

● PSF China: Lattimore

With the compliments of

Dr. J. V. Baumgardner

PSF China:
Lattimore

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

THE WALTER HINES PAGE SCHOOL
OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

April 25, 1941.

OWEN LATTIMORE

Personal Details

Born, Washington, D. C., July 29, 1900. Both parents at that time high school teachers in Washington.

1901. Taken by parents to China, where father, David Lattimore, appointed to teach French and English at Nanyang University, Shanghai. This was at the beginning of the Chinese Government's post-Boxer program of higher education under government auspices. (Original family connection with China: father's elder sister had at that time already been for some years a Presbyterian missionary.)

1905. Father appointed to Chili Higher Provincial Normal School at Paotingfu in North China.

1913. Up to this time education entirely by parents. In 1913 taken to Switzerland, and until summer of 1914 studied at Collège Classique Cantonale, Lausanne, Switzerland.

1914. Taken to England for summer holiday. War broke out. Left in England when remainder of family returned to China.

1915. Entered St. Bee's School, Cumberland, England. Remained there until 1919. Studies mainly classical.

1919. Returned to China via Suez (thus not travelling through U.S.A.)

1919-1920. Joined the British firm of Arnhold and Co. at Tientsin; later transferred to Shanghai. Worked first in import office (British piece goods); then on insurance.

1921. Sub-editor of weekly edition of British-owned Peking and Tientsin Times.

1921. Father, David Lattimore, at that time Professor at Peiyang University, Tientsin, and the senior foreigner in the Chinese Government's educational service, retired from China and appointed to chair first in Far Eastern relations and then in History at Dartmouth College.

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1922-25. Returned to firm of Arnhold and Co. Worked chiefly on insurance, but also intermittently concerned with such export products as wool, straw braid, peanuts. Became firm's expert in business in interior, handling problems of transport, taxation, "squeeze," etc.

1925. Became firm's acting agent at Peking, handling various business including negotiations concerning an international loan made before 1914.

1926. Resigned from Arnhold and Co. in order to travel in interior. Married Eleanor Holgate, daughter of Professor Thomas F. Holgate of Northwestern University. Idea of travel in interior originated from contacts with Chinese caravan firms carrying wool and cotton by camel caravan from Chinese Turkistan through Mongolia to China. First intention was to compare ancient and modern caravan routes. From this grew 15 years of work on "hinterland" connection between China and Inner Asia and Siberia. Started on a journey through Mongolia and Chinese Turkistan to India. Journey begun in 1926; reached Chinese Turkistan by camel caravan. Book: The Desert Road to Turkestan, London, 1928; Boston, 1929.

1927. Most of this year spent in travelling widely in Chinese Turkistan, where joined by wife who made an independent journey from China through Siberia to Chinese Turkistan. Toward end of year crossed over from Chinese Turkistan to India. Book: High Tartary, Boston, 1930. Wife's book: Turkestan Reunion, New York, 1934.

1928. Returned to America. This was first visit to America since leaving at age of less than one year. Applied to Social Science Research Council for a fellowship to travel and study in Manchuria, with the idea of rounding out knowledge of the complete frontier territory - Manchuria, Mongolia, Chinese Turkistan - between China and Russia. Owing to lack of American academic training, sent first by Social Science Research Council to work for a few months at the Division of Anthropology, Harvard. This was not intended as an attempt to become an anthropologist in a hurry; the purpose was to acquire some idea of American graduate research methods.

1929-30. Spent nearly a year, under Social Science Research Council Fellowship, in Manchuria. Travelled widely, especially in western and northern Manchuria. Books: Manchuria, Cradle of Conflict, New York, 1932; The Mongols of Manchuria, New York, 1934.

1930-31. Year spent in Peiping (Peking), under a fellowship from the Harvard-Yenching Institute. Study of Chinese historical material. Also began the study of the Mongol language, written and spoken. From

4/25/41.

this there came a growing intimacy with several of the leaders of the Inner Mongolian Nationalist Movement, marked by considerable mutual confidence. These connections and friendships kept up until 1937. A by-product of this Mongol relationship was a Japanese tendency to quote me as "pro-Japanese" because I condemned many points in Chinese Frontier policy which the Mongols condemned. Similarly Russian writers criticized me as an "imperial apologist" because the Japanese quoted me. Since then, of course, the Japanese have resented my criticism of them. I do not know how much this may have mollified the Russians.

