believed probably more serious than bodily wounds.

This grim affair impressively confirms my conviction that no American now safe in China. True that sudden change in police attitude afternoon of 8th probably reflected orders for Olive's release given by higher Communist authorities as result of Embassy's and Consulate General's intensive efforts; but fact that action was finally obtained by such efforts is no grounds of reassurance as to future in face of general dangerous attitude toward foreigners by rank and file Communists' personnel.

Department will appreciate that release of full story may jeopardize Olive but may feel full release nevertheless necessary. My 2 statements reported separately were designed to explode police story without involving Olive.

I suggest Olive be moved from Shanghai as soon as unobtrusively possible—perhaps in the interim stop at Tientsin to ease exit permit question.

Repeated Nanking 1497.

CABOT

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[10] *Jin min piao* (Chinese Communist currency).