

SECRET

## UNITED STATES POLICY IN CHINA

(Excerpt from a report of the staff meeting at the Embassy, Chungking, on January 16, 1945.)

General Hurley, who had been invited by representatives of U. S. agencies at the January 9 meeting to outline the American policy in China, spoke extemporaneously on that subject. A stenographic record of his remarks, made by Mr. Burton, was lost in the fire which destroyed the Embassy office building on the night of January 19-20. Following is a reconstructed report of his remarks.

General Hurley stated that, in order to understand our international policies, it is necessary for Americans to understand the fundamental principles that have enabled America to become the most free and most productive nation on earth. He recited from the Declaration of Independence the following: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by the Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." General Hurley, who was reciting from memory, stopped at this point and repeated "to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." He said that in this sentence was expressed the foundation of the liberty, the strength, the idealism and the world-wide influence of America.

General Hurley then passed to the Constitution of the United States and recited parts of the Bill of Rights. He said that, in addition to the fundamental political principles, America had evolved an economic system in the process of their conquest of a raw continent. He said that the economic system was not perfect; that it had cruelties and inequalities in it; and that America was striving to make its economic system more humane. He said that, notwithstanding its imperfections, due to the freedom of the American Government and the free enterprise of the American economic system, America had become the greatest productive unit on earth. General Hurley stated that we could camouflage the objectives of the United Nations in this war but he called attention to the fact that in the beginning all the idealistic motives cited by all of the United Nations were democratic and all involved the same principles as the principles on which the United States of America existed.

General Hurley then recited from the Atlantic Charter, especially the first article containing the pledge "their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other", and the third article stating "they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live." Finally he recited the fourth article pertaining to trade and raw materials of the world as follows: "they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States,

great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity."

General Hurley then read from a slip of paper, which he held in his hand, a quotation from Secretary Hull's statement handed to the Japanese Ambassador on November 26, 1941, just 11 days before the Japanese struck at Pearl Harbor. The quotation was as follows: "The Government of the United States and the Government of Japan will not support--militarily, politically, economically--any government or regime in China other than the National Government of the Republic of China with capital temporarily at Chungking." General Hurley stated that Mr. Hull in this note insisted on maintenance of "the principle of inviolability of territorial integrity and sovereignty of each and all nations" and the "principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries." General Hurley said that these principles, stated by Mr. Hull, were at once the immediate cause of our war with Japan and the foundation of our enduring friendship with China. He said that these principles were all carried into effect in the Mutual Aid Agreement, signed in 1942, between the American and Chinese Governments.

General Hurley said that the policies which the United States had publicly agreed to with China prevented the United States from aiding in any way armed parties or the armies of warlords in China without the approval of the Chinese National Government. He stated that America would lend her good offices toward bringing about agreements whereby the armed partisan forces in China would unite with the National Government forces but that so far as he knew there was no U. S. Government authorization for any one to aid, assist, arm or supply with lend-lease goods and military forces in China save those of the National Government. He then stated that the Three People's Principles, which represented the ideal of "government of the people, by the people and for the people", to which the National Government aspired, was taken from Lincoln's Gettysburg address.

General Hurley went on to say that American policies in China differed from the policies of the Dutch, the French and the British, who had colonial empires in southeast Asia. He said it was obviously impossible to reconcile the principles of imperialism and democracy. He said that the imperial nations had already repudiated the principles of the Atlantic Charter and, whereas America's policy was to bring about a united, free and democratic China, the imperial policy was to maintain disunity in China and to keep China divided against herself. He stated, however, that probably the imperial nations would eventually adopt more democratic policies toward China after they had reconquered their own colonial empires and re-established therein imperial colonial governments. He said he expected imperialism and colonialism to be liberalized in Asia after the defeat and destruction of the Empire of Japan.

General Hurley stated finally that his understanding of American policy in China could be summarized as follows:  
(1) to prevent the collapse of the National Government;  
(2) to sustain Chiang Kai-shek as President of the Republic and Generalissimo of the Armies; (3) to harmonize relations

between the Generalissimo and the American China Theater Commander; (4) to promote production of war supplies in China and prevent economic collapse; and (5) to unify all the military forces of China for the purpose of defeating Japan. He concluded that with this program America hoped to have the unified Chinese military forces offering great assistance to the United States in the final stages of the war against Japan and that it was the hope of America that out of this war China would emerge as a free, united and democratic nation.