1931-32. Awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship. Continued residence in Peiping. Also began to travel in Inner Mongolia, living completely in Mongol style and associating only with Mongols.

1932-33. Renewal of Guggenheim Fellowship. Program same as in previous year. In 1933 accompanied two newspaper men "covering" the 10-day Japanese invasion and conquest of the province of Jehol. Did all the interpreting and arrangement of travel.

1933. Returned to America. Attended conference of Institute of Pacific Relations at Banff, Canada. This was first connection with I.P.R., leading to appointment as editor of PACIFIC AFFAIRS, of which I am still editor. Winter of 1933-34 spent in New York. Awarded gold medal of Philadelphia Geographical Society.

1934-35-36. Returned to China, with headquarters at Peiping, but continuing to travel, especially in Inner Mongolia. During this period, in addition to editing PACIFIC AFFAIRS, worked on gathering and analyzing the material for a major geographical and historical study of the Great Wall Frontier of China.

1936. Returned to America for conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations. On this occasion travelled via Siberia and Russia for the first time. Spent about 10 days in Moscow and Leningrad. Also visited Holland and England.

1936-37. Returned to China via England and Suez. Spent 12 weeks in London, in order to learn Russian with a "crammer." On reaching China, travelled overland from Canton via Hankow to Peiping. In June, 1937 accompanied two American journalists, as interpreter and "travel expert" on a visit to the Chinese Communist Headquarters at Yen-an, in Shensi. Returned to Peiping just before the outbreak of war in 1937. Remained in China until the end of 1937, and then returned to America.

1938. While continuing as editor of PACIFIC AFFAIRS, was appointed first Lecturer and then Director and Lecturer at the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations at Johns Hopkins. Have given courses on "Current Political Problems of the Orient," and "China and Japan: Political Parties and National Policies."

4/25/41.

1940. Book: Inner Asian Frontiers of China, New York, American Geographical Society, 1940.

1941. Book: Mongol Journeys, New York, 1941.

Publications: In addition to books which have been listed above in order of publication, have published many articles and monographic studies. The more important articles have appeared in Geographical Journal and Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society (London); Geographical Review; Asia; Atlantic Monthly, etc. For political articles, see especially the files of PACIFIC AFFAIRS from 1934 on. As I have been the responsible editor of this quarterly during the whole of this period, the character of the quarterly as a whole is also pertinent. See also the files of Amerasia from 1937 to date. I have from the beginning been listed as one of the editorial board of this magazine, but this was in order to show that as the editor of PACIFIC AFFAIRS I did not regard it as an unwelcome competitor, and I have never been active in editorial policy or the selection of authors, though I have contributed several articles.

Political record and affiliations: Have never been a member of any political party or voted in any election, national or state.

For the last two years this is accounted for primarily by the tedious red tape of becoming a voter in Maryland.

REF. China, Lattimore

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 6, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Re: Political Adviser to Chiang Kai-shek.

I am attaching (a) a memorandum which I showed you last week, (b) a letter from Isaiah Bowman and (c) a letter from Admiral Yarnell.

I should like to renew my suggestion that you give Owen Lattimore an appointment to discuss the Chinese situation before taking any action. If you should decide to recommend him it is most important that he be thought to possess your confidence.



Lauchlin Currie

China, Lattimore

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 29, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Re: Political Adviser to Chiang Kai-shek.

Ever since our discussion on this matter I have been looking for the right man, as the position is of enormous importance, particularly at the present juncture. I think I have found the man in Owen Lattimore, the Director of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations of Johns Hopkins University. Following is a brief list of Lattimore's qualifications:

1. Speaks Chinese fluently in addition to various Mongol dialects.
2. Spent many years in China and is regarded as the foremost authority on Mongolia and is the author of many books on the Asian lands bordering China.
3. Has been editor of Pacific Affairs since 1933.
4. As Director of the Page School of Johns Hopkins has given courses on "Current Political Problems of the Orient" and "China and Japan: Political Parties and National Policies."
5. Has not been associated with any group or faction in China and has not met any of the prominent Chinese leaders. He has taken a consistently liