

# Hong Kong, Empire and the Anglo-American Alliance at War, 1941–45

Andrew J. Whitfield



香港大學出版社

HONG KONG UNIVERSITY PRESS

**Hong Kong University Press**  
14/F Hing Wai Centre  
7 Tin Wan Praya Road  
Aberdeen  
Hong Kong

© Andrew J. Whitfield 2001

ISBN 962 209 566 6

First published in Great Britain 2001 by Palgrave Publishers Ltd.  
This hard cover edition published by Hong Kong University Press  
is available exclusively in Asia.

Printed and bound in Great Britain by  
Antony Rowe Ltd, Chippenham, Wiltshire

# Contents

<i>General Editor's Preface</i>	vi
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	viii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	ix
<i>Chronology</i>	x
<i>Maps</i>	xi
Introduction	1
1 Return and Departure: the Fall and Recapture of Hong Kong, 1941 and 1945	5
2 The Meaning of Empire: Imperial Consensus, Whitehall and Hong Kong	16
3 The Anglo-American Relationship at War, 1941–45	40
4 An Empire Brought into Question, 1942	61
5 China Claims Hong Kong, 1942–43	85
6 London's Hong Kong Planning, 1943–44	107
7 Anglo-American Military Strategy in the Far East, 1942–44	125
8 The Cairo Conference	150
9 Hard Choices: Yalta, the Death of a President and San Francisco, November 1944–June 1945	163
10 Return of the Empire: the Defeat of Japan, July–September 1945	186
Conclusion	212
Epilogue	217
<i>Notes</i>	222
<i>Bibliography</i>	246
<i>Index</i>	252

# Introduction

I would love to be around in 1997 to see with my own eyes  
Hong Kong's return to China.<sup>1</sup>

Deng Xiaoping, 1984

The empires of the future are the empires of the mind.<sup>2</sup>

Winston Churchill, 1943

At the end of the twentieth century Hong Kong held an emotive place in the British conscience. As Britain's last significant colony it represented a reassuringly modern and sophisticated China for Western visitors; the China that could have evolved had communist rule not intervened. But lost in the enormity of the Second World War is a hidden history every bit as dramatic as the growth of Hong Kong into its modern, urban self. The story has been understandably overlooked since 1945 as politicians came and went and the world had new, more pressing complications to catch its attention. These remain, however, interpretations. Only one thing is for certain; Hong Kong's place now rests in Chinese history.

The fall of Singapore in February 1942 marked the nadir of the British Empire during World War II. It was the surrender of Hong Kong to the Japanese in December 1941, however, which started the rot. Disproportionate to its small size, the colony became critical in Britain's battle to retain her Far Eastern empire. Ironically, though, the threat to British sovereignty came not from Japan but from her own allies, China and particularly, America. Under the leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, the Chinese attempted to reclaim the colony with the active support of Washington. At times emotions would run so high that it was almost like a replay of the American War of Independence

## 2 *Hong Kong, Empire and the Anglo-American Alliance*

with the colonists arranged against the colonialists. Ultimately, of course, Chinese exertions came to nothing, but not before the triangle of British, Chinese and American relationships had all been dragged through the mire.

Britain may have been down but she was not yet out. The Chinese were unfortunate to find that the Hong Kong issue could not be viewed in isolation by the British authorities. Whatever indifference the British had viewed the colony with previously, it became increasingly inseparable from the destiny of Britain's wider Empire. As the balance of power shifted inexorably against Britain during the war, she clung ever more tightly to the idea that her power was intrinsically tied to the survival of the British Empire and her colonies. In many respects, Britain's real war was not with her declared enemies but with her main ally, America, who held it in her power to deny Britain her Empire.

If Britain's over-arching war aim was not readily apparent this was understandable. Raymond Seitz, American Ambassador to London half a century later, noted that the British appeared to have a deep attachment to understatement and obfuscation:

I remember my first encounter with British understatement shortly after I came to live [in London] in the 1970s. There was a rowdy demonstration at Stirling University when Prince Charles visited there one autumn day, and several people were hurt in the ruckus. On the television news that evening, the screen showed a picture of two plain-clothes cops kicking a long-haired student who had fallen to the ground. The news reader, using his most serious good-citizen voice, said, 'A man is helping police with their enquiries.'<sup>3</sup>

Whatever the problems of deciphering British intentions, conscious or unconscious, her inability to find tangible meaning in Empire is more interesting. British political leaders implicitly accepted that this uncoordinated and motley collection of lands and islands fitted together into some mysterious whole, providing the source of British strength. Deeper analysis of Empire was rarely encouraged, and no one wondered whether it was a military or economic liability; it was always an assumed asset. During the Second World War few British leaders deviated from this point of view. Winston Churchill's vociferous and eloquent defence of the Empire was shared throughout the British establishment, with disagreement usually stemming from his method, not his message.

The British chose to defend and rehabilitate their Empire during the war by using any means at their disposal. Beggars could not be choosers

and, reluctantly, Britain was drawn towards the need for some sort of alliance with America. No longer materially strong enough to project the power which they once did, the British hoped that American industrial might could be forged in common cause with British imperial aims. The war had ripped through any pretence that Britain could sustain the enormous responsibilities of her Empire alone. And yet British leaders still pretended that the Empire could be put back together without a price to be paid. Of course, this was wishful thinking: the Americans were traditionally arch anti-imperialists, never missing an opportunity to recall their war of independence a century and a half earlier. A common language misled many British politicians into thinking that Britain and America could share common foreign policy goals. Oliver Harvey, Anthony Eden's private secretary, wrote in his diary that:

The US Government is becoming very baffling to us, more and more secretive. They invited Madame Chiang Kai-shek [China's First Lady] to visit Washington and smuggled her by air through India, including a night on route without letting either us or India know anything about it all! These are not the manners of a Great Power... Why? Don't the Americans trust us? Are they afraid of our disapproval?... Do they think they can run the war without us?<sup>4</sup>

Instead, America was pursuing her own informal hegemonic agenda with the term 'democracy' substituted for 'empire'.

The Anglo-American relationship was a different creature according to its regional context. On the western front, for the most part, it worked relatively well for the simple reason that Britain had traditionally remained detached from European issues; there were few British interests in dispute. The Far Eastern war was a different matter. Here the real clash of empires was played out. America had long coveted a special role in Asia, illustrated by its strong missionary presence in China. With her predominant military strength America attempted to displace the old imperial influence, and replace it with her own. Unfortunately, however, both Britain and America had grown accustomed to having things their own way and compromise did not sit comfortably in their psychologies. The Americans were naive to expect that they could uproot a century's imperial legacy in one fell swoop or that they could win the war alone, not to mention whether or not the natives would welcome them. Many of these accusations could also be levelled at the British. The scene was set for a turbulent alliance.

Hong Kong was key to British efforts to resurrect her Empire in the Far East, and in a wider context, sustain British imperial ambition worldwide. The colony, which barely covered 300 square miles, had little in its favour save for a deep water port and proximity to China. Yet size was not everything. It became a diplomatic test case because of the political claims which converged on it: the Chinese Nationalists claimed the British colony as an integral part of China, and in this they were supported by the Americans. The British, on the other hand, had ignominiously lost the colony to the Japanese in December 1941 and now attached their imperial pride to regaining Hong Kong. Malaya, Singapore and Burma did not have these claims. The British Prime Minister and his Foreign Secretary quickly realised that if Britain was forced to relinquish Hong Kong, it would set a precedent for her other colonies. For the British the objective was to marry their imperial ambition with an Anglo-American alliance. It is not, therefore, an exaggeration to maintain that British foreign policy in the Far East was frequently seen through the prism of Hong Kong.

### **Note on historiography**

There are already several books on the Anglo-American relationship during the war in the Far East, but none that specifically deals with the question of Hong Kong from the British perspective.<sup>5</sup> Although the Anglo-American relationship is an important component of British policy, the book is not from its inception a narrow study along those lines, but seeks instead to integrate wider economic, social, cultural and political strands. While Chinese sources remain scarce due to political sensitivity, copious British and American documentation provides (to a certain extent) an understanding of Chinese policy. Detailed use has been made of the private and political papers of senior British policymakers, including Anthony Eden and Winston Churchill. The relevant Cabinet papers have also been consulted with emphasis on frequently overlooked departments such as the Colonial Office, Special Operations Executive (SOE) and Board of Trade. American material has been extracted from the Roosevelt papers and the National Archives, including State Department, Office of Strategic Services and Joint Chiefs of Staff files.

Chinese transliterations have used the Wades-Giles system, common to the period.

# Conclusion

The Colonial Empire is our fifth, and will be our last. This is the last chance that the British will ever have of doing something for which, with all their blunders and even crimes, they have shown a peculiar genius.<sup>1</sup>

Sir George Moss, 1944

Winston Churchill was once overheard to have said that 'there is only one thing worse than fighting with Allies, and that is fighting without them'.<sup>2</sup> This sentiment could easily be applied to Britain's attempt to recover her colony of Hong Kong during the Second World War. At times it seemed as if Japan's occupation of Hong Kong was incidental to Britain recapturing it at all. Opposition to London's continued sovereignty over Hong Kong from her Allies, China and America, was vociferous and constant. While China had a strong claim to the colony, however, she lacked the strength to extinguish Britain's legal rights to return. Instead, what little influence Chiang Kai-shek's government had over London was derived from her dependency on American sponsorship.

The British understood that China was unlikely to act independently of America. Anthony Eden told Lord Halifax in August 1944, that 'China would be so dependent on the other Great Powers that she would not be likely to pursue any very independent policy . . . in matters affecting international peace and security'.<sup>3</sup> The Sino-American alliance never lived up to the expectations of either the Chinese or Americans. Washington's dreams and Chiang Kai-shek's grabbing hand ensured that it was a temporary marriage of misconceptions. Its strength lay in its propaganda value not in its reality.

In the end, however, British interests in Hong Kong were best defended by Chiang Kai-shek's own incompetence rather than the



relentless imperial dogmatism of Winston Churchill. Always preferring to do more of the 'issimoing' than the 'generalling', Chiang Kai-shek failed to deliver the China that Washington expected. With American despondency in the China theatre came the momentum to shift the centre of gravity of the Far Eastern war into the Pacific. As American support ebbed away, China's opportunity to reconquer the colony disappeared; it was patently obvious that Chiang could not recapture Nanking, never mind Hong Kong, without US troops. Chiang's reckless behaviour, however, was not uncharacteristic of the corrupt Nationalist dictatorship which would do little to help itself. While T.V. Soong was having Kansas steaks flown into Chungking, Chinese soldiers were dying in their bedrolls from neglect, only a mile away.<sup>4</sup>

America's shift from a regional to a global strategy towards the end of the war also greatly undermined Washington's pressure on Britain to retrocede Hong Kong. By 1944 American efforts to exclude Britain from the Far East and elevate China to a regional power had faltered while Soviet power grew inexorably. It was in such circumstances that President Roosevelt attempted to conciliate Stalin's appetite for Soviet expansion, even at the expense of facilitating Britain's return to Hong Kong. As he told Admiral Leahy when he accepted Russian control of the Chinese port, Dairen: 'Well, Bill, I can't help it.'<sup>5</sup> Porter and Stockwell have described the tempering of America's anti-colonial ambitions as a reaction to the complexities of world problems:

It is true that US anti-imperialism grew more muted as the war proceeded but British resistance and Colonial Office polemic were less influential in curbing the enthusiasm of Americans for Afro-Asian independence than the Americans' own exercise of world power and their anticipation of the profits of free-trade imperialism after the war.<sup>6</sup>

Roosevelt's attempt to demolish the British Empire was at best confused, and at worst, breathtakingly hypocritical. At Tehran he had talked of a post-war world without the French and British empires. Stalin's empire was consciously excluded by the President, and thus unthreatened by any scheme which America and Russia could agree.<sup>7</sup> Nor should we forget America's own colonial empire which in 1941 stretched from the Caribbean, through Latin America and across the Pacific. Republican President William McKinley told a Boston audience in 1899 that control of the Philippines, Cuba and Puerto Rico was a 'great trust' that America carried 'under the providence of God and in the name of human

progress and civilisation'. The parallels with British imperial sentiment were striking, but something that few Americans would admit to during the Second World War. Seemingly unable to look at themselves in the mirror, Americans often found it easier to reprove the British for what they denied in themselves.<sup>8</sup>

Britain's defence of her colony, however, rested on much more than the divisions and contradictions of her Allies. Without the determination of British personnel to rebuild her lost Empire, there would never have been a question mark hanging over Hong Kong during the war. Driven by a consensus which saw Empire inextricably linked to Britain's position as a Great Power, British policymakers remained unrepentant imperialists. Criticism of Britain's position in the Far East by America and China was counter-productive and only served to reinforce Britain's belief in Empire. Led by Winston Churchill, the London government set its face against any peace settlement which would prejudice their Far Eastern interests.

It is misleading, though, to maintain that Churchill was instrumental in forcing Britain's return to Hong Kong; this is the interpretation that he himself would like us to accept and something the legacy of his written records makes hard to escape. Churchill said of one of his books: 'This is not history, this is my case.'<sup>9</sup> Even a revisionist interpretation of the Churchill myth by Clive Ponting puts the Prime Minister centre stage in resisting colonial change. Ponting claims that: 'In order to strengthen opposition to change he insisted on appointing men of similar views to his own as Colonial Secretary – for example Lord Lloyd in 1940 and Oliver Stanley, who held the post from November 1942 until the end of the war.'<sup>10</sup> This is to overestimate the importance of Winston Churchill to British foreign policy. Oliver Stanley's appointment was more of a carefully crafted political appeasement than a deliberate attempt to prevent imperial reform. The truth was that the vast majority of British servicemen, civil servants and politicians believed in the sanctity of the Empire, and opposed the abandonment of British territory overseas. Foreign policy could not be set by one man, and had personnel in SOE, the Colonial Office or the Foreign Office not believed in Britain's right to return to Hong Kong, Churchill's sentiments would have been shown to be empty. These were the people who turned British thought into action. Even a man like Clement Attlee, behind the posturing of international socialism, firmly believed in the British Empire; it was only over its purpose that he dissented.

It could also be argued that Churchill's vituperative outpourings actually retarded London's attempt to defend British interests. Roosevelt's

tendency to see the world in idealistic (and simplistic) terms was exacerbated by Churchill's reactionary stance and disguised the Prime Minister's own ambivalence towards Anglo-American cooperation. In a black moment, Anthony Eden's private secretary wrote: 'If allowed to, [Churchill] will win the war and lose us the peace as certain as certain.'<sup>11</sup> That Churchill could not interfere with British colonial policy any more than he did, due to other policy commitments, was perhaps a blessing in disguise.

The fact that Hong Kong's future became such a burning issue during wartime can partly be blamed on the Prime Minister's emotional handling of the situation. It need not have been: a calmer and more measured approach to this tiny island colony would not have endangered British sovereignty, as the more subdued determination of the Foreign Office and Colonial Office showed. G.V. Kitson at the Foreign Office thought 'that as regards such politically explosive issues as Hong Kong, the Burma frontier and Tibet, it is much better to let sleeping dogs lie. "Qu'on excuse, n'accuse"! [If we excuse them, they won't blame us.]'<sup>12</sup> A sensible person does not pick arguments that endanger what is most important to him. Fighting over Hong Kong hurt Anglo-American cooperation while doing little to secure the integrity of the British Empire, the two cornerstones of British policy. Churchill should have admitted that the Americans could not have dismantled the Empire without British acquiescence. To have done so, however, would have been to deflate his own importance within the British Government and popular imagination; something he was never keen to do. Lady Churchill told Churchill's doctor:

Winston has always seen things in blinkers... He sees nothing outside that beam. You probably don't realise... that he knows nothing of the life of ordinary people. He's never been in a bus, and only once on the Underground. [She smiled.] That was during the General Strike, when I deposited him at South Kensington. He went round and round, not knowing where to get out, and had to be rescued eventually. Winston is selfish; he doesn't mean to be, he's just built that way. He's an egoist, I suppose, like Napoleon. You see, he has always had the ability and force to live his life exactly as he wanted to.<sup>13</sup>

This dangerous self-centredness could be seen in the Prime Minister's attempt to monopolise the London end of the Anglo-American relations with President Roosevelt. It is ironic, therefore, that to depreciate

Churchill's significance we have to focus upon it in the first place. Nonetheless, this needs to be done because he himself has left voluminous records of his own actions for historians to follow. It is worth considering whether Oliver Stanley would have been so widely ignored had he left a ready prepared archive of his own. Instead, we are forced to rely upon others' interpretations of the Colonial Secretary and his own scant annotations scribbled on official papers. We should, perhaps, be wary of over-emphasising the individual over the general, particularly in such complex circumstances as diplomacy.

Britain's return to Hong Kong finds its true significance in the context of the imperial mentality which permeated British society. Imbued by a narrow educational curriculum which focused on Britain's past military endeavours, there was little doubt in most people's minds that Britain would return to Hong Kong. Sir Ralph Furse, an old Etonian and Oxbridge graduate, was representative of the single-mindedness of Britain's governing elite. In charge of Colonial Office recruitment between 1910 and 1948, he was a leading proponent of Britain's imperial destiny and followed the teaching of an old Jesuit: 'It is wonderful how much good a man can do for the world if he does not want to take credit for it.'<sup>14</sup> Without the many hundreds of similar 'quiet crusaders' who were used to thinking imperially, there would have been no Hong Kong question during the Second World War. Lord Rosebery stated in 1899 that 'Imperialism, sane imperialism, as distinguished from what I may call wild-cat imperialism, is nothing but this – a larger patriotism.'<sup>15</sup>

---

## Epilogue

If consistency often eludes practitioners of diplomacy, the reversal of Washington's Hong Kong strategy in the aftermath of the Pacific war was ironic to say the least. In 1957, National Security Council (NSC) paper 5717 stated that 'It is in the interest of the United States that the British maintain their position in Hong Kong.'<sup>1</sup> In fact, America's switch to support Britain's hold on the colony was highly embarrassing after the strident anti-colonialism of the war years. The onset of the cold war forced Washington to reassess her attitude towards colonialism. As the CIA noted in 1948, 'the loss of their dependencies weakens the colonial powers, which are the chief prospective US allies' while depriving America 'of an assured access to bases and raw materials'. It was 'a serious dilemma' for a country which had set itself up as a champion of anti-colonialism. With the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, Britain had convinced America that Hong Kong was no longer a colonial issue but one of national defence.<sup>2</sup>

Prior to the Korean War, America's attitude remained highly ambivalent towards the colony as Washington was mesmerised by the implosion of its China policy. Hong Kong could not escape the ructions on the Chinese mainland. Suppressed while the Japanese burned their way through the country, the revolutionary battle between the Nationalists and communists quickly resurfaced once the invaders had surrendered. Unfortunately for the Nationalists, and some might say for China, they were led by Chiang Kai-shek's clique, who had more than proved their incompetence during the Pacific war. Their armies had rarely engaged the Japanese and little would change against Mao's communists. With the Nationalist armies melting away, a despondent T.V. Soong pinned his hopes on a third world war breaking out.<sup>3</sup> As the Americans argued over who was to blame for the Nationalists' defeat, the People's

Republic of China was declared in October 1949. The troublesome Hong Kong question had just become even more complicated: now Hong Kong was claimed by two rival governments, the Nationalist remnants on Taiwan and the communists in Peking!

The anachronism that was Hong Kong, however, remained. The colony was a pitiful sight in 1945. It had the dubious honour of being called the most looted city in the world. It had been looted immediately after the British defeat, looted constantly during the occupation, and looted again after the Japanese surrender. Few of the city's clubs were recognisable; the golf course had allotments dug all over it, the Jockey Club was literally a shell of its former self. Even the floorboards had been stolen! No one had escaped the ravages of war. And yet, George Hopper, American consul general, was soon telling Lieutenant General Wedemeyer on his China mission that the British had quickly and miraculously restored the life of the colony, so much so that the population had doubled from 1 million to 2 million by August 1947. British success was even encouraging some Chinese to leave China. It was also interesting to juxtapose the colony with its mother country: the vibrant entrepreneurialism which was let loose across the colony once more stood in stark contrast to regulations back in socialist Britain.

All the same, after the war the colony declined in importance. With the mother country's economy in ruins and decolonisation accelerating, Hong Kong was low down on London's list of priorities. In reality, the colony had returned to its pre-war status. Sir Alexander Grantham, Governor of Hong Kong from 1947 to 1958, knew perfectly well that 'the electorate of Britain didn't care a brass farthing about Hong Kong'.<sup>4</sup> The Hong Kong Chinese were hardly more concerned. They remained apathetic towards British rule in any positive sense and only wished to be free to pursue the creation of wealth as they always had. A newspaper noted that, 'In the cinemas "God save the King" is a sign that the doors are open.' Most of the refugee population fleeing mainland China 'regarded the island as little more than a reasonable hotel'.<sup>5</sup>

With Mao's triumphant communists reaching the China-Hong Kong border, the colony was gripped by the fear that it was about to be invaded for the second time in a decade. Once again Hong Kong pitted the Foreign Office against the Colonial Office. The Colonial Office, bolstered by the hard-line governor of the colony, Sir Alexander Grantham, pressed for an unequivocal statement that Britain would hold on to Hong Kong at all costs.<sup>6</sup> This was familiar ground for the Colonial Office's Paskin who lamented that, 'The attempt on the part of the C[olonial]O[ffice] to get some positive decision on policy as regards the

retention of Hong Kong . . . has been going on interminably, at any rate since 1943.<sup>7</sup> And with Creech Jones as Colonial Secretary this was not about to change. Like his predecessor Oliver Stanley, Creech Jones knew that a Colonial Secretary 'cannot break the adamant view of the Foreign Secretary'.<sup>8</sup> Behind the seemingly endless Colonial Office–Foreign Office conflict, however, stood a determination to resist any renewed Chinese claim to Hong Kong.

The Foreign Office's public reticence over the colony was driven by its usual pragmatism. It was appreciated that without American support 'our only hope of hanging on to Hong Kong is to keep quiet about it'.<sup>9</sup> Even so, under the pressures of the cold war, the British chose to send 30 000 military reinforcements, including armour and air cover, to strengthen the colony's defence. This time they were not Canadian. Before American policy recovered its interventionist nerve in Asia with the Korean War, it was the British who were left to develop and implement the 'domino theory'. It was believed that 'If we surrender Hong Kong to the communists, there will be nothing to prevent the flood from pouring into South East Asia. It is necessary to call a halt somewhere, and we consider that Hong Kong will therefore become the symbol of the resistance of the rest of Asia to the communist advance.'<sup>10</sup> This idea presupposed that Hong Kong actually led somewhere and defended something.<sup>11</sup> Ultimately, however, the government could not afford its bluff being called by the Chinese. In preparation for such a humiliation, British rhetoric was toned down and contingencies prepared for a retreat.<sup>12</sup>

But for some reason, Mao chose not to move. As the cold war engulfed the Far East, Hong Kong remained a crossroads for east and west. Hong Kong was useful to everyone, including the Americans who used the colony to collect intelligence on the Chinese mainland. There were parallels with West Berlin. Hong Kong projected a shop window of Western prosperity and freedom in contrast to the austere totalitarian blandness of communism. Mao's reasoning for leaving the colony alone, though, was harder to interpret and more consequential. It is possible that he believed an invasion of Hong Kong would have involved the communists in a war with Britain and America for which he was not ready. The financial importance of the colony to China was clear, with half her foreign income being channelled through Hong Kong. Some Chinese officials even admitted that Hong Kong had been China's 'lifeline' during the Korean War, providing petroleum, chemicals and other strategic products denied them by the UN embargo. Mao even obtained his Hollywood movies and medical drugs through the port.<sup>13</sup>

These reasons alone probably do not provide the whole answer. It is likely that Taiwan held the key. Hong Kong, like Chiang Kai-shek's last refuge, was more useful to Mao 'outside the house', rather than in it. He told his personal doctor that he preferred to keep Taiwan in his grip as a baton to 'keep Khrushchev and Eisenhower dancing'.<sup>14</sup> In other words, it was a foreign policy tap which he could turn on or off at will. Considering the anguish which the communist threat posed to Hong Kong for the British and the Americans, it worked. Mao informed Stalin during his December 1949 trip to Moscow that he wanted to bring about order and stability in China before talking to 'foreign imperialists'.<sup>15</sup> Whatever the merits of these arguments, an informal *modus vivendi* had been reached within China that Britain would retain control.

By 1960 the colony had become the eyes and ears of America's cold war containment strategy in the Far East. From Hong Kong, the Americans ran their spy networks into China and retained an intelligence-gathering position on the Chinese mainland. The United States Consulate General in Hong Kong was 'the most important American source of hard economic, political and military information on Communist China'.<sup>16</sup> America's new found support for Hong Kong, though, was received with equivocation by Hong Kong's Governor, Sir Alexander Grantham. The swollen consulate staff, obviously including many CIA operatives, were 'extremely ham-handed' in their operations and had to be told to stop 'being so stupid!'<sup>17</sup> The potential extraction of the 2500 Americans living in the colony in 1957 was, therefore, a critical influence on Washington's policy. With associated foreign nationals 'of interest to the United States' this rose to 3300.

Like British strategists before them, Washington realised that Hong Kong was indefensible against a determined attack. It was calculated that a successful defence of the colony could only be undertaken in depth, which meant securing a defensive perimeter on mainland China. Technology had not made the defence of Hong Kong any easier or more practicable. As such, 'US intervention would probably not be operationally feasible in case of direct communist attack on Hong Kong'.<sup>18</sup> The consequences of armed intervention in defence of Hong Kong was likely escalation with no stopping point. An earlier assessment had made this chilling observation: 'It would be unwise for the United States to contribute forces for the defence of Hong Kong or Macao unless we are willing to risk major military involvement in China and possibly global war.'<sup>19</sup>

America's China policy had been destroyed by Mao's victory. All that was left to do was apportion the blame. In an attempt to pre-empt any



criticism, the State Department published its 1949 China White Paper which vilified the Generalissimo. A report by the Joint Munitions Allocation Committee to the JCS confirmed this was 99 per cent correct. 'However, the United States failed to warn the Chinese Nationalists what the United States would do if they would not accept her advice. Anticipating the United States' endless aid, Chiang and his clique let the corruption go on.'<sup>20</sup> For all that, the 'loss of China' or more pointedly, the rejection of American friendship was never readily accepted in American policymaking circles.

It is interesting to note that while China at the beginning of the twenty-first century is an acknowledged world power it lacks many of the traditional trappings. Gerald Segal suggests that China today is not a world apart from Chiang Kai-shek's time, retaining many of the period's characteristics, being skilled in the manipulation of foreign powers but militarily weak, economically backward, and politically corrupt:

At best, China is a second-rank middle power that has mastered the art of diplomatic theatre . . . In 1997 China[s] . . . per capita GDP ranking was 81st, just ahead of Georgia and behind Papua New Guinea [while remaining] a second-rate military power [with no international allies of significance] . . . Once prominent on the map of aid suppliers, [it] has become the largest recipient of foreign aid.<sup>21</sup>

Whatever the attributes of China, past and present, in 1949 the British were no closer to scuttling and running from the colony than they had been in wartime. The new plain-speaking British Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin, told Dean Acheson, Secretary of State, that while Britain would be prepared to discuss the future of Hong Kong 'with a friendly and stable Government of a unified China', those conditions did not currently exist. The word 'democratic' had been deleted from Bevin's draft.<sup>22</sup> These conditions would not exist for another fifty years. In 1997, a unified and stable Chinese government received the colony of Hong Kong back into Chinese rule. If the communists had decided to walk unarmed and en masse into the colony prior to this date, it is unlikely that the British could have responded. But these remain other voices, other rooms.

# Notes

## Introduction

- 1 *Daily Telegraph*, 20 February 1997, obituary.
- 2 Winston Churchill, speech at Harvard, 6 September 1943, in *Onwards to Victory* (London, 1944).
- 3 Raymond Seitz, *Over Here* (London, 1998), p. 341.
- 4 John Harvey (ed.), *The War Diaries of Oliver Harvey 1941–1945* (London, 1978), p. 194, 1 December 1942.
- 5 For example see Louis, *Imperialism at Bay* and Christopher Thorne's *Allies of a Kind, the United States, Britain and the War against Japan* (London, 1978).

## 1 Return and departure

- 1 John King Fairbank, *The United States and China* (Cambridge, MA, 1971), p. 138.
- 2 *Ibid.*, pp. 137–49.
- 3 Norman Miners, *Hong Kong under Imperial Rule, 1912–1941* (Oxford, 1987), p. 43.
- 4 Mr T. Reid, Labour Party Advisory Committee on Imperial Questions, Memo no.244, 'Official appointments in dependencies' 1942, Labour Party Archive at the National Museum of Labour History, Manchester.
- 5 Major General Woodburn Kirby, *The War against Japan vol. I: Official History* (HMSO, 1957), p. 19.
- 6 Prem 3/90/5A, COS memo to Churchill on HMS *Duke of York*, 21 December 1941.
- 7 'The valour and the horror: Canada and the fall of Hong Kong', CBC TV programme, 1991.
- 8 CO 968/13/2, COS (41) 28, Churchill in Annex 1 to Maj. Gen. Ismay, 7 January 1941.
- 9 Kirby, p. 108.
- 10 Prem 3/157/1, Eden to Churchill, 8 February 1941.
- 11 CO 968/13/2, Maj. Grasett to Air Ministry, 6 January 1941.
- 12 Galen Perras, "'Our position in the Far East would be stronger without this unsatisfactory commitment": Britain and the reinforcement of Hong Kong, 1941', *Canadian Journal of History*, 30 (August 1995), p. 246.
- 13 Winston Churchill, *The Second World War, vol. III* (London, 1950), p. 157. Churchill to Maj. Gen. Ismay, 7 January 1941.
- 14 CO 968/13/2, COS (41) 28, 10 January 1941. Telex to C in C FE.
- 15 Perras.
- 16 CO 968/13/2, COS to PM, 8 September 1941.
- 17 For an expansion of this idea see Correlli Barnett, *Lost Victory* (London, 1995), e.g. pp. 14–15.

- 18 CO 967/69, 1941, personal correspondence of Sir Mark Young, Governor Hong Kong. Letters 14 October and 2 December 1941.
- 19 Kirby, p. 112.
- 20 CO 968/13/2, Hong Kong Defence policy 1941.
- 21 G. Wright-Nooth with Mark Adkins, *Prisoner of the Turnip Heads* (Cassell Edition, London, 1999), p. 40.
- 22 'The valour and the horror'.
- 23 FO 371/63392/f564, General Maltby's Hong Kong reassessment, 1947.
- 24 'The valour and the horror'. The programme emphasises the bitterness felt by Canadians towards Mackenzie King and the British, and the general military ineptitude that resulted.
- 25 MacDougall papers, Rhodes House, Oxford. MSS Ind.Ocn. 73. Item 1, notebook on the fall of Hong Kong.
- 26 Wright-Nooth, pp. 48–9.
- 27 PREM 3/157/2, 21 December 1941.
- 28 Kirby, p. 145.
- 29 FO 371/31671/f4000, 1942 situation in Hong Kong. This file contains a wealth of material relating to Japanese atrocities perpetrated against the defenders and inhabitants of the colony. The FO pushed for publicity to be given to these crimes, although the Colonial Secretary and India Office were afraid for the 'sensibilities of Canadian and Indian troops'. See also F6407.
- 30 James Bertram, *The Shadow of a War* (London, 1947), p. 120. Bertram was a Marxist.
- 31 *Ibid.* p. 150.
- 32 Kirby, p. 469.
- 33 PREM 3/90/5A, 12 March 1942, C in C India to War Office.

## 2 The meaning of Empire

- 1 Quoted in L.C.B. Seaman, *Victorian England* (London, 1973), p. 331.
- 2 *Speeches of Churchill, vol. VII*, pp. 6918–24. 'The future of the Empire', House of Commons, 21 April 1944.
- 3 See Lawrence James, *The British Empire* (London, 1994).
- 4 Frank Welsh, *A History of Hong Kong* (London, 1994), pp. 124–5.
- 5 FO 371/31777/f6440, Sir Maurice Peterson minute, 1 September 1942.
- 6 Sir Reginald Stubbs, 16 September 1922 to CO while on leave in London. Quoted in Welsh, *Hong Kong*, p. 386.
- 7 FO 371/35679/f23, memorandum by Mr Ewer of the *Daily Herald* submitted to the Foreign Office, December 1942.
- 8 Christopher M. Bell, 'Our most exposed outpost', *Journal of Military History*, 60 (January 1996).
- 9 *Ibid.*, p. 65.
- 10 Welsh, p. 30.
- 11 *Ibid.* For example see pp. 133–4.
- 12 The politics and history of the opium trade in Hong Kong are beyond the limits of this book. However, it is instructive to note that in 1918 revenue from opium sales reached the not untypical figure of 46.5 per cent of all Hong Kong Government revenue. *Ibid.*, p. 364.

- 13 CAB 96/FE(E)(45)10, 3 February 1945, War Cabinet Far Eastern committee, BOT paper on 'Certain aspects of commercial policy in China'.
- 14 CO 133/111, Blue Book 1940.
- 15 FO 371/46232/f1331, Cavendish-Bentinck minute, 13 March 1945.
- 16 CAB 134/280, Cabinet Far Eastern committee, 'British foreign policy in the Far East', 31 December 1945. The paper went on to state: 'The UK trade with the area under consideration [Far East] was not quantitatively of the first importance. It accounted for about 4.5% of UK imports and 5.25% of UK exports (1937-39 average).'
- 17 FO 371/46251/f2382, Eden on FO brief prepared for visit of General Hurley, 4 April 1945.
- 18 FO 371/35680/ f412/G, Brenan and Ashley Clarke, January 1943.
- 19 Seaman, p. 339. Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* systematically demolished the economic case for empire in 1776.
- 20 WP(44) 643, CAB 66/57, Stanley memo to Cabinet, ref. CDWA, on 15 November 1944. Quoted in Louis, p. 103.
- 21 J. Gardiner and N. Wenborn (eds), *The History Today Companion to British History* (London, 1995), p. 100.
- 22 Quoted in Seaman, p. 301.
- 23 Correlli Barnett, *The Audit of War* (London, 1986), p. 221.
- 24 Franklin Gimson diary, Rhodes House Library, Oxford, MSS Ind.Ocn. 222, 13 September 1943.
- 25 Later on in life Clement Attlee reminisced nostalgically about his time at Oxford University, wishing to recapture 'the magic of those days and of that city'. See Trevor Burridge, *Clement Attlee, a Political Biography* (London, 1985), p. 16.
- 26 See Correlli Barnett's trilogy; *The Collapse of British Power*; *The Audit of War*, and *Lost Victory*.
- 27 Gladwyn Jebb, *The Memoirs of Lord Gladwyn* (London, 1972), p. 106.
- 28 Barnett, *Audit*, p. 221. Quotation from Sir Ralph Furse in Robert Heussler, *Yesterday's Rulers* (NY, 1963), pp. 82-3.
- 29 CAB 66/57, WP(44) 643, Stanley memo to Cabinet on colonial development loans, 15 November 1944.
- 30 ADM 116/4271, memo by Deputy Chief of Naval Staff, 3 January 1940. Quoted in Bell.
- 31 Harvey diary, p. 191, 23 November 1942.
- 32 A.N. Porter and A.J. Stockwell, *British Imperial Policy and Decolonization, 1938-64* (London, 1987), pp. 8-11.
- 33 FO 371/31715/f5553, China post-war settlement, minute by Ashley Clarke, 7 August 1942. Sir Maurice Peterson agreed but argued American 'intervention will not necessarily be a grounds for altering our attitudes' on Hong Kong.
- 34 Charles Cruishank, *SOE in the Far East* (Oxford, 1983), p. 154.
- 35 Jebb, pp. 101-7.
- 36 FO 954/24/f123, Eden to Churchill on the role of SOE, 5 April 1942.
- 37 FO 371/41657/f5341, Churchill's Mansion House speech, 10 November 1942.
- 38 Martin Gilbert, *Road to Victory, Winston S. Churchill, 1941-1945, vol. VII* (London, 1986), p. 780. PM personal minute, 25 May 1944.

- 39 Anthony Eden, *The Reckoning* (London, 1965), p. 513.
- 40 PREM 3/157/4, Eden, 20 October 1942.
- 41 Hugh Dalton, *Memoirs, 1931–1945: the Fateful Years* (London, 1957), p. 630, 2 September 1943.
- 42 Dilks, D. (ed.), *The Diaries of Sir Alexander Cadogan* (London, 1982), p. 697, 22 January 1945.
- 43 Harvey diary, p. 191, 23 November 1942. Eden's supporters found much to criticise in Stanley. Not only was he a loyal Chamberlainite but he was also a poor public speaker, overly diffident and was tainted by the disastrous Norwegian campaign in 1940. See entry in forthcoming *New Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press).
- 44 Ben Pimlott (ed.), *The Second World War Diary of Hugh Dalton, 1940–45* (London, 1986), pp. 189–92, 28 April 1941.
- 45 Churchill papers, Churchill College, Cambridge. Char 20/11/62–64, Oliver Stanley to Churchill, 13 May 1940.
- 46 John Colville, *The Fringes of Power: the Downing Street Diaries, 1939–55* (London, 1985), p. 444, 26 September 1941.
- 47 PREM 4/43A/5, Oliver Stanley speech: 'No outside control of colonies', 5 March 1943.
- 48 After the war, Gent was appointed Governor of the Malayan Union and was tragically killed in a plane crash following his recall to London in 1948. See A.J. Stockwell (ed.), *Documents on the end of Empire: Malaya, II*, (London, 1994), p. 34.
- 49 CAB 129/1, CP (45)144, Attlee memo on defence, 1 September 1945. In an essay written in 1937, he had also postulated 'rejecting altogether the concepts of imperialism, and by establishing through the League of Nations international control of raw materials'. See George Bennett (ed.), *The Concept of Empire, Burke to Attlee 1774–1947* (London, 1953), p. 407.
- 50 Kenneth Harris, *Attlee* (London, 1982), pp. 205–7.
- 51 *Ibid.*, p. 216.
- 52 FO 954/22/62–96, Attlee's copy of post-war Far East settlement, October 1942.
- 53 Porter and Stockwell, p. 48.

### 3 The Anglo-American relationship at war

- 1 FO 371/41657/f2172, Moss memo to Sir Alexander Blackburn FO, May 1944.
- 2 Elliott Roosevelt, *As He Saw It* (NY, 1946), p. 71.
- 3 CO 967/18, report by Richard Law on Washington DC talks, September, 1942.
- 4 Wedemeyer, A.C., *Wedemeyer Reports!* (NY, 1958), pp. 252–3.
- 5 Harvey, p. 197, 7 December 1942.
- 6 David Reynolds, *The Creation of the Anglo-American Alliance, 1937–41* (London, 1981), p. 58.
- 7 FO 954/22/f168, Eden in Washington DC to Churchill, 29 March 1943. He met Hull, Winant, Welles, Hopkins and FDR.
- 8 CO 825/35/55104, minute by Lord Cranborne, 14 July 1942.
- 9 Quoted in Thorne, p. 394.

- 10 FO 371/31777/f2947, Richard Law, April 1942.
- 11 HS 1/349, Madame Chiang Kai-shek article in *New York Times* magazine, 19 April 1942.
- 12 HS 1/349, John Keswick report on failure of British commando unit in Chungking, 13 April 1942.
- 13 Sterling Seagrave, *The Soong Dynasty* (NY, 1985), p. 10.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 285.
- 15 FO 371/31704/f3187, reaction to Madame Chiang Kai-shek article. Apparently Chiang Kai-shek himself did not approve of his wife's article.
- 16 FO 954/6/f580–2, Eden to Madame Chiang Kai-shek, 1 June 1942.
- 17 FO 371/31616/f2918, Seymour telex no. 500, 13 April 1942.
- 18 The influence of British missionaries in China and their effect on British foreign policy is largely unexplored. The London Missionary Society (LMS), with its links to non-conformism and the Liberal Party, were, however, known to be active in China.
- 19 FO 371/31616/f2918, Seymour telex no. 500, 13 April 1942.
- 20 FO 371/31616/f3588, May 1942.
- 21 FO 371/31617/f4276, June 1942.
- 22 AP 20/19/572, Churchill to Eden, 22 July 1943. Refers to publication of Gallup opinion poll in *News Chronicle*. (Avon papers)
- 23 Gilbert, *Churchill VI*, pp. 1162–3.
- 24 Thorne, p. 161 and Rhodes James, *Churchill Speeches*, vol. VI, p. 6481, 9 September 1941.
- 25 FO 371/31777/f2947, Eden, 2 May 1942. (All quotes in this paragraph.)
- 26 FO 371/31627/f5964, Leo Amery to Eden, 13 August 1942.
- 27 *Speeches of Churchill*, vol. VII, pp. 6918–24. 'The future of the Empire', House of Commons, 21 April 1944.
- 28 FO 371/54073, Churchill minute to COS, 23 October 1944.
- 29 Avon papers, Birmingham University. AP 20/12/768, Churchill to Eden, 31 December 1944.
- 30 Harvey diary, pp. 160–2, 22–5 September 1942 for dislike of Stanley amongst Eden's supporters.
- 31 Leo Amery diary, p. 942, 21 September 1943. Also, Harvey diary, p. 297, 21 September 1943.
- 32 Irwin Gellman, *Secret Affairs, Franklin Roosevelt, Cordell Hull, and Sumner Welles* (Baltimore, 1995), pp. ix–2.
- 33 *Ibid.*, p. 315. Hull conversation with Morgenthau, 9 July 1943.
- 34 *Ibid.*, p. xi.
- 35 Reynolds, p. 25.
- 36 Leahy, W.D., *I Was There* (London, 1950), p. 187.
- 37 Reynolds, pp. 26–7.
- 38 FO 371/41750/f1418, Sir George Sansom in Washington DC to FO, March 1944. Hornbeck was appointed Ambassador to Holland in late 1944.
- 39 Wedemeyer, p. 180.

#### 4 An Empire brought into question

- 1 FO 371/4072/f8170, G.P. Young minute, 9 December 1942.
- 2 FO 371/31662/f7822.

- 3 FO 371/31777/f2063, dinner discussion in NYC, 19 January 1942.
- 4 National Archive and Records Administration, College Park, USA. RG59, Box 5098, letter dated 12 September 1944 inquiring whether Hong Kong was returning to China.
- 5 Eden diary, 27 February 1942.
- 6 Lord Moran, *Winston Churchill, the Struggle for Survival, 1940–65* (London, 1966), p. 27.
- 7 MacDougall papers, Steve Tsang interview with MacDougall, 26 February 1987.
- 8 Winston Churchill, *The Hinge of Fate* (London, 1964), p. 61 and Robert Rhodes James (ed.), *Winston S. Churchill, his Complete Speeches, vol. VI, 1935–42* (London, 1974), p. 6464, 27 January 1942.
- 9 CO 825/35/4, minute by Gent, 30 June 1942.
- 10 FO 371/31777/f5965, Gladwyn Jebb minute, 7 September 1942.
- 11 Eden diary, 30 May 1942.
- 12 FO 371/31633/f3962, A.L. Scott responding to a parliamentary question on Chinese troops in Malaya, 27 May 1942. 'No offer of Chinese troops for the defence of Malaya was ever made. In May 1939, however, General Chiang Kai-shek offered 200000 troops to assist in the defence of Hong Kong, an offer which was not accepted and was subsequently withdrawn.'
- 13 MacDougall papers, notebook on the fall of Hong Kong. Undated.
- 14 PREM 4/28/5, parliamentary mission to China report issued February 1943, undertaken November 1942.
- 15 FO 371/31633/f2775, A.L. Scott minute on future of Hong Kong, 8 April 1942.
- 16 FO 371/31715/f5087, Ashley Clarke minute, 19 July 1942.
- 17 CO 825/35/4, Gent minute, June 1942.
- 18 FO 371/31801/f4369, Miss McGeachy minute, 13 June 1942.
- 19 FO 371/31801/f3814, Sir Maurice Peterson on IPR conference, 13 May 1942.
- 20 FO 371/31801/f4369, Sir John Brenan, 13 June 1942.
- 21 CO 825/42/53104, Stanley, minute, 23 August 1943. He was referring to the French defence of their colonies and the general future of the Far East.
- 22 *The Value of a Pound: Prices and Incomes in Britain, 1900–1993* (London, 1995).
- 23 FO 954/6/f585, Eden to Seymour, 9 July 1942.
- 24 FO 371/31619/f3043, Treasury meeting, April 1942.
- 25 *Foreign Relations of the United States* series (FRUS), 1942 China, p. 421. Sir Frederick Phillips to Morgenthau, Washington DC, 3 January.
- 26 FO 954/6/f497, Niemeyer to Eden, 8 January 1942.
- 27 FRUS, 1942 China, pp. 419–20. A.M. Fox to Morgenthau, Washington DC, 3 January.
- 28 *Ibid.*, p. 425. Gauss to Cordell Hull, 8 January.
- 29 CAB 65/25, 2 February 1942.
- 30 FRUS, 1942 China, p. 438. Meeting in Washington DC, 26 January.
- 31 *Ibid.*, p. 423. Meeting in Washington DC, 8 January.
- 32 *Ibid.*, p. 438. Meeting in Washington DC, 13 January.
- 33 *Ibid.*, p. 446. Meeting in Washington DC, 26 January.
- 34 *Ibid.*, pp. 486–8. Memo by Hornbeck, 19 March. He belatedly came to see that Chiang was treating the loan as a 'poker game', manoeuvring the US

- Government into a 'without strings' only position. Which would 'score for them a first-class diplomatic victory the consequences of which in the long run will be good neither for this country or China'.
- 35 FO 954/6/f572, Eden interview with Koo, 20 April 1942.
  - 36 FRUS, China 1942, pp. 509–15. Luthringer memo on amelioration of China's financial difficulties, 24 April.
  - 37 FO 371/31619/f5341, Hall Patch in Chungking to Treasury, 25 July 1942.
  - 38 FRUS, 1942 China, p. 454. Hull to FDR, 31 January.
  - 39 *Ibid.*, p. 519. Luthringer to Hamilton, 21 May.
  - 40 *Ibid.*, pp. 521–3. 22, 23 and 25 May.
  - 41 FO 371/31619/f3468, Eden minute on Chinese blackmail, 10 May 1942.
  - 42 FO 371/31619/f4252, Wood and Eden discussion, 8 June 1942.
  - 43 FO 371/31715/f5553, Peterson minute, 7 August 1942 and FO telex to Chungking, 9 August 1942.
  - 44 FO 371/31715/f5087, Eden on Far Eastern post-war settlement, 21 July 1942.
  - 45 FO 371/31715/f5553, Peterson minute, 7 August 1942 and FO telex to Chungking, 9 August 1942.
  - 46 FO 371/31704/f4297, Ashley Clarke minute, 16 June 1942.
  - 47 FO 371/31704/f4297, Eden minute, 17 June 1942.
  - 48 CO 825/35/55104, Cranborne minute, 14 July 1942.
  - 49 CO 825/35/55104, Cranborne minute, 14 July 1942.
  - 50 FO 371/31773/f5506, 'Britain's post-war prospects in the Far East', G.F. Hudson, 5 August 1942.
  - 51 FO 371/31773/f5506, Sir John Brenan minute, 8 August 1942.
  - 52 In 1920 Hong Kong engineers demanded increased wages and, with the employers failing to agree, withdrew their labour to Canton, quickly bringing the colony to a standstill. The same occurred in 1921–22, when the exploited Chinese seamen gathered more widespread support (almost all the colony's workforce of 120000) and marched off to Canton. The colonial government's repressive measures only met with further agitation, forcing the government to concede a famous victory to the seamen. Matters went a stage further in the 1925–26 blockade of Hong Kong when anti-foreign feeling swept the colony. It was caused by the deaths of Chinese civilians in the Shanghai international settlement and Canton at the hands of foreign troops (mostly British, one might add), and the agitation of a left-wing regime in Canton. Once more Hong Kong's workforce departed for Canton, the strikers demanding a huge \$20 million payment. The Hong Kong Government, left in a perilous situation, considered what to do. At the time, Sir John Brenan was British consul in Canton. He adamantly opposed the idea of coercion which was being put forward by the new Hong Kong Governor, Sir Cecil Clementi, with the support of the Colonial Office (Welsh, pp. 369–76). A further coincidence was the fact that Leo Amery was the Colonial Secretary supporting Clementi in his use of force. Amery later wrote of his concern that 'the growth of an aggressive anti-European nationalism in China . . . led to much controversy between the Foreign Office, out of appeasement, and those of us who were more concerned to defend the interests built up by British enterprise in a prosperous colony like Hong Kong' (Leo Amery, *Life*, vol. II (London, 1953), p. 305). It would appear that Foreign–Colonial Office conflict over the colony was nothing new.



In October 1926 the boycott ended without a penny being paid to the strikers. Ironically, the reason was the intervention of Chiang Kai-shek who had succeeded Sun Yat-sen as leader of the Kuomintang. In an attempt to reassert central authority throughout China, a pro-Chiang coup took place in Canton during March 1926. Chiang moved quickly to end the boycott because it was distracting from his military campaign against dissident warlords (Welsh, pp. 376–7). This assistance is, unsurprisingly however, rarely acknowledged in British history at a time when the colony's future was in great jeopardy. Retrospectively, the convergence of Chiang Kai-shek, Brennan and Amery almost twenty years later over the same issue remains one of the quirks of history. In preparation for a northern expedition to re-establish central authority in Shanghai and Nanking, he needed to secure his position in Canton.

- 53 FO 371/31773/f5506, Sir Maurice Peterson minute, 17 August 1942.
- 54 FO 954/6/f592, Seymour talks to Chiang Kai-shek about India, 12 August 1942.
- 55 FO 371/31633/f5964, Amery letter to Eden, 13 August 1942.
- 56 FO 371/31777/f5965, official minutes of Foreign Office–Colonial Office meeting by Gent, 20 August 1942.
- 57 FO 371/31777/f5965, official minutes of Foreign Office–Colonial Office meeting by Gent, 20 August 1942.
- 58 FO 371/31777/f5965, Ashley Clarke minute, 27 August 1942.
- 59 FO 371/31777/f5965, Eden, 24 August 1942.
- 60 FO 371/31777/f5965, Sir Maurice Peterson minute, 28 August 1942.
- 61 FO 371/31777/f6440, Sir Maurice Peterson minute, 1 September 1942.
- 62 FO 371/31777/f6440, Ashley Clarke minute, 31 August 1942.
- 63 FO 954/22/post-war plans and reconstruction, October 1942.
- 64 HS 1/176, SOE, November 1942 paper, 'Present political and military aspects of the regime in China'.
- 65 FO 954/22/post-war plans and reconstruction. Attlee's copy of the revised Eden–Cranborne Far Eastern paper presented to Cabinet. Dated 9 September 1942.
- 66 Quoted in Welsh, p. 424.
- 67 FO 371/31777/f6425, interdepartmental meeting, 10 September 1942.
- 68 Cranborne, however, conscious of the need for consensus with the Labour Party, did not wish a split at Cabinet level. Paul Emrys-Evans (Dominions Parliamentary under-secretary) and Richard Law of the Foreign Office, on behalf of Cranborne, helped persuade Attlee to see the merits of the Colonial Office position. (Louis, p. 196)
- 69 FO 371/31777/f6425, F.G. Coultas minute, 21 September.
- 70 FO 371/31777/f6441, amended Foreign Office–Colonial Office paper, 9 September 1942.
- 71 CO 967/18, report by Richard Law on Washington talks, September 1942.
- 72 FO 954/29/f513–5, conversation between British journalist David Ewer and William Bullitt, former ambassador to Paris and Moscow, 11 August 1942.
- 73 CO 967/18, report by Richard Law on Washington talks, September 1942.

## 5 China claims Hong Kong

- 1 FO 371/31662/f7822, Cadogan minute on impending breakdown of extra-territoriality negotiations, 21 November 1942.
- 2 FO 371/31662/f7822, Ashley Clarke minute, 20 November 1942.
- 3 CAB 23/88, Cabinet conclusion 24 (37), March 1931.
- 4 FO 371/31633, Eden minute, 2 March 1942.
- 5 Joseph W. Ballentine, director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs in the State Department, quoted in Kit-ching, 'The US and the question of Hong Kong 1941-45', *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 19 (1979).
- 6 FO 371/31620/f5489, Eden minute, undated August 1942.
- 7 FRUS, 1942 China, pp. 277-8. Letter Hull to Halifax in Washington DC, 6 May.
- 8 FRUS, 1942 China, pp. 269-71. Memo by Walter Adams of FE section, Washington DC, 19 March. He reflected that American help to China 'may spill over the level of appropriateness and good taste to the detriment both of the interest of China and of the US'.
- 9 Quoted in Thorne, p. 489 and p. 533.
- 10 FO 954/Political/f520, Churchill to Eden on Four Power Plan, 18 October 1942.
- 11 FO 954/Political/f520, Eden reply to Churchill, 19 October 1942. PM/42/228.
- 12 FRUS, 1942 China, p. 287. Cordell Hull to Gauss, 5 September.
- 13 FO 371/f8539/54/10, British and American policy towards China, 28 December 1942.
- 14 FO 371/ 31627/f6518, 17 September 1942.
- 15 *The Times*, 14 October 1942.
- 16 FRUS, 1942, p. 289. Ambassador Gauss to Cordell Hull, September 8.
- 17 FO 371/31664/f8036, Ashley Clarke minute, December 1942.
- 18 Sir John Brenan, though, later pointed out when the China Association was still adamantly pushing for equality of trade, that Britain also had similar problems to the American states: London was negotiating on behalf of India, Burma and her other colonies which possessed more open trade policies than the motherland. FO 371/31664/f8109, Brenan minute, 10 December 1942.
- 19 FO 371/31662/f7845, meeting of the China Association and the Federation of British Industry with Eden, 19 November 1942.
- 20 FO 371/31664/f8081, Brenan minute, 3 December 1942. Also Cadogan letter to Winant, 7 December.
- 21 FO 371/31662/f7822, Ashley Clarke minute, 20 November 1942.
- 22 Hansard, 14 October 1942. Mr Sorenson parliamentary question to Richard Law under-secretary state of FO. *Ibid.*, 20 October 1942.
- 23 PREM 3/157/4, Seymour to FO, 16 October 1942. *Ibid.*, Eden reply, 20 October.
- 24 FO 371/31662/f7742, Seymour to FO, 14 November 1942.
- 25 Wendell Wilkie was the Republican Party's Presidential candidate in 1940.
- 26 FO 371/31664/f8287, *Time* article, 'Bitter tea', 9 November 1942.
- 27 FO 371/31663/f7822; Ashley Clarke minute, 20 November 1942, quoting governor of Hong Kong, 20 June 1931.

- 28 FO 371/31663/f7822, Ashley Clarke minute, 20 November 1942.
- 29 FO 371/31663/f7822, Eden minute, 22 November 1942.
- 30 FO 371/31663/f7950, Chinese pushing for American agreement, 25 November 1942.
- 31 FO 371/31663/f7822, Ashley Clarke to Monson, CO, 25 November 1942.
- 32 FO 371/31662/f7973, Halifax telex to Eden, 26 November 1942. *Ibid.*, Eden reply, 4 December.
- 33 FO 371/31664/f8188, Seymour telex, 7 December 1942. *Ibid.*, Eden 11 December.
- 34 FO 371/35679/f123, Seymour and Teichman talk with T.V. Soong and K.C. Wu, 14 December 1942.
- 35 FO 371/31664/f8287, Seymour telex, 15 December 1942. *Ibid.*, Ashley Clarke, Cadogan and Eden, 17 December. Eden added an aside that it was 'Interesting this time we did not give everything at the start.'
- 36 CAB 65/28, WM173(42), extraterritoriality, 28 December 1942.
- 37 Cadogan diary, pp. 500–1, 28 December 1942.
- 38 FRUS, China 1942, pp. 414–5. Eden to US Chargé in London, 29 December.
- 39 FO 371/35679/f23, David Ewer memorandum, 29 December 1942. Also Sir Maurice Peterson minute, 31 December.
- 40 FO 371/35679/f23, Cordell Hull press conference, 30 December 1942. *Ibid.*, f1, Halifax to Eden, 31 December.
- 41 Thorne, p. 179.
- 42 FO 371/35679/f1, Foulds minute, 1 January 1943. *Ibid.*, Ashley Clarke, 2 January, and Cadogan, 3 January.
- 43 Eden diary, 31 December 1942.
- 44 FO 371/3569/f1, Ashley Clarke to Hornbeck, 13 January 1943.
- 45 William L. Tung, *Wellington Koo and China's Wartime Diplomacy* (NY, 1978), p. 53.
- 46 Shian Li, 'The extraterritoriality negotiations of 1943 and the New Territories', *Modern Asian Studies*, 30, 3 (1996).
- 47 FO 371/35680/f285, Seymour to FO, 12 January 1943.
- 48 FO 371/35679/f1, Ashley Clarke to Hornbeck, 13 January 1943.
- 49 Tung, *Wellington Koo*, p. 93. Apparent comments of Soong to Koo after the signing ceremony.
- 50 FO 371/35739/f2529, May 1943. The Western edition, delayed by Chiang, had many of the 'fascistic' anti-Western references removed.
- 51 'Nations and their past', *The Economist*, 21 December 1996.
- 52 FO 371/41657/f5341, Churchill's Mansion House speech, 10 November 1944.
- 53 Eden diary, 11 November 1942: 'Talk with Winston on telephone. His speech has gone very well.'
- 54 FO 371/35824/f2913, the future of Hong Kong 1943. China Association document, circa December 1942, forwarded by CO.
- 55 Quoted in Thorne, p. 65.
- 56 Arthur Creech Jones papers, Rhodes House, Oxford University, 17/12, ff. 40–2. 'Report of the Weekend Conference', New Fabian Research Bureau, 19–20 March 1938.
- 57 FO 371/31620/f5628, Bromley minute, 10 August, and Ashley Clarke, 12 August 1942.

- 58 FO 371/31620/f7866, Brenan minute on loan and extraterritoriality, 25 November 1942.
- 59 BT 11/1995, Harcourt Johnstone, 15 December 1942, and Kingsley Wood, 7 January 1943.
- 60 MacDougall papers, MacDougall to Noel Sabine, CO, 22 December 1942.
- 61 *Ibid.*, 30 December 1942.
- 62 FO 371/31803/f7609, IPR conference and the future of Hong Kong, 9 November 1942. Sir John Pratt wrote to Ashley Clarke in October to confide: 'For many years I have felt that if we could not hold Hong Kong with the goodwill of the Chinese it was not worth holding at all.' He wanted to return the colony 'now', although he realised that was unlikely to be the FO-CO consensus. A point made by an illegible scribe in the FO: 'I agree . . . with most of Pratt's views. The line he takes about Hong Kong, however, would not be unanimously endorsed by the Cabinet to say the least.'
- 63 FO 371/35905, Pratt to Ashley Clarke, private, 26 December 1942.
- 64 FO 371/35905, Sir Maurice Peterson to Ashley Clarke on Pratt, 21 January 1943.
- 65 FO 371/34087/A1914, Pratt debrief to Committee on American Opinion and the British Empire, 22 February 1943.
- 66 FO 371/35680/ f412/G, Seymour to Eden, 13 January 1943.
- 67 FO 371/35680/ f412/G, Brenan and Ashley Clarke, January 1943.
- 68 FO 371/35680/f412/G, Butler, January 1943.
- 69 *Ibid.*, Law, 1 February 1943.
- 70 FO 371/35680/ f412/G, Eden, 4 February 1943.
- 71 Hansard, 28 January 1943, vol. 386, p. 634.
- 72 FO 371/35683/f1090, reply to Halifax telex, February 1943. *Ibid.*, Thornely, CO, to Oliver Harvey, FO, 11 February 1943.
- 73 Cadogan diary, p. 501, 31 December 1942.

## 6 London's Hong Kong planning

- 1 HS 1/349, 1942-45 future of Hong Kong, 27 February 1943: 'Sino-British relations', prepared by AD/O to Minister for Economic Warfare, Lord Selborne (SO). Selborne added, 'This is a very valuable paper.'
- 2 Lord Ismay, *The Memoirs of Lord Ismay* (London, 1960), p. 309.
- 3 HS 1/349, 1942-45 future of Hong Kong, 27 February 1943: 'Sino-British relations'.
- 4 *Ibid.*
- 5 HS 1/349, SOE paper on Sino-British relations prepared by AD/O, 23 February 1943.
- 6 FO 954/6/f686, Mountbatten to Eden on raising profile of Far Eastern war, 23 September 1943.
- 7 CO 825/35/25, CO arrangements for military administration of Hong Kong, 19 June 1943.
- 8 FO 825/42/15, Gent to Thornely, 16 February 1943.
- 9 CO 825/42/15, Monson minute, 30 June 1943.
- 10 CO 825/42/15, Gent minute, 1 July 1943.

- 11 CO 852, 375/5, commercial relations with China: Hong Kong interests in post-war policy. FO to Seymour, 22 July 1943, and Gent minute, 4 August 1943.
- 12 CO 825/42/15, Paskin minute, 2 July 1943.
- 13 Norman Miners, *Hong Kong under Imperial Rule, 1912–1941* (Oxford, 1987), p. 37.
- 14 CO 825/42/15, Gater to Stanley, 21 August 1943.
- 15 CO 825/42/15, Stanley minute, 23 August 1943.
- 16 CO 825/42/15, Gent minute, 1 July 1943.
- 17 CO 825/42/15, Paskin to Ashley Clarke, 27 August 1943.
- 18 CO 825/42/15, 10 August 1943. FO refusal to attend CO conference.
- 19 CO 825/42/15, Monson, 10 August, and Gent, 15 August 1943.
- 20 CO 825/42/15, Monson minute, 10 August 1943.
- 21 FO 371/35824/f4541, A.L. Scott minute on Paskin's letter, 1 September 1943.
- 22 Cadogan diary, 19 June 1945. Quoted in Thorne, p. 118.
- 23 FO 371/35824/f4541, Ashley Clarke minute, 2 September 1943.
- 24 CO 825/42/15, Paskin minute, 12 November 1943.
- 25 Steve Tsang, *Democracy Shelved: Great Britain, China, and Attempts at Constitutional Reform in Hong Kong, 1945–1952* (Oxford, 1988), p. 13.
- 26 CO 825/42/15, Gent minute, 29 December 1943.
- 27 CO 825/35/25, appointment of N.L. Smith, 18 August 1943.
- 28 CO 129/592/8.
- 29 F.S.V. Donnison, *British Military Administration in the Far East, 1943–46* (London, 1956), pp. 149–50.
- 30 Miners, pp. 41–2.
- 31 *The Economist*, 17 February 1945, p. 210.
- 32 Leo Amery diary, 16 February 1945, p. 1030.
- 33 FO 371/41657/f5341, for details of Stanley's, Attlee's and Churchill's statements on Hong Kong, November 1944.
- 34 CO 825/42/15, Gent minute, 29 December 1943.
- 35 CO 825/42/15, Monson minute, 8 May 1944. Also, Gent letter to Moss, 29 May 1944.
- 36 FO 371/41657/f2172, Moss memo to Sir Alexander Blackburn FO, May 1944.
- 37 *Speeches of Churchill*, vol. VII, pp. 6918–24. 'The future of the Empire', House of Commons, 21 April 1944. Churchill quoted Kipling in his own speech.
- 38 FO 371/41657/f2172, Moss memo to Sir Alexander Blackburn FO, May 1944.
- 39 HS 1/349, Selborne meets Sir George Moss, 24 June 1944.
- 40 FO 371/41657/f2172, Moss memo to Sir Alexander Blackburn FO, May 1944.
- 41 FO 371/41746/f2968, L.H. Foulds minute, June 1944.
- 42 FO 371/41657/f2172, *Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury* (US edition), 31 March 1944.
- 43 FO 371/41746/f2968, Sir Maurice Peterson minute, 28 June 1944.
- 44 Louis, p. 366. In 1944 Roosevelt encouraged the State Department to proceed with trusteeship plans while at the same time telling the military to plan for permanent bases throughout the Pacific. Also p. 426 for Hopkins's comments on FDR 'not being caught' by WSC's encouragement to annex islands.
- 45 HS 1/171, CO meeting with SOE, 13 June 1944.

- 46 HS 1/171, CO meeting with SOE, 10 August 1944.
- 47 HS 1/171, CO meeting with SOE, MI2 and MI9, 19 August 1944.
- 48 CO 825/42/15, CO guidance to Poynton for UN negotiations, 3 August 1944.
- 49 CO 968/156/Pt.1, minutes by Poynton of meeting, 27 July 1944. Also Gater to Cadogan, 28 July 1944. Quoted in Louis, pp. 382–3.
- 50 Louis, p. 377.
- 51 FO 371/41657/f3681, 12 June 1944. ICI's Chungking rep argued to Paskin of the CO that Hong Kong should not be returned to China, and this would not damage Sino-British relations. Forwarded to the FO where A.L. Scott commented, 14 August 1944.
- 52 NARA, JCS, RG 218, Box 342, civil affairs policy for British territory of Hong Kong and Borneo.
- 53 Hansard, vol. 402, pp. 407–10, 6 June 1944, parliamentary question by William Astor MP for Fulham East. With classic imperial irony, Astor denied the rights of the Chinese to claim any British territory while at the same time proclaiming that the Colonial Office administration would need people 'who can love and sympathise with the Chinese'!
- 54 *Speeches of Churchill, vol. VII*, pp. 6918–24. 'The future of the Empire', House of Commons, 21 April 1944.
- 55 CO 825/42/15, Miss Ruskin's draft Hong Kong announcement for Stanley, 6 November 1944. Also FO 371/41657/f5341, parliamentary question by William Astor MP, 8 November 1944.
- 56 FO 371/41657/f5341, *Daily Express*, 9 November 1944. Also CO 825/42/15, Gent minute, 18 November 1944.
- 57 FO 371/41746/f3665, inter-departmental meeting under chair of Sir Maurice Peterson, 3 August 1944. Also f3896 for encouragement of Washington Embassy.
- 58 CAB 96/5, Far East(44)1, 15 November 1944.
- 59 CO 825/39/7, Far Eastern committee memos and meetings 1944. Gent, 13 November 1944.
- 60 CAB 96/8, (45)4, British commercial interests in China – position of Hong Kong, 11 January 1945.
- 61 FO 371/41695/f5195, Stilwell's recall, 6 November 1944.
- 62 FO 371/41695/f5265, appointment of Wedemeyer, November 1944.
- 63 FO 371/41746/f5800, Dening to FO, 9 December 1944.
- 64 FO 371/41746/f5802, Dening to FO, 9 December 1944. Also Eden minute undated.
- 65 FO 371/41746/f5802, Dening to FO, 9 December 1944. Minute by M. Butler undated.

## 7 Military strategy in the Far East

- 1 Pownall, Louis Mountbatten's Chief of Staff at SEAC, 29 April 1944. Quoted in Thorne, p. 450.
- 2 Quoted in Thorne, p. 294.
- 3 Levine, p. 137.
- 4 Seagrave, p. 10.

- 5 Theodore H. White, *In Search of History* (NY, 1978), pp. 180–4.
- 6 Seagrave, pp. 419–20.
- 7 FO 371/35814, US authorities suppressing Chiang's book, May 1943.
- 8 White, p. 157.
- 9 FDR, Hopkins papers, Sherwood Collection, Box 331. Chiang Kai-shek to FDR, 19 April 1943.
- 10 FDR, FDR Official file, China 150, Box 2. T.V. Soong to Harry Hopkins, 13 May 1943. This was a curt note informing the Americans of Chinese displeasure over their ignorance of the Casablanca conference.
- 11 FDR, President's Secretary, Box 27, Diplomatic Correspondence, China. Gauss, 9 December 1943.
- 12 FDR, Hopkins papers, Box 334, book 9. John Davies to Harry Hopkins, 31 December 1943.
- 13 Admiral William Leahy, *I Was There* (London, 1950), p. 186.
- 14 NARA, RG59, Geographical files 1940–44, China Box 2237. Conversation Hornbeck and T.V. Soong, 19 August 1943.
- 15 FO 371/35739/f2584, Ashley Clarke minute, 19 May 1943.
- 16 The Chinese communists remained relatively unimportant to the British until later in the war when the Americans began to pressure Chiang to settle his differences with Mao. The Americans believed that Chiang should be fighting the Japanese, not the communists. Prior to this time, the communists were geographically isolated in Yen-an and closer contacts would also have irked Chiang. Sir Horace Seymour finally met Mao on 28 August 1945 in Chungking, observing that Mao was a genuine communist but, at the same time, different from the Soviet model. The ambassador advocated that Britain continue its policy of non-intervention regarding KMT–CCP conflict, which was accepted by London. See Shian Li, 'Britain's China policy and the communists, 1942 to 1946: the role of Ambassador Sir Horace Seymour', *Modern Asian Studies*, 26, 1 (1992).
- 17 White, p. 108.
- 18 FRUS, China 1943, II, p. 845. Memo by Welles, 29 March 1943.
- 19 NARA, RG59, Hong Kong 1940–44, Box 5098. 7 June 1943.
- 20 *Ibid.*, dated Chungking, 2 April 1943.
- 21 FO 371/35834/ f1591, account of dinner with Dr Currie by Col. MacHugh, 24 March 1943.
- 22 Seagrave, pp. 411 and 416.
- 23 FO 371/35824/f4382, future of Hong Kong: US attitude, August 1943.
- 24 Chan Kit-ching, 'The United States and the question of Hong Kong', *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 19 (1979). Hornbeck memo, November 1943.
- 25 Seagrave, pp. 397 and 405–6.
- 26 FO 371/35834/f1591, Col. MacHugh on meeting with Currie, 24 March 1943.
- 27 FO 954/7/f31, FO memo on Pacific Strategy, 1 March 1944.
- 28 FDR, Presidential Secretary, Box 27, China 1943. John Davies letter, 9 March 1943.
- 29 FDR, Map Room, Box 165/F2. Chief of Staff summary of Stilwell messages, 18 February 1943.
- 30 FRUS, China 1944, p. 188. John Davies memo, 31 December 1943.

- 31 Wedemeyer, p. 267. British policy meeting, 8 August 1944. Wedemeyer, as Louis Mountbatten's American deputy, was present at the meeting to put forward SEAC's claim for additional resources for operations. After this incident Churchill excluded him from all further meetings.
- 32 Keith Sainsbury, *Churchill and Roosevelt at War* (London, 1994), pp. 160–3.
- 33 Gilbert, *Churchill*, VII, p. 470.
- 34 Thorne, p. 299. See also pp. 297–302.
- 35 FO 954/7/f20, Dening on political implications of Far Eastern strategy, 17 February 1944.
- 36 AP 20/11/91, Eden to Churchill on latter's COS (44) 168 (0), 21 February 1944.
- 37 PREM 3, 160/6, Churchill to COS, 12 September 1944. Quoted in Thorne, p. 412.
- 38 Ismay papers, IV/Pow/4/2, Ismay to Pownall, 27 May 1944. Quoted in Thorne, p. 415.
- 39 Char 20/188, COS(44)207, COS to Churchill, 1 March 1944.
- 40 Char 20/188, Churchill note to COS, 20 March 1944.
- 41 PREM 3, 160/7, Churchill memo, 29 February 1944.
- 42 FDR, PSF, Box 74, State Departmental file: Cordell Hull, January–August 1944. Roosevelt to Hull on Indo-China, 24 January 1944.
- 43 FO 954/6/f618, Churchill on recovery of Burma, 10 January 1943.
- 44 Eden diary, 25 February 1944.
- 45 FO 954/7/f66, Halifax to Eden, 2 May 1944.
- 46 Claire Chennault was the founder of the American volunteer airforce in China that became known as the Flying Tigers, see Seagrave, pp. 369–72.
- 47 FO 954/7/f145/f146/f154, Eden 10 and 12 July 1944.
- 48 FO 954/7/f132, Ashley Clarke minute, 15 June 1944. Eden underlined the Hong Kong section.
- 49 FO 954/7/f81, FO paper on 'Political considerations affecting Far Eastern strategy', 22 May 1944.
- 50 Eden diary, 6 and 14 July 1944.
- 51 Ismay, p. 337.
- 52 Levine, p. 145.
- 53 Levine, p. 154.
- 54 FO 954/22/f229, Churchill to Smuts, 25 September 1944.
- 55 FDR, Map Room, Box 117. FDR to Chiang Kai-shek, 6 July 1944.
- 56 FDR, PSF, OSS April 1944–45, Box 4. Donovan to FDR, 24 June 1944. The President requested he show the memo to Hull and Stimson.
- 57 FDR, PSF, OSS April 1944–45, Box 4. Donovan to FDR, 24 June 1944.
- 58 Hopkins Papers, 334, Book 9. John Davies to Hopkins, 30 August 1944.
- 59 FDR, Map Room, Box 11. Roosevelt to Chiang Kai-shek, 16 September 1944.
- 60 Stilwell Papers, p. 333, 19 September 1944. See also FDR, Map Room, Box 11, Hull memo to Roosevelt, 28 April 1944, for American suspicions against Madame Chiang Kai-shek's withholding US messages. Ambassador Gauss also reported on 'marital intransquillity between the Chiangs'.
- 61 FDR, PSF, Box 27, Diplomatic Correspondence, China: January–July 1944, 26 May 1944. Stimson, Secretary for War, also urged Roosevelt to rectify the hugely inflated rate of exchange which the Chinese kept for American



- expenditure. Through this mechanism the Chinese accumulated millions of extra dollars. Roosevelt passed the issue over to Morgenthau.
- 62 Stilwell Papers, p. 332, 17 September 1944.
  - 63 FO 371/41607/f3308. Views of K.C. Wu, Chinese vice-minister for foreign affairs, 10 June 1944. Also A.L. Scott minute, 19 July 1944.
  - 64 FDR, Map Room, Box 11, Chiang Kai-shek to Roosevelt, 29 March 1944.
  - 65 FO 954/7/f63, de Wiart to Ismay, 24 April 1944.
  - 66 FDR, Map Room, Box 11, Roosevelt to Chiang Kai-shek, 8 April 1944.
  - 67 FDR, Map Room, Box 11, Cordell Hull to Roosevelt, 7 April 1944.
  - 68 Wedemeyer, p. 295.
  - 69 For example see Stilwell papers, p. 304, 14 June 1944.
  - 70 FDR, PSF, Box 4, Safe file: OSS, April 1944–45. Donovan to Roosevelt, 4 May 1944.
  - 71 FO 954/7/f229, Sterndale Bennett, 7 November 1944.
  - 72 AP 20/10/344a, Cadogan to Churchill, 16 October 1943.
  - 73 Hong Kong PRO, HKRS 163, MacDougall to Gent, 18 April 1945.
  - 74 CO 852/42/15, Gent minute, 29 December 1943. Sir George Sansom in Washington DC embassy also held a similar view to Seymour on Hong Kong.
  - 75 FDR, Map Room, Box 11. John Davies, New Delhi, 15 January 1944.
  - 76 NARA, RG 59, Box 2237 China. Notes on Wallace's conversation with Chiang, 21 June 1944.
  - 77 Eden diary, 11 April 1944.

## 8 The Cairo conference

- 1 Stilwell papers, pp. 251–4. Meeting in Cairo after Tehran Conference, 6 December 1943.
- 2 Winston Churchill, *The Second World War*, vol. V (London, 1952), p. 289.
- 3 AP 20/3/5, notebook of war trip October–December 1943. Entry, 25 November 1943.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Ismay, p. 334.
- 6 Gilbert, *Churchill VII*, p. 561.
- 7 Eden, *The Reckoning*, p. 426.
- 8 AP 20/3/5, 25 November 1943.
- 9 AP 20/11/121, Eden to Churchill, attached minute by Dening, 1 March 1944.
- 10 Moran, p. 132, 25 November 1943.
- 11 Leahy, p. 185.
- 12 Louis, pp. 281–2.
- 13 Dalton diary, p. 685, 21 December 1943.
- 14 Leo Amery diary, p. 955, 13 December 1943.
- 15 Stilwell papers, pp. 236–40. See also pp. 224–5 for attempt by Soong sisters to woo Stilwell once they saw that Stilwell was their link to American aid.
- 16 Ch'i, Hsi-sheng, *Nationalist China at War, Military Defeats and Political Collapse, 1937–45* (Michigan, 1982), pp. 113–17. Ch'i states that during the war, the KMT 'gave up any attempt to wage revolutionary struggles [with the

- result that] the national party became an empty shell and its leaders reduced to soldierless generals', inciting factional intrigues. p. 236.
- 17 Moran, p. 130, 23 November 1943.
  - 18 Seagrave, p. 379. John Service minute to State Department.
  - 19 *Ibid.*, p. 410. John Service minute to State Department.
  - 20 The Sian incident occurred against the backdrop of the KMT's fourth annihilation campaign against the communists. Several KMT generals wanted to stop the encroachment of the Japanese before the communists, and took Chiang hostage in an attempt to persuade him to switch priorities.
  - 21 *Ibid.*, p. 415.
  - 22 Elliott Roosevelt, p. 142. He added, 'I can't think what would be happening in China, if it weren't for [Stilwell].'
  - 23 Stilwell papers, p. 251-4. Meeting in Cairo after Tehran, 6 December 1943.
  - 24 Seagrave, p. 378.
  - 25 Ismay, p. 335.
  - 26 FDR, Map Room, Box 165 (2), Hurley to Roosevelt, Cairo 20 November 1943.
  - 27 Elliott Roosevelt, p. 193.
  - 28 Quoted in Leahy, p. 185.
  - 29 Quoted in Seagrave, p. 386.
  - 30 Elliott Roosevelt, pp. 162-5.
  - 31 Stilwell papers, pp. 251-4. Meeting in Cairo after Tehran Conference, 6 December 1943.
  - 32 Stilwell diary, 6 December 1943. Quoted in Thorne, p. 308. Cut from published version.
  - 33 Martin Gilbert, *Churchill VII*, pp. 595-9. Roosevelt conceded to Churchill after the fourth plenary session of the Third Cairo Conference that 'Buccaneer is off'. The Prime Minister had also spoken disparagingly about Mountbatten's plans and his apparently extravagant demands for troops and *matériel*. Mountbatten's deputy, the American General Wedemeyer, however, implies that Churchill's displeasure was born from his enthusiasm for Culverin, not his opposition. He felt that if the operational demands could be reduced the operation could still go ahead. When the Prime Minister told Wedemeyer, the American thought privately, 'Don't forget Gallipoli!' See General Albert C. Wedemeyer, *Wedemeyer Reports!* (NY, 1958), pp. 258-60.
  - 34 FDR, PS, Box 27, Diplomatic Correspondence, China 1943, Gauss memo, 9 December 1943. With attached Morgenthau memo for President, 18 December 1943. The President was also convinced of his own powers of economic thought, and advised Morgenthau what should be done. He suggested a course of action that was still hugely beneficial to the Chinese (and not America) while doing nothing to tackle the fundamental causes of Chinese inflation. The Treasury Secretary expressed 'complete sympathy' with the President's aim of aiding China and resisting remedial action.
  - 35 John Morton Blum, *Years of War, 1941-45, from the Morgenthau Diaries* (Boston, 1967), p. 114. Morgenthau to White, 18 January 1944.
  - 36 *Ibid.*, p. 107.
  - 37 FDR, Map Room, Box 165 (2), Hurley to Roosevelt, Cairo, 20 November 1943.
  - 38 FRUS, Cairo and Tehran 1943 (Washington, 1961), p. 554.
  - 39 Moran, pp. 133-4.

- 40 FRUS, Cairo and Tehran 1943, p. 554. Tripartite dinner meeting, 29 November.
- 41 FO 371/35874/f6714, Sir Prideaux-Brune to Ashley Clarke, 7 December 1943.
- 42 Thorne, p. 312.
- 43 HS 1/154: 'Remorse' financial dealings. FO paper by Eric Teichman of FO Information Service, 27 October 1943. 'Remorse' was the British operational codename for playing the Chinese financial black market in an effort to subsidise their meagre finances, and avoid China's fixed exchange controls.

## 9 Hard choices

- 1 Leahy, p. 338.
- 2 Lord Halifax, *The Fullness of Days* (London, 1957), p. 250.
- 3 FO 371/46251/f1147, A.L. Scott, 8 February 1945.
- 4 HS 1/208, AD minute, 29 March 1945.
- 5 CO 825/39/7, FE(44)8, 25 November 1944. Seymour letter to Eden on post-war trade, 19 September 1944.
- 6 CAB 96/5, FE(44)1, 15 November 1944. Hall would later become Labour's Colonial Secretary in July 1945.
- 7 CAB 96/8, FE(E)(44)1, note by the CO on Hong Kong's economic importance, 12 December 1944.
- 8 CAB 96/8, FE(E)(45)18, British shipping interests in China, 26 February 1945.
- 9 CAB 96/8, FE(45)9, Dr Sun Fo's comments, 27 January 1945.
- 10 CO 825/39/7, FE(44)10, Sir Prideaux-Brune on Anglo-American cooperation in China, 30 November 1944.
- 11 FO 954/7/f338, Chiang Kai-shek thanks Britain for surplus naval craft, 22 April 1945.
- 12 FDR, Map Room, Box 165 (2), Wedemeyer to Roosevelt, 20 December 1944.
- 13 FDR, Map Room, Box 11 (8), Roosevelt to Hurley, 17 November 1944.
- 14 Eden diary, 4 January 1945.
- 15 Eden diary, 2 February 1945.
- 16 Herbert Feis, *The China Tangle* (Princeton, 1953), p. 249. This is the official State Department history of the period. See also Robert Conquest, pp. 264–8.
- 17 Wedemeyer, p. 327.
- 18 Eden, *The Reckoning*, pp. 513–14.
- 19 FO 371/54073/f9836, Churchill minute on Soviet claims in the Far East, 23 October 1944.
- 20 Leahy, p. 368, 9 February 1945.
- 21 Moran, p. 223, 4 February 1945.
- 22 *Ibid.*, p. 226, 8 February 1945.
- 23 FDR, Map Room, Box 165(9), State Department recommendations for Far Eastern policy at Yalta, January 1945.
- 24 *Ibid.*
- 25 Wedemeyer, pp. 317–19.
- 26 Moran, pp. 227–8, 9 February 1945.
- 27 AP 20/12/768, Churchill to Eden, 31 December 1944.
- 28 Moran, p. 228, 9 February 1945.

- 29 FO 954/22/f276, Eden to Churchill, 8 January 1945, replying to Churchill's personal letter of 31 December 1944. The Prime Minister grudgingly approved Eden's position.
- 30 Gilbert, *Churchill VII*, pp. 1155–6.
- 31 Harvey, p. 348, 15 July 1944.
- 32 Taussig papers, Box 49. Memo of Roosevelt–Stanley conversation by Taussig, 16 January 1945. Quoted in Louis, pp. 437–8.
- In 1949 the State Department was compiling a handbook on Far Eastern conference discussions between heads of state and foreign ministers for the period 1943–47. In pursuit of this aim, the State Department attempted to find the letter from Chiang Kai-shek that Roosevelt referred to in his meeting with Stanley. Robert Dennison, Naval Aide to President Truman, reported on 14 May 1949 that 'a careful search has been made of all known files of President Roosevelt without result. The letter itself was not found, nor any record of the receipt of such a letter discovered.' In all probability it never existed. See NARA, RG 59, Hong Kong 1945–49, Box 5099, April 1949.
- 33 FO 371/44595/AN154, conversation Law and Roosevelt, 22 December 1944.
- 34 FO 371/41769/f5392, Sterndale Bennett minute, 18 November 1944.
- 35 Quoted in Louis, pp. 428–30, IPR conference, January 1945.
- 36 FO 954/7/f253, Carton de Wiart to Ismay, 21 November 1944. Also, Wedemeyer, p. 293.
- 37 Wedemeyer, p. 298.
- 38 CO 129/591/11, various minutes on Emergency Unit, 20 January and 20 February 1945.
- 39 Wedemeyer, p. 341.
- 40 FDR, Map Room, Box 11/8, Hurley to Roosevelt, 2 January 1945. See also PSF/Box 27, Hurley, 1 January 1945.
- 41 CO 129/591/11, Gent to Gater, 20 February 1945. See also HS 1/169, SOE Force 136 to London, 1 March 1945 for planned Sino-British guerrilla operation in Kwangtung whose ultimate aim was the liberation of Hong Kong. A London member of SOE called these plans 'entirely nebulous' considering the situation.
- 42 FO 371/46251/f4153, Colonel Ride's report, 4 July 1945.
- 43 CO 129/591/11, emergency planning unit, inter-departmental meeting, 5 July 1945.
- 44 CO 129/591/11, Seymour reply to above, 9 July 1945.
- 45 CO 129/591/11, Thornely minute, 23 February 1945.
- 46 HS 1/331, Lord Selborne's paper, 15 March 1945. Also Stanley to Churchill, 21 March 1945.
- 47 *Roosevelt and Churchill, their Secret Wartime Correspondence*, p. 677, Churchill to Roosevelt, 17 March 1945. Roosevelt to Churchill, pp. 682–3, 22 March 1945. See also FO 954/7/f283, f325 and f327 February–March 1945.
- 48 HS 1/171, inter-departmental meeting at CO summarising Hong Kong situation, 23 July 1945.
- 49 Carton de Wiart, *Happy Odyssey* (London, 1950), pp. 258–9.
- 50 HS 1/171, inter-departmental meeting at CO summarising Hong Kong situation, 23 July 1945.
- 51 HKRS 211/2/37, MacDougall report on visit to Chungking, March 1945.

- 52 HKRS 211/2/37, MacDougall to Gent on visit to Chungking, 18 April 1945.
- 53 FO 371/46151/f1543, Seymour to Sterndale Bennett, 21 February 1945.
- 54 FO 371/46251/f1147, A.L. Scott, 23 February 1945. Scott, however, was disdainful of the CO's suggestion that the lease of the New Territories could be extended. See, *ibid.*, f1375, 8 March 1945.
- 55 FO 371/46251/f1543, T.H. Brewis, 14 May 1945.
- 56 FO 371/46325/f2663, Eden, 30 March 1945.
- 57 HS 1/208, Field Marshal Wilson, Washington DC, to Ismay, 27 March 1945.
- 58 FO 371/46325/f2144, A.L. Scott, 5 April 1945.
- 59 FO 371/46251/f2382, FO brief for Hurley visit, 3 April 1945. Eden added on 4 April: 'I had not known that Hong Kong was a free port. I suppose there is no qualification about this', illustrating his ignorance of Hong Kong's business role.
- 60 WO 203/5621, Sterndale Bennett to Seymour on Hurley's visit, 24 April 1945. The FO avoided mentioning the CO's predisposition to take into account the opinions of the inhabitants of Hong Kong, should Hurley 'exaggerate it into a possibly awkward commitment'. See FO 371/46251/f2382, CO brief, 31 March 1945.
- 61 FO 371/46325/f2577, Churchill minute, 11 April 1945.
- 62 WO 203/5621, Sterndale Bennett to Seymour on Hurley's visit, 24 April 1945.
- 63 Moran, p. 226, 7 February 1945.
- 64 Gilbert, *Churchill VII*, p. 1301, Churchill speech, House of Commons, 17 April 1945.
- 65 Wedemeyer, p. 272.
- 66 Louis, p. 441.
- 67 *Ibid.*, see pp. 512–47. Truman approved the State Department's military compromise prior to the conference to enable the military to retain full control of the Pacific islands for security purposes, p. 496.
- 68 CAB 65/60, WM(45)61, 14 May 1945.
- 69 CO 968/1571/5, Seymour to Eden, 16 May 1945.
- 70 Charles E. Bohlen, *Witness to History* (NY, 1973), p. 223.
- 71 CO 129/592/8, extract from FE(E), 10 May 1945.
- 72 FO 371/46325/f2577, Stanley letter to Eden, 25 May 1945. Also Sterndale Bennett minute, 28 May 1945.
- 73 Eden, *The Reckoning*, pp. 540–1.
- 74 Moran, p. 251, 20 May 1945. Also, p. 255.
- 75 Eden diary, 17 July 1945.
- 76 HKRS 211/2/6, letter to MacDougall, 5 July 1945.

## 10 Return of the Empire

- 1 HS 1/210, SOE paper on scheme for British publicity in Far East, 19 April 1945.
- 2 FO 371/46232/f3603, Seymour to Sterndale Bennett, 16 June 1945.
- 3 FO 371/46251/f4008, Sterndale Bennett to Seymour, 18 July 1945.
- 4 FO 371/46171/f4917, A.L. Scott, 5 July 1945.
- 5 HS 1/331, AD4 reviews British political warfare plans for the Far East, 12 May 1945.

- 6 FO 371/46251/f2456, MacDougall, April 1945.
- 7 HS 1/171, Seymour to London, 20 July 1945.
- 8 Moran, p. 257, 8 July 1945.
- 9 Eden diary, 10 August 1945.
- 10 *Documents on British Policy Overseas, series 1, vol. 1* (London, 1988). The Conference at Potsdam, no. 550, I (6), Far Eastern department FO, 7 July 1945.
- 11 FO 371/54073/45, Clark Kerr to Eden, 18 July 1945. Also Major General Woodburn Kirby, *The War against Japan, vol. V, The Surrender of Japan* (London, 1969), pp. 202–3. Stalin demanded concessions far beyond the Yalta agreement from the Chinese in his discussions with T.V. Soong: independence for Outer Mongolia, a military zone in Manchuria, and a Russian controlling interest in Chinese Eastern and South Manchurian railways. In return Stalin offered not to support the Chinese communists.
- 12 HS 1/157, SOE general intelligence report China, 10 July 1945.
- 13 FO 371/46251/f4449, Sterndale Bennett minute, 25 July 1945.
- 14 CO 129/591/13, civil affairs agreement, Gater to Cadogan, 28 July 1945.
- 15 FO 371/46251/f4588, Stanley to Eden, 25 July 1945.
- 16 Eden diary, 17 July 1945.
- 17 Eden diary, 20 July 1945. Moran dined with the Edens and Churchill that night: 'They talked until nearly midnight as if nothing had happened. I wondered if I could have behaved with the same quiet dignity immediately after hearing that my [son] John had been killed.' Moran, p. 277, 20 July 1945.
- 18 Eden diary, 25 July 1945.
- 19 Moran, p. 287, 26 July 1945.
- 20 FO 371/46232/f4649, *Ta Kung Pao*, 30 July 1945.
- 21 Gilbert, *Churchill VIII*, p. 116, Attlee to Churchill, 1 August 1945.
- 22 Eden diary, 28 July 1945.
- 23 Moran, p. 288, 2 August 1945.
- 24 Cadogan diary, p. 776, 28 July 1945.
- 25 Gilbert, *Churchill VIII*, p. 114, King George VI to Churchill, 31 July 1945.
- 26 FO 371/46251/f4588, CO enquiries about Terminal, 31 July 1945.
- 27 CO 129/591/13, Paskin minute, 9 August 1945.
- 28 CO 129/591/11, inter-departmental meeting, 29 July 1945.
- 29 CO 129/591/11, meeting of Calvert, SAS, with CO, 3 August 1945.
- 30 CO 129/591/11, inter-departmental meeting, 29 July 1945.
- 31 Cadogan diary, p. 781, 11 August 1945. Australia and China shared the State Department's opposition but were persuaded that Japan would only surrender in an orderly manner subject to Emperor Hirohito's orders.
- 32 Kirby, *The War against Japan, vol. V*, pp. 205–220 *passim*.
- 33 NARA, RG 165, Box 505, CCS 901/1, 11 August 1945.
- 34 NARA, RG 165, Box 505, CCS 901/3, 12 August 1945.
- 35 Kirby, *War against Japan, vol. V*, pp. 283–8.
- 36 CO 129/591/16, Gent to Gater, 4 August 1945.
- 37 CO 129/591/16, FO to Chungking, 11 August 1945.
- 38 F.S.V. Donnison, *British Military Administration in the Far East, 1943–46* (London, 1956), pp. 77–9.
- 39 Kirby, *War against Japan, vol. V*, pp. 145–6.

- 40 NARA, RG 165, Box 505, Telephone conversation Dunn and Lincoln, 15 August 1945.
- 41 CO 129/591/16, Wallinger, Chungking, to FO, 14 August. The Chinese were given British plans for the Hong Kong surrender the same day.
- 42 CO 129/591/16, Cabinet Far Eastern committee meeting, 17 August 1945.
- 43 CO 129/591/16, Hall to Attlee, 10 August 1945.
- 44 CO 129/591/18, COS(45)200, Alan Brooke, 17 August 1945.
- 45 Edwin Ride, *BAAG, Hong Kong Resistance, 1942–1945* (Hong Kong, 1981), p. 287.
- 46 CO 129/591/16, Ride to Cartwright, HQ British troops China, 15 August 1945.
- 47 CO 129/591/16, FO to Chungking, 13 August 1945.
- 48 CO 129/591/16, de Wiart to Cartwright HQ British troops China, 17 August 1945.
- 49 Ride, *BAAG*, p. 288.
- 50 HS 1/329, B/B 131, Kunming to ADI, 17 August 1945.
- 51 FO 371/46251/f5166, Kitson minute, 16 August 1945.
- 52 CO 129/591/18, Attlee to Truman, 18 August 1945.
- 53 FO 800/461, Truman to Attlee, 19 August 1945. The second paragraph of Truman's message stated that Secretary of State, Byrnes, had informed T.V. Soong of the President's decision, adding that 'it did not in any way represent US views regarding the future status of Hong Kong'. The CO and FO agreed that this section should be ignored, just as they had disregarded an earlier American Chiefs of Staff's attempt to distance themselves from British Hong Kong policy.
- 54 CO 129/591/18, 203, Joint Service Mission, Washington DC, to London, 22 August 1945.
- 55 CO 129/591/18, 203, Joint Service Mission, Washington DC, to London, 22 August 1945.
- 56 FO 371/46212/f6055, A.L. Scott minute, 31 August 1945.
- 57 Harry Truman, *Year of Decisions, 1945* (London, 1955), p. 383.
- 58 FO 371/44538/AN2597, political summary Washington DC to London, 27 August 1945.
- 59 NARA, RG 218, Box 87, Hong Kong geographical 1942–45, JCAC 30, 18 June 1945.
- 60 FO 371/46251/f4876, Kitson minute, 14 August 1945. Kitson reiterated this point in 46171/f6104, 30 September 1945.
- 61 CO 129/591/18, 155, Seymour to FO, 24 August 1945.
- 62 Franklin Gimson diary, introduction. Japan's sudden capitulation, however, saved the lives of thousands of Allied POWs who were to be shot on the orders of Tokyo.
- 63 London's message to Gimson dated 13 August, reached him on 23 August. See George Wright-Nooth with Mark Adkin, *Prisoner of the Turnip Heads* (London, 1994) for details of British internment in Stanley camp.
- 64 Gimson diary, introduction.
- 65 CO 129/591/16, Ride to C in C India, 21 August 1945.
- 66 *The Times*, 21 August 1945.
- 67 FO 371/46251/f5066, Churchill parliamentary question, 23 August 1945.
- 68 CO 129/591/18, Seymour to FO, 26 August 1945.

- 69 NARA, RG 59, Hong Kong 1945–49, Winant to Washington DC, 23 August 1945.
- 70 CO 129/591/18, Sterndale Bennett on *Daily Telegraph* report to C.R. Price, COS Secretariat, 23 August 1945.
- 71 CO 129/591/18, FO to Seymour, 28 August 1945.
- 72 CO 129/591/18, Seymour to FO, 26 August 1945.
- 73 CO 129/591/18, Ismay to Gater, CO, 24 August 1945.
- 74 CO 129/591/18, FO to Seymour, 28 August 1945.
- 75 CO 129/591/18, de Wiart to Ismay, on meeting with Chiang Kai-shek on 25–26 August 1945.
- 76 See CO 129/591/18, Gent to Gater, 17 August, and Gent minute, 18 August 1945.
- 77 CO 129/591/18, de Wiart to Ismay, 27 August. Also Seymour to FO, 30 August 1945.
- 78 CO 129/591/18, Seymour to FO after meeting Dr K.C. Wu, 29 August 1945.
- 79 CO 129/591/18, Sterndale Bennett to Seymour, 30 August 1945. Sent following day, and accepted by Chiang Kai-shek. For Cabinet discussion see Gent minute 28 August 1945.
- 80 CO 129/591/18, Sterndale Bennett to Seymour, and reply, 30–31 August 1945.
- 81 Kirby, *The War against Japan*, vol. V, pp. 283–8.
- 82 Gimson diary, introduction.
- 83 The Japanese deny that the boats which left Lamma island were hostile to the British fleet and maintain that their warheads had already been dumped at sea. See Lo Tim Keung and Jason Wordie, *Ruins of War, a Guide to Hong Kong's Battlefields and Wartime Sites* (Hong Kong, 1996), p. 182. The development of the suicide boats was initiated by the Imperial Japanese Navy in April 1944. The boats sent to Hong Kong were intended for use against Allied shipping, should any attempt be made to enter the western harbour of Hong Kong. There were 127 boats called Shinyo (shaking the ocean) with 559 personnel from Japan sent in February 1945.
- 84 CO 129/591/18, Harcourt to Pacific Fleet, 4 September 1945.
- 85 Wright-Nooth, p. 187.
- 86 Kirby, *The War against Japan*, vol. V, pp. 286–7.
- 87 CO 129/591/18, Sterndale Bennett to Chiefs of Staff, 1 September 1945.
- 88 CO 129/591/20, various correspondence between General Hayes and COS, 30 August–9 September 1945.
- 89 CO 129/591/18, 27, Harcourt's war diary (for period 29 August to 16 September 1945) to Secretary of the Admiralty, 6 October 1945.

## Conclusion

- 1 Sir Ralph Furse, *Acuparius, Recollections of a Recruiting Officer* (London, 1962), pp. 298–9.
- 2 Denis Judd, *British Imperial Experience from 1765 to the Present* (London, 1997), p. 321.
- 3 Dutton, pp. 156–7.
- 4 Seagrave, pp. 419–20.



- 5 Leahy, p. 368, 9 February 1945.
- 6 Porter and Stockwell, pp. 30–31.
- 7 Robert Conquest, *Stalin, Breaker of Nations* (London, 1991), p. 262.
- 8 Michael H. Hunt, *Ideology in US Foreign Policy* (London, 1987), p. 38.
- 9 *The Economist*, 9 October 1999, p. 41.
- 10 Clive Ponting, *Churchill* (London, 1994), p. 690.
- 11 Harvey, p. 176, 3 November 1942.
- 12 FO 371/46171/f4917, G.V. Kitson, 5 July 1945.
- 13 Moran, p. 247.
- 14 Sir Ralph Furse, p. 131.
- 15 Lord Rosebery speech, City of London Liberal Club, 5 May 1899, in *Daily News*, 6 May 1899.

## Epilogue

- 1 NSC 5717, 9 August 1957. Access limited on a strict need-to-know basis.
- 2 'The break-up of the Colonial Empires and its implications for US security', 3 September 1948. Michael Warner (ed.), *The CIA under Truman* (Washington DC, 1994).
- 3 FO 371/75788, CBB Heathcote-Smith political summaries, April 1949.
- 4 Welsh, p. 440.
- 5 *Liverpool Post*, 2 December 1948, article: 'War threat to helpless Hong Kong', by Patrick O'Donovan.
- 6 FO371/75839 UK government policy towards Hong Kong 1949.
- 7 CO 537/3702, Paskin minute, 16 June 1948.
- 8 CO 537/3702, Creech Jones minute, 27 June 1948.
- 9 FO371/75872/f6909, Sir N. Brook, Cabinet Office to Denning, referring to Cabinet Paper FE(O)(49)25, 12 May 1949.
- 10 FO371/75871/f6019, F.S. Tomlinson minute to Bevin, 4 May 1949.
- 11 Welsh, p. 438.
- 12 FO371/75872/f7787, Noel Baker, Commonwealth Relations Office to PM, 12 May 1949.
- 13 See Mark Roberti, *The Fall of Hong Kong* (Chichester, 1994).
- 14 Dr Zhisui Li, *The Private Life of Chairman Mao* (London, 1995), p. 270.
- 15 'The cold war in Asia', *Cold War International History Project*, Winter 1995/6, No. 6–7, Washington DC.
- 16 NSC 6007, 11 June 1960.
- 17 Welsh, p. 446.
- 18 NSC 5717, 9 August 1957. Access limited on a strict need-to-know basis.
- 19 NSC 44, 26 July 1948.
- 20 Joint Munitions Allocation Committee to JCS, Aid to China. RG218, Geographic file 1948–50, 7 October 1949.
- 21 Gerald Segal, 'Does China matter?', *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 1999).
- 22 FO 371/75839/f13408, Cabinet conclusion CM(49)54, 29 August 1949.

# Index

- Admiralty *see* Royal Navy
- Allied military strategy in Far East, 135, 139–42
- Amery, Leo (Secretary of State for India), 79
- dislike of Eden, 35, 76–7
  - on 1945 Colonial Development Bill, 115
  - strong views on China and Hong Kong, 52–3, 76–7 (*see note 52*), 81, 154
- Anglo-American relationship 4, 40–60 *passim*, 66–72 *passim*, 79–84 *passim*, 134, 154, 172, 182, 214–15
- Britain, importance to, 67, 212: not incompatible with Empire, 3, 77; US partnership in Far East, crucial, 81, 98, 120, 125, 219
  - Britain, influenced by: China, danger to, 50–1, 61; to acknowledge China's claim to Hong Kong, 45, 62; forced to take China seriously, 49–50, 150–62 *passim*; misinterpret US foreign policy consensus, 58
  - many facets of, 41–3, 164: regional context, 3, 60; personalised nature, 43, 181, 215–16; ultimately a means to an end, 60
  - military strategy in Far East, 125–49, 153: British influence on, 160; US attempts to 'contain' Britain to old colonies, 134–5
  - Soviet threat reinforces necessity for, 182, 188–9
  - stereotypes, 42–3
  - strains, 40, 46, 52, 82–4, 162, 172: over surrender of Hong Kong (1945), 199–211 *passim*  
*see also* British Empire; USA
- Anglo-Sino loan (1942–44), 47, 68–72
- Chinese blackmail, 72
- signed, 72
  - see also* Sino-Anglo-American relations; Sino-American relations
- Anglo-Sino relations, 134–7
- poor state, 47–8, 49–50, 79, 95–6, 205–8: Britain: relations with Chinese communists, 130 (*note 16*); exaggeration of Chinese nationalism, 79; contemplates breakdown of, 96–7; donates military equipment, 166; press encourages inflated view of China, 50; 'realistic China policy', 129: China: Chiang Kai-shek meddles in Indian affairs, 76; attempt to improve relations 145–6, 161–2, 173–4; dispute over surrender of Hong Kong (1945), 201; promise of military offensive to relieve Hong Kong (January 1942), 15, 65
- Ashley Clarke (Foreign Office), 23, 36, 52
- on Hong Kong, 30–1, 79, 93, 111–13; return to China, 78; Eden disagrees with, 96
- Astor, William MP
- Hong Kong: links to China Association, 121; pushes in Parliament (November 1944), 121–2
- Atlantic Charter (1941), 51–2, 56
- Attlee, Clement
- and America, 135
  - as Labour Party leader: compromise candidate, 38; pre-occupied with domestic social reform, 38; 1945 general election held against his advice, 184

- Attlee, Clement – *continued*  
 as Prime Minister, 187, 192, 199:  
 and Hong Kong: not excluded  
 from Mansion House speech,  
 115, 122; reminded of his  
 commitment to by Colonial  
 Secretary, 199; negotiations  
 with Truman, 201; replies to  
 Churchill's parliamentary  
 question on, 205–6  
 questioning of Empire, 38–9, 81–2  
 relations with Churchill, 171, 188,  
 192–3, 205–6: forces changes to  
 Atlantic Charter, 56  
 Australia, 140, 182
- Barnett, Correlli, 26
- Bevin, Ernest (Foreign Secretary to  
 PM Attlee), 22, 205  
 asks for Eden's advice, 193  
 Hong Kong: refuses to negotiate  
 with Chinese, 199; prepared to  
 discuss with friendly and stable  
 China, 221
- Blackburn, Sir Alexander (Foreign  
 Office), 59
- Board of Trade (BOT), 31, 112  
 promotes British Far Eastern trade, 22
- Borneo, 32, 80
- Boxer rebellion, 49, 114
- Britain and  
 Hong Kong *see* Hong Kong  
 imperialism *see* British Empire  
 loss of colonies and world power,  
 107–9  
 military strategy in Far East, 125–49  
*passim*: lack of coordination,  
 108; indecision over, 123, 138,  
 141–2, 148; 'punching above  
 her weight', 136–7; creation of  
 South East Asia Command  
 (SEAC) (mid-1943), 108, 135–6:  
 decided at Quebec conference  
 (1944), 141–2
- Brenan, Sir John (Foreign Office), 23,  
 36, 64  
 Hong Kong, 74–6, 90: not  
 representative of senior  
 opinion, 74
- Brendan Bracken, 33, 171
- British Army Aid Group (BAAG),  
 118–19, 175  
 dispute with SOE over, 175–8,  
 188  
 involvement in plan to recapture  
 Hong Kong, operation  
 TIDINGS, 174–6, 199, 200  
*see also* Ride, Colonel Lindsay
- British Empire  
 and America: reliance on American  
 help, 2–3, 44, 120, 125, 194;  
 resentment of American  
 hypocrisy, 46, 170, 172, 180;  
 treatment of American Negro,  
 173; USA responsible for Far  
 Eastern war, 46; difficulty in  
 presenting British policy to, 84,  
 122  
 complacency: shattered by Japanese  
 invasion, 7, 12, 14; of Hong  
 Kong Governor Sir Mark  
 Young, 11  
 contradictions of, 80  
 decline, 44, 82–4, 150, 188  
 imperial consensus, 16–39 *passim*,  
 24–7, 52–3, 154, 164–5, 214;  
 between Labour and  
 Conservative parties, 55, 103  
 118, 173, 192–3, 205; denied  
 by Churchill *see* Churchill,  
 Empire; education, 25–8, 216;  
 perceived by Americans, 57  
 imperial mentality: anti-business  
 bias, 23, 26, 120; paternalism,  
 76; resilience of, 20, 24–5, 117,  
 203–4, 214, 216; sense of duty,  
 28, 116–17  
 justification for, 44: not  
 fundamentally driven by  
 tangible economic or strategic  
 interest, 18, 23–4, 75, 81–2  
 170–3; an assumed asset, 2  
 origins of, 24–5  
 reticence in justifying, 52, 61–84  
*passim*, 107, 117, 121, 122,  
 178–9  
 self-doubt, 62–4, 65–84 *passim*, 111,  
 148–9

- British Empire – *continued*  
*see also* Anglo-American relationship; Hong Kong
- British general election (1945), 184, 188
- Brooke-Popham, Air Chief Marshal Sir Robert, 10–11
- Buck, Pearl, 50
- Bullitt, William, 83
- Burma, 4  
 campaign ‘a tragic waste’, 142  
 Chinese attempt to claim (1942), 197  
 road, 73, 86  
*see also* Culverin, operation
- Butler, Sir Neville (Foreign Office), 105
- Cabinet, 31–2  
 War Cabinet, 29, 33: Cabinet Far Eastern Committee, 122–4, 165, 183–4: used by CO to promote Hong Kong, 123
- Cadogan, Sir Alexander (Foreign Office), 27, 36, 61, 85, 106, 125, 154, 193  
 Ambassador to China in 1930s, 64  
 dislike of post-war planning, 87  
 influence on Eden over extraterritoriality, 87, 94
- Cairo conference (1943), 150–62  
 British eclipsed, 152  
 influence on, 160  
 Cairo communiqué, 153–4  
 Churchill describes as ‘lengthy, complicated and minor’, 150  
 only meeting between Churchill, Roosevelt and Chiang Kai-shek, 151
- Canada  
 accusation of defeatism, 14  
 troops in Hong Kong, 10–11, 13
- Canton, 20
- Carbonado operation (1945) *see* Wedemeyer; Hong Kong
- Casablanca conference (January 1943), 128
- Chamberlain, Neville, 12
- Chatham House *see* Mount Tremblant conference (1942); Hot Springs conference (1945)
- Chennault, General Claire Lee, 140, 143
- Chiefs of Staff (COS), 31–2, 125  
 and defence of Hong Kong, 8–11  
 favour joint Anglo-American strategy in Pacific, 138  
 poor opinion of Chinese military, 187
- Chiang Kai-shek  
 and America: success at influencing American opinion, 48–9, 126, 130: Madame Chiang Kai-shek, 153, 154, 161, 197–8, 201; growing American awareness of true character, 126, 129
- Cairo conference and coup attempt, 155–7
- China’s Destiny*, 7, 127: ‘written by Hitler or at least Franco’, 100 and Churchill, 89
- and communists, 45, 211, 217: hatred of, 127, 143
- corruption, 128, 143, 160–1, 213: and Allied loans, 69; ‘just a bunch of crooks’, 160
- decline, 155–7, 163: limited world experience, 157, 206; marriage difficulties, 155, 157; military incompetence, 212–13; nature of regime, 126
- and Hong Kong: and 1926 boycott, 76 (see note 52); surrender of Hong Kong (1945), 205–9; fails to comprehend British attitude, 206, 208
- and Indo-China, 159
- and Roosevelt, 89, 127–9, 144–6, 167
- Sian incident (1936), 156
- and Soong, T.V., 144, 155, 156, 189
- and Soviet Union: afraid of, 99, 146–7; border incursions, Sinkiang 1944, 146; ‘sore about terms of Yalta agreement’, 189
- and Stilwell, 144–5, 155
- Chiang Kai-shek, Madame, 3, 49–50  
 charm, 151  
 dislike of Britain, 47–8  
 stress diagnosed by Churchill’s doctor, 155

- China, Nationalist
- civil war: collapse back into, 124, 211, 217; attempt to involve USA, 189, 198
  - claim to Hong Kong: pursued through America, 130–1; during extraterritoriality negotiations (1942–43), 85–6; at Mount Tremblant conference (1942), 103; *see also* Mount Tremblant conference
  - decline of: eclipse of China theatre, 129; military weakness, 45, 142–3, 197; benefit to Britain and Hong Kong, 124, 134; economic weakness, 69–70; spectators at San Francisco conference (1945), 183
  - 'face', 199, 202, 207, 208; *see also* British 'face', 15
  - foreign policy: pursued through America, 130–1, 146, 161, 189, 212; belief that America will not allow communists to win, 189; 'strengthened' by Allied defeats, 50; success, dependent on playing off Allied powers, 147, 212; failure to comprehend British imperial consensus, 192
  - and Japanese, 147
  - and Soviet Union, fear of, 146–8, 185, 197
  - Whampoa military clique (Chiang Kai-shek), 156
  - see also* Anglo-Sino relations; Sino-American relations; Anglo-Sino-American relations; Chiang Kai-shek
- China Association (CA)
- close relationship with CO, 109, 110, 123
  - as lobby group for British Far Eastern trade, 21–2, 90, 101–2, 187
  - at Mount Tremblant conference, 103
  - personnel in Hong Kong Planning Unit, 109
- Sir George Moss, membership of, 116
- see also* Gent, Gerard; Colonial Office; trade
- China, People's Republic (PRC)
- declared (October 1949), 218
  - and Hong Kong: attitude to, 100, 219–20; reach Hong Kong border, 218
  - and Korean war, 217, 219
  - likeness to Chiang Kai-shek regime, 221
  - Taiwan, 220
  - Tiananmen Square, 100
  - trade, 22–3
  - see also* Mao
- China's Destiny* *see* Chiang Kai-shek
- Chinese Communist Party (CCP), 130, 217
- Chou Enlai, 126
  - sympathisers active around Hong Kong during WWII, 194, 209
  - see also* Mao
- Chinese Hong Kong community, 75
- after Japanese surrender (1945), apathy to British rule, 218
  - pre-WWII industrial unrest, 76 (*see* note 52)
- Chungking: Chiang Kai-shek's wartime capital, 47
- Churchill, Sir Winston, as Prime Minister
- Anglo-American relationship: attempt to monopolise, 43; damage to, 170–1, 214–15; contradictions of policy, 54, 138–9
  - and Cairo conference, 150
  - and Chiang Kai-shek, 35, 151
  - and China: dangerous to Anglo-American alliance, 50–1; dismissive of, 50, 54: 'faggot vote' on behalf of America, 35; 'tirade' against, at Potsdam, 191; reaction to Japanese 1944 offensive against, 143
  - and Clement Attlee, 171, 188, 192–3, 205–6
  - and Anthony Eden, 35–6, 168

Churchill, Sir Winston – *continued*

Empire: defence of, 16, 33–4, 53–4, 96, 170–1: *see also* strategic views not incompatible with Anglo-American relationship, 53; imperial consensus, places least trust in, 54; ‘we mean to hold our own’, 101; would never surrender, 170

and Hong Kong: defence of Hong Kong (1941), 10–11; urges greater sacrifice, 13–14; on fall of Hong Kong and Singapore, 62, 63, 137; determination to keep Hong Kong, 53–4; *see also* strategic views: conversation with Americans: Patrick Hurley, 179–81; Roosevelt, 161; Stanley Hornbeck (SD), 132; Mansion House speech, 34, 100–1, 121; in opposition: parliamentary question to PM Attlee, 205–6

personal qualities: faith, 16; inability to listen, 171; egoist, 54, 215

as politician: juggler, 55

and Roosevelt, 58, 152: meeting with for Atlantic Charter (1941), 51–2; shows round Pyramids at Cairo conference (1943), 152; death, a great personal loss, 181

and Stalin, 167

and Oliver Stanley, difficult, 37–8  
strategic views, 136–41: concedes America military control of Far Eastern war, 45; American bases in Pacific, encouragement of, 183; obsession with Culverin operation, 137–42 *passim*; on Malaya, 139; recapture of Singapore, Britain’s priority, 137; Soviet Far Eastern imperialism, encouragement of, 53–4, 168: at Potsdam conference (1945), 188

as war leader, 167: dislike of post-war planning, 87–8

*see also* Hong Kong; British Empire; Eden

CIA, 217

using Hong Kong as espionage base post-WWII, 220

Civil Service *see* Whitehall

Cobden, Richard, 24

Cold War *see* Hong Kong, post-WWII; Soviet Union; Stalin

Colonial Development Bill (1945), 115

Colonial Office (CO)

characteristics: bureaucratic

decision making, 110;

‘Cinderella’ office, 30; viewed

as temporary post by

politicians, 29, 30; position

within Whitehall, enhanced by WWII, 114–15, 120

and Empire, key proponent of, 27–8: crusading service, 27, 216

Foreign Office, relations with:

subservient to FO, 29–31, 111,

191, 218–19; conflict with FO,

29–30, 76 (*see note* 52)

Hong Kong: Foreign Office: efforts to coordinate with, 76–8, 106, 117, 190–2, 207, 218–19; policy difference with, 30–1, 64–5, 76 (*see note* 52), 105, 116;

influence on, 59, 187:

limitations of power, 109,

111–13; post-war policy on,

109–15; SOE, special

relationship with, 32:

sponsorship of Hong Kong

policy in Whitehall, 109–23,

190–2: fear Japanese

withdrawal, 174; suggest use of

BAAG to infiltrate in

emergency, operation Tidings,

174, 176; blocked by General

Wedemeyer, 177–8; special

operation to recapture using

SAS (1945), 194; statistics for:

Blue Book, 22

communists, Chinese, 45, 209, 217

relations with Britain during WWII, 130 (*note* 16)

- Cranborne, Robert Cecil, Lord  
(Colonial Secretary), 36, 74, 76–8  
America's responsibility for Far  
Eastern war, 46  
colonial policy, difficulty of  
consistency, 30  
Hong Kong: bargaining chip, 74;  
possibility of negotiating with  
China, 77–8, 81
- Creech Jones, Arthur  
as Colonial Secretary (1945)  
at 1942 Mont Tremblant  
conference, 103  
at 1945 Hot Springs conference,  
173  
recognises pre-eminence of Foreign  
Office, 218
- Culverin operation (British invasion  
of Sumatra and Malaya), 135–42  
Churchill's obsession with, 137–42  
*passim*  
impossible because of Overlord  
operation, 139
- Currie, Laughlin, 70, 133
- Dalton, Hugh, 27, 33, 37
- Dairen, 161, 167
- Deng Xiaoping, 1
- Denning, Esler (political adviser to  
Mountbatten), 123, 125
- Department of State *see* State  
Department
- Donovan, William (Office of Strategic  
Services, OSS), 143, 147
- Dominions Office, 36, 201
- Dumbarton Oaks conference (1944),  
119, 120
- Dutch, 74, 103, 135, 139, 154, 159,  
175  
*see also* USA; anti-imperialism
- Economist*, 115
- Eden, Sir Anthony (Foreign Secretary  
to PM Churchill), 27  
Anglo-American relationship:  
America: 'hopelessly informed  
of world politics', 52; resentful  
at Britain's increasing  
dependence on, 137, 172
- China, 212: sympathy towards, 35;  
Yalta agreement: 'discreditable',  
35; patience towards, 72;  
extraterritoriality, 85–99 *passim*:  
wish for abolition (1942), 87  
and Churchill, 35–6, 87–8, 137,  
141, 167, 171: shared views on  
Empire, 35  
and Cranborne, friendship, 36  
Far Eastern military strategy, 141:  
must fight without Americans,  
137  
and Foreign Office, 35–6:  
dependence on civil servants,  
36  
general election 1945: heart not in,  
184  
and Hong Kong: defence of (1941),  
11; supports Bevin's stance on  
(1945), 205; at Cairo  
conference (1943), 152; defines  
British policy, 105–6, 113, 154;  
extraterritoriality negotiations,  
87, 93–5: separate issue to, 91,  
96–7; defines British position,  
95–6; ignorance of 'free-port'  
status, 23; *see also* Roosevelt,  
ignorance of Far East affairs  
illness, 184  
and Roosevelt: using China to  
educate American public, 46;  
'business methods almost non-  
existent', 152; vague, 167  
and SOE, 33  
son, 185, 191–2  
and Stalin: dangerous, 167  
and Oliver Stanley, 36–7, 190–2:  
difficult, 37; and Conservative  
Party, 55
- El Alamein, battle of, 34, 100
- Empire *see* British Empire
- extraterritoriality, ('unequal treaties')  
cession of Hong Kong marks  
beginning of, 6: Hainan, 81;  
Shanghai, 86; Weihaiwie, 99
- Chinese desire for abolition, 49:  
Japanese invasion of  
Manchuria, interrupts (1931),  
86

extraterritoriality – *continued*

- 1942–43 negotiations, 7, 85–99:  
 and America: attempt to  
 manipulate vis-à-vis Hong  
 Kong, 88; influence on China,  
 97; and Britain: FO consider  
 abolition (March 1942), 87;  
 missed opportunity, 87;  
 separate from Hong Kong issue,  
 91; contemplate breakdown of  
 negotiations, 97; and China:  
 inclusion of New Territories,  
 86; link extraterritoriality and  
 Hong Kong, 91; accept  
 Seymour compromise, 98–9:  
 treatment of trade, 90–1; 1943  
 agreement, 98–9  
*see also* Hong Kong, future of; Sino-  
 Anglo-American relations
- Fairbank, John King, 6
- First World War, 51, 62
- Foreign Office (FO)  
 and China: importance of China  
 trade downplayed, 22–3, 110:  
*see also* Treasury: China market  
 needed for British exports, 162;  
 urge countering of Chinese  
 propaganda, 50–2; vagueness  
 of American policy towards,  
 166  
 and Hong Kong: supports British  
 ownership, 189; growing  
 defence of Empire, 179–80,  
 187; policy differences with  
 Colonial Office, 65–6, 105, 116  
 future of, 74–84 *passim*, 179, 189,  
 206: prevarication over, 65–6;  
 distrust of Chiang Kai-shek,  
 206–7, 210–11; influenced by  
 Soviet expansionism, 202–3;  
 last attempt to preserve Chiang  
 Kai-shek's 'face', 208–9;  
 connected to British China  
 trade, 210  
 pre-eminent office, 29–31, 193:  
 control of Anglo-American  
 relationship, 112; conflict with  
 CO, 29–30, 76 (*see note* 52);  
 control of Hong Kong policy,  
 111–12, 189; 'principled', 120  
 reactive policy towards, 52, 112,  
 115–16, 117  
 reticence over, 89  
 suggest assessment of  
 economic/strategic worth, 23  
 suspicious of China, 210–11
- France *see* Indo-China
- Gauss, Clarence (American  
 Ambassador to China)  
 advice ignored in Washington, 89,  
 133  
 urges end of support to Chiang Kai-  
 shek, 147
- Gater, Sir George (Colonial Office),  
 38, 74
- Gellman, Irwin, 56
- Germany  
 early defeat of, 59, 62
- Gent, Gerard (Colonial Office), 33,  
 38, 64, 208  
 Hong Kong: and FO: exasperated  
 by, 66; misunderstands, 74;  
 instrumental in pushing policy,  
 110–11, 119; sponsors Hong  
 Kong Planning Unit, 113–14;  
 plans emergency deployment if  
 Japanese withdraw, 174, 176;  
 influence over final surrender  
 with Chiang Kai-shek, 208–9;  
 recognises importance of horse  
 racing and golf, 109
- Gimson, Franklin (Hong Kong  
 Colonial Secretary, 1941), 5,  
 203–5, 209–11  
 anti-business, 26  
 liberation of Hong Kong (1945):  
 'man of the hour', 203–4; seizes  
 control from Japanese, 204;  
 British administration resumed,  
 204; Japanese remain threat, 205,  
 209–10  
 in Stanley prison camp: 203; prevents  
 civilian repatriation, 203  
*see also* Prisoners of War; Hong  
 Kong, surrender; British  
 Empire, imperial mentality



- Gladstone, William, 25
- Grantham, Sir Alexander (Governor Hong Kong, 1947–58)  
 Hong Kong: unimportant to British electorate, 218; hawkish views on defence of, post-WWII, 218; concern at American espionage, 220
- Grasett, Major General, 10–11  
*see also* Canada; Hong Kong, defence of (1939–1941)
- Halifax, Edward Wood, 1st Earl (British Ambassador to America), 27, 94, 164  
 Hong Kong: asks for advice on, 104, 187
- Hall, George (Colonial Secretary to PM Attlee, 1945), 199
- Han Li-wu, 95
- Harcourt, Admiral Sir Cecil, 196, 205, 208, 209–11  
 arrival in Hong Kong harbour (29 August 1945), 5, 209  
 'Chinese incompetence', 211  
 Hong Kong surrender signed, 211
- Harvey, Oliver (Foreign Office), 3
- Hayes, Major General (British military representative to China), 178  
 checks surrender document for Chinese claim to Hong Kong, 211
- Hong Kong  
 and Anglo-American relations: thorn in, 40, 45  
 British defence of (1939–1941), 7–15: Japanese surround (1939), 8; difficulty defending, 8–9; prestige, 9; not a vital interest, 9; Canadian reinforcements sent, 10–11; complacency, 11–12; surreal normality, 12; Japanese attack, 12–14; racial stereotypes, 13; triad threat to Europeans, 13; rejection of 1939 Chinese troop offer, 65  
 British surrender (1941) 12–14, 47, 48: eclipsed by fall of Singapore, 14; recrimination in defeat, 14–15  
 defence of, general: distance, problems of co-ordinating from London, 200, 207; strategic liability, 19–20: required acquiescence of mainland power, 19, 76 (see note 52), 78; Washington Naval Treaty (1922) terms: 'beginning of end' for Hong Kong, 19; lease of Weihaiwie lost, 99; post-WWII considerations, 220–1: joint Anglo-American responsibility for, 217–21 *passim*  
 early history, 5–7, 85: features, 4; cession from Manchu dynasty, 5; importance of British traders, 6, 7, 166; first class colony by 1900, 7; Governor Sir Reginald Stubbs (1922), 19; British territorial acquisition of: Nanking, Treaty of (1842), 5, 17–18; Peking, Treaty of (1860), 7; lease of New Territories (1899), 85  
 future of: inseparable from wider Empire, 2; test case for future of Empire, 4; British retention of: Cairo turning point, 161–2; return to Britain not inevitable, 17, 186; issue treated with circumspection by Britain, 61–84 *passim*, 89; bargaining chip, 75; lease of New Territories too short, 78; Chinese claim, 85–106 *passim*; Eden and Stanley stand firm, early 1943, 105–6; excluded from SEAC command, 109; CO assume return of Britain to, 113; Attlee statement to Parliament (November 1944), 122; Chinese downplay due to Soviet threat, 161–2, 185; Yalta agreement betrays Chinese, 167–8; death of FDR helps Britain, 181; Soviet threat

Hong Kong – *continued*

- strengthens Anglo-American relationship, 182; ambivalence of British in China towards retention, 178, 198, 207–9
- post-WWII: devastation, 5; looted, 218; decline in importance, 218; Korean War, 219; engulfed by Cold War, 219–20; and Britain: ‘domino’ theory advanced to include, 219; garrison reinforced, 219; compared to West Berlin, 219; and America: support of British sovereignty, 217; no longer colonial issue but national defence, 217; and China: attitude to, 100, 219–20; claimed by Chiang Kai-shek and Mao, 218; PRC troops reach Hong Kong border, 218
- and surrender (1945): and America: confusion over surrender ‘order no.1’, 201; guilt at letting down Chiang Kai-shek, 201–2; attempt to extricate themselves from, 202; and Britain: fears American seizure on behalf of Chinese, 200; naval task force (Shield) readied at Subic Bay, Philippines, 196; speed of essence, to present fait accompli to Chiang Kai-shek, 200–1; arrives Hong Kong, 209; *see also* Harcourt, Admiral; emergency operation to seize, 199; not discussed at Potsdam, 193–4 and Chiang Kai-shek: British inform of their return to Hong Kong, 198; disputes British rights; Hong Kong in China theatre, 198, 205–9: upset, 208; distrusted by FO, 206–7, 210–11; forced to agree to British surrender terms, 208–9 and Japanese: remain a threat, 205, 209–10; suicide boats, 210; Chinese community exact revenge on, 210; POWs, British: Gimson sent message to administer colony, 196, 200; resume administration of Hong Kong, 204 surrender, 198–211: finally signed (16 September 1945), 211
- trade: economics of, 20–4, 165; ‘ill-gotten gains’, 26; and opium trade, 21 (note 12); importance began after WWII, 21
- wartime: communist guerrillas surround colony, 194, 209
- see also* New Territories
- Hong Kong Planning Unit (HKPU), 113–15
  - breadth of subjects considered, 114: attachment to Carbonado operation 174; militarised, 196
  - CO idea for re-establishing British rule, 109
  - see also* Wedemeyer; Colonial Office; MacDougall; Hong Kong
- Hopkins, Harry (adviser to President Roosevelt)
  - at Cairo, 154, 169
  - illness, 59, 149
  - on imperialism, 170
- Hornbeck, Stanley (State Department), 59, 70, 71
  - as architect of America’s China policy, 132
  - raises Hong Kong issue with Churchill, 131–3
- Hot Springs conference (1945), 172
  - ambivalent feeling of FO towards, 173
- Hull, Cordell (Secretary of State to President Roosevelt)
  - admiration for China, 71: removed from decision making, 55
  - attempts to prise Britain from Hong Kong, 88–9
  - forces removal of deputy, Sumner Welles, 56
  - illness, 59

- Hurley, General Patrick, 158, 169–70, 175, 179–81, 202  
 attempt to lobby Truman over Hong Kong, 202  
 threatens British lend-lease aid in Far East, 180
- ICHIGO operation *see* Japan
- India, 42, 135
- Indo-China, 10, 139, 177  
 FDR offers to Chiang Kai-shek, 159
- Indomitable*, HMS *see* Harcourt
- Ismay, General Hastings, 1st Baron, 137, 151, 207
- Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR) *see* Mount Tremblant conference (1942); Hot Springs conference (1945)
- Japan  
 atrocities, 8: in Hong Kong, 13, 210  
 and Hong Kong: withdrawal from, worries British, 174, 186–7, 190, 194; Chinese community exact revenge on, 210; remain a threat to Allied forces (1945), 205, 209–10: suicide boats, 210  
 Ichigo operation (April 1944), 134, 142–4, 166–7, 174  
 imperialism, 44–5  
 Sino-Japanese war (1932/37), 8, 45  
 surrender in Pacific War, 195  
*see also* Hong Kong, British defence of (1939–1941); Hong Kong, surrender of (1945)
- Jardine Matheson, 21
- Jebb, Gladwyn, 64
- Kai Tak airport, 10, 12, 209  
 ‘under water’ according to Japanese (1945), 205
- Keswick, John, 48  
 work for SOE, 48  
*see also* Jardine Matheson
- King, Admiral, 140
- Kipling, Rudyard, 24, 116
- Koo, Dr Wellington
- Korean War (1950–53) *see* Hong Kong, post-WWII
- Kowloon *see* New Territories
- ‘kowtow’ and tribute system, 6
- Kung family, 48,  
 Dr Kung, Chinese Finance Minister, 155, 156
- Kuomintang (KMT) *see* China, Nationalist
- Kurile islands, 167
- Law, Richard MP (Foreign Office under-secretary of state), 36, 47, 82–4  
 Hong Kong, ‘not worth putting a fight up for’, 105
- Leahy, Admiral, 57, 128–9, 153, 163, 168, 195
- lend-lease (American), and  
 Britain, 45, 180  
 China, 131, 133, 144, 155, 197–8
- Macau or Macao (Portugal), 20, 220
- MacArthur, General Douglas, 138, 140, 143, 201
- MacDougall, David (head of Hong Kong Planning Unit), 102–3  
 as head of Hong Kong Planning Unit (September 1944), 114:  
 difficulty recruiting personnel, 188; trip to China, 178–9, 188  
 and Hong Kong issue, 65, 103–4  
 at Mount Tremblant conference, 102–3  
 tries to park car during Japanese attack, 13
- Malaya, 4, 10, 80, 137, 139
- Maltby, Major-General C.M., 14–15  
*see also* Hong Kong, defence of (1939–1941)
- Mansion House speech (1942) *see* Churchill
- Mao Tse-tung  
 fighting Chiang Kai-shek, 45: meets Sir Horace Seymour (August 1945), 130 (note 16); attitude to Hong Kong, 219–20  
*see also* China, People’s Republic (PRC); Chinese Communist Party; Chiang Kai-shek; communists, Chinese

- Miners, Norman, 110  
 missionaries, 50  
 Morgenthau, Henry (Secretary of Treasury to President Roosevelt), 69, 70, 160  
 Moss, Sir George, 116–17, 212  
   *see also* Colonial Office; China Association; British Empire, imperial mentality  
 Mount Tremblant conference, Quebec (1942), 66–7, 102–4  
   and Hong Kong: Britain heavily criticised, 66–7, 103  
   *see also* Hot Springs conference (1945)  
 Mountbatten of Burma, Louis, 1st Earl (Supreme Commander of SEAC)  
   argument with Chiang Kai-shek over Indo-China theatre, 177  
   and Stilwell, 153  
 Nanking, Treaty of (1842) *see* Hong Kong, early history  
 National Party of China (Kuomintang) *see* China, Nationalist  
 Niemeyer, Sir Otto, 69, 70  
   *see also* Anglo-Sino loan (1942–43); trade  
 New Territories  
   communist guerrillas occupy during WWII, 194, 209  
   lease, 78, 85: CO desire extension of, 179 (note 54)  
   necessity for viability of Hong Kong, 92  
   proposed return to China (post-WWI), 80  
   *see also* Hong Kong  
 Nimitz, Admiral, 140, 143  
 Opium War 1842  
   Li Peng on, 100: Opium Day (1944), 146  
 Office of Strategic Services (OSS), 156, 177  
 Office of War Information (OWI), 129  
 Overlord (operation), 59, 118, 135, 139, 150–1, 153, 160  
 Oxbridge (Oxford and Cambridge Universities), 25–7, 57, 216  
   *see also* British Empire, education  
 Pacific Relations Conference, 47 *see* Mount Tremblant conference (1942); Hot Springs conference (1945)  
 Palmerston, Henry Temple, Viscount: ‘will never make a mart’, 21  
 Pearl Harbour, 12  
 Peking, Convention of (1860) *see* Hong Kong, early history  
 Peterson, Sir Maurice (Foreign Office), 18, 33, 36, 40, 64  
   strong views on Hong Kong, 76, 78–9: related to American acquisitions in Pacific, 118  
 Port Arthur, 163, 167  
 Porter and Stockwell  
   British reoccupation of colonies reflex action, 39  
   tempering of American anti-colonialism, 213  
 Portugal *see* Macao  
 Potsdam conference (1945), 188–92  
   British Government in limbo due to general election, 188  
   Hong Kong: British attempt to discuss with America, 191–4  
   rise of Soviet Union overshadows, 188  
 Pottinger, Sir Henry, 17–18, 21  
 Pratt, Sir John (Foreign Office): sympathy for Chinese over Hong Kong, 104  
*Prince of Wales*, HMS, 10  
 Prisoners of War (POWs), British: in Hong Kong, 200, 203–4  
   links with SOE, 32  
 public schools, 25–7  
   *see also* British Empire, imperial mentality  
*Repulse*, HMS, 10  
 Ride, Colonel Lindsay (commander BAAG), 14, 119, 205

- Ride, Colonel Lindsay – *continued*  
 refuses to use BAAG to recapture Hong Kong, 176; reverses policy, 199  
 threatens to use BAAG to seize Hong Kong (August 1945), 200
- Roosevelt, President Franklin D. (FDR)  
 and Chiang Kai-shek, 127–8, 143–4: promised amphibious Burma operation, 153; reneges, 160; threatens Chiang Kai-shek, 144–5, 167; secret meeting at Cairo, 158–60  
 and Chiang Kai-shek, Madame: blood-sucking vamp, 158  
 and China: association with China policy, 157–8; seeks to project as ‘Global Policeman’, 134; treats as public relations exercise, 157; offers Chinese territory to Stalin, 161  
 and Churchill, 58, 152, 177: meeting with for Atlantic Charter (1942), 51–2; Mansion House speech ill-advised, 172  
 and Congress, 43, 55: China issue used to attack FDR, 55  
 death, 163–4, 181  
 and Empire: dislike of, 40, 46; ‘too much Eton and Oxford’, 57  
 and foreign affairs: dictatorship of, 55–6, 57–8, 83; failure of foreign policy, 164; ignorance of Far East affairs, 157–8; vagueness, 57–8, 166  
 and Hong Kong: will return to China, 150, 157–9, 164: once Churchill removed, 148; sacrificed to American-Soviet relations, 168, 172, 213  
 illness, 56, 59, 149, 167: impairs judgement at Yalta, 168–9  
 and Indo-China, 179: ‘milked’ by French, 139  
 and Stalin: need to retain friendship, 147, 161, 167; encourages Soviet expansionism, 213  
 and General Stillwell, 159  
 strategic views, 213–14  
 ‘table talk’, 159, 172  
 as war leader, 83, 152, 181–2  
*see also* USA; Hong Kong, future of; Stilwell; Sino-American relations; Churchill
- Royal Institute of International Affairs (RIIA)  
*see also* Mount Tremblant conference (1942); Hot Springs conference (1945)
- Royal Navy, 9, 20, 28, 140  
 at battle of Okinawa (1945), 142
- Russia *see* Soviet Union
- San Francisco conference (1945), 164, 182–3  
 anti-colonial debate, 182–3  
 Chinese spectators at, 183  
 inauguration of UN, 182
- Scott, A.L. (Foreign Office), 50, 65
- SEAC *see* South East Asia Command
- Seagrave, Sterling, 48, 127
- Segal, Gerald, 221
- Selborne, Lord (head of SOE), 27, 33, 116–17, 176–7
- Seymour, Sir Horace (British Ambassador to China)  
 holds Chinese regime in poor regard, 50: sympathy for China, 72  
 and Hong Kong: melancholy view on British claim to, 91, 148, 179, 207; ‘if British forces could only recapture Hong Kong . . .’, 186; role in negotiating surrender (1945), 198–211 *passim*  
 views regarding Chinese communists, 130 (note 16)
- Shanghai, 6, 21, 86
- Singapore, 1, 4, 10, 15, 19, 47, 62, 63
- Sino-American relations  
 characteristics: American desire for one-sided relationship, 128: Chinese betrayed by FDR at Yalta, 163–70, 189, 213 and Tehran, 161; Roosevelt treats as public relations exercise, 157;

- Sino-American relations – *continued*  
 temporary marriage of  
 misconceptions, 212; war  
 against imperialism, 117: desire  
 to exclude British influence  
 from China, 48, 175, 177–8  
 deterioration, 126, 189, 198: benefit  
 to Britain, 125  
 emotional, 47–8: American guilt  
 over letting Chiang Kai-shek  
 down, 201–2; rejection of  
 American friendship never  
 truly accepted, 221; *see also*  
 USA, anti-colonialism; USA,  
 China  
 financial loan signed (1942), 71:  
 Chinese ask for further loan  
 (1944), 160
- Sino-Anglo-American relations, 2, 44–7  
 Chinese asks for financial loan  
 (1942), 68–72: sets precedent  
 for relations, 47  
 presents opportunity to neutralise  
 Japanese racial propaganda,  
 62–3
- Slim, General F.M., 134
- Soong dynasty, 48
- Soong, T.V., 156, 185, 189  
 and Chiang Kai-shek: potential  
 successor to, 144; estranged  
 from, 155  
 corruption of 133, 213: ‘richest  
 man in world’, 131  
 and Hong Kong, 91, 130  
 hopes for WWII, 217
- South East Asia Command (SEAC),  
 108–9, 135–7, 177  
 political importance to Britain, 108,  
 135: Hong Kong excluded from  
 SEAC theatre, 109  
 supports America’s China strategy,  
 136: as ‘American sop to  
 British’, 108  
*see also* Hong Kong Planning Unit
- Soviet Union, 146–8  
 expansion and Far East ambitions,  
 167–8, 213  
 shapes British Hong Kong policy,  
 202–3
- Special Operations Executive (SOE),  
 32, 107–8, 186, 200  
 amateurism, 32  
 and BAAG: 32, 118–19, 199;  
 dispute with BAAG, 174–8  
*passim*  
 determination to retain Hong  
 Kong, 32, 164, 165, 200:  
 special relationship with CO,  
 32, 116–17; touchstone for  
 Britain in Far East, 165  
 warn of Chinese nationalism, 79
- Special Air Service (SAS), 194
- Stanley, Oliver (Colonial Secretary to  
 PM Churchill, 1942–45)  
 acknowledges weakness of CO in  
 Whitehall, 111  
 and Churchill: relations difficult  
 with, 37–8  
 and Eden: relations difficult with,  
 37  
 and Empire: consistent supporter  
 of, 38; financial sacrifice  
 required to be colonial power,  
 24, 27–8; conversation with  
 Truman on (January 1945),  
 182  
 and Hong Kong: promotes Britain’s  
 return to, 36–8, 110–11, 174,  
 177: final letter to Eden asking  
 him to raise issue at Potsdam,  
 190–2; agreement with Eden to  
 stand firm on, 106; argument  
 with Roosevelt, 172; sensitivity  
 over, 182–3  
 relations with OF: belief that FO  
 put Anglo-American relations  
 before colonies, 68  
 retrospective view of, 216  
*see also* Colonial Office; Churchill;  
 Hong Kong, future of; Gent,  
 Gerard
- Stalin, Joseph, 160, 183, 188–9  
 clear view of war aims, 167  
 meeting with Mao (1949), 220
- State Department (SD), 83, 130–3,  
 198  
 attacked by Patrick Hurley for  
 communist sympathies, 170

- State Department (SD) – *continued*  
 and Hong Kong, 97, 130–1: pursue anti-imperialism under Truman, 182  
 importance of China to, 169, 198: China White Paper (1949), 221  
 internal politics, 56, 59, 132–3  
 sidelined by FDR, 158  
 Sterndale Bennett (Foreign Office), 210–11  
 Stettinius, Edward R (Secretary of State to Roosevelt, 1944–45), 55, 149  
 Churchill admonishes, 169–70  
 Stilwell, General Joseph (American commander in China), 126, 135–6, 140, 145  
 on Chinese Nationalist Army, 134  
 Deputy Supreme Commander of SEAC, 135–6: on Britain, Hong Kong and Roosevelt, 145; at Cairo conference, 153; unimpressed by Roosevelt, 159  
 dismissal, 123, 145  
 military strategy of, 126, 136  
 Swire & son, 21
- Tehran conference (1943), 150, 160–2  
 Thorne, Christopher, 136  
 Tientsin, 21  
*Time* magazine, 92, 126
- trade  
 British trade with China, 162, 165–6, 210: inflated importance of Sino-British trade, 101–2  
 free trade and democracy, 42  
 Treasury, USA *see* Morgenthau  
 Treasury, Britain, 31  
 ‘notoriously penny pinching’, 24  
 Truman, President Harry, 181–2  
 accepts surrender of Japan, 195  
 and Hong Kong: on surrender of, 201–2; more relaxed attitude towards British possession of, 202  
 informs Chiang Kai-shek of Yalta agreement, 189  
 inherits contradictions of Rooseveltian foreign policy, 164  
 issue of Soviet Union predominates, 181  
 recognises hypocrisy of American anti-colonialism, 181  
 trusteeship, 119–20, 164, 170  
 and Attlee, 38  
 Tsang, Steve, 113
- unequal treaties *see* extraterritoriality  
 United Nations (UN), 67, 119, 131, 164  
 embargo on Hong Kong during Korean War, 219  
 inaugurated at San Francisco conference (1945), 182–3  
 United States of America (USA)  
 anti-colonialism: traditional, 45–6, 170; finds true voice in *see* Sino-American relations; tempering of anti-colonialism, 181, 213: onset of Cold War, 217; hypocrisy of, 170, 172, 181, 202, 213–14; *see also* British Empire  
 and China: eclipse of China  
 theatre, 126, 129, 143–4, 213; collapse of China policy, 144, 163, 217, 220–1; criticism of, 160, 166, 189: critical views of, rejected, 71, 89, 128, 144, 132–3; and financial aid: generosity excites Chinese contempt, 126; aid cut to Chiang Kai-shek regime, 198; China forced to drive on right-hand side, 189; personalised nature of US support, 144; romantic notions of, 46–7, 48–9, 103, 126, 169; extraterritoriality *see* extraterritoriality  
 foreign affairs: ‘children playing with bricks’, 83; lack of consensus over, 57–8: jealous of British, 57; desire for specific war aims, 57, 60, 62;

- United States of America – *continued*  
 dictatorship of by Roosevelt *see*  
 Roosevelt; moral and military  
 basis, 164; ‘universalism’, 42  
 imperial presidency of FDR, 55, 57,  
 181–2  
 ‘manifest destiny’, 170, 213–14; *see*  
*also* British ‘manifest destiny’,  
 16  
 military strategy in Pacific, 45,  
 125–49 *passim*: disagreement  
 over, 58; able to pursue several  
 parallel strategies, 136  
 obsession with communism, 170  
 and Vietnam, 60, 132; *see also*  
 Indo-China  
*see also* Anglo-American relations;  
 Sino-American relations; British  
 Empire; Roosevelt  
 United States Navy *see* King, Admiral;  
 Leahy, Admiral
- Vietnam, 60, 132  
*see also* Indo-China
- Washington Naval Conference  
 (1921–22), 19  
*see also* Hong Kong, defence of,  
 general
- Wedemeyer, General Albert  
 (American commander in China),  
 42–3, 123, 181,  
 Carbonado operation (1945), 174,  
 190, 197–8, 203: joint Sino-  
 American operation to capture  
 Canton/Hong Kong, 174; halted  
 by Japanese surrender, 195  
 concern over vague American war  
 aims, 60  
 favours abolition of Empire, 123  
 undermines British Hong Kong  
 policy, 174–8
- Wellington Koo (Chinese Ambassador  
 to London), 65, 69, 98
- Wells, Sumner (Under-Secretary of  
 State to Roosevelt), 55, 130  
 influence with Roosevelt, 56  
 Welsh, Frank, 21
- White, Teddy (American journalist in  
 China), 127, 130
- Whitehall  
 comparison with Washington, 43,  
 55–6, 83  
 enables consistent foreign policy,  
 54, 185, 193  
 system of government, 28–33, 43
- Wiat, General Carton de (PM’s  
 personal representative to  
 China), 178, 200, 207–8  
 supports Chiang Kai-shek because  
 anti-communist, 208  
 symbol of Churchill’s indifference  
 to China, 54
- Wood, Sir Kingsley (Chancellor of the  
 Exchequer), 102  
 Anglo-Sino loan (1942), 70  
 death, 52  
*see also* Treasury, Britain
- Wu, Dr, 95
- Yalta conference (1945), 163–9  
 and Roosevelt: betrays Chinese,  
 167; believes he can charm  
 Stalin, 167; agreement kept  
 secret from British, 168; kept  
 secret from Roosevelt’s own  
 Secretary of State, 169; Chiang  
 Kai-shek only informed by  
 Truman in July 1945, 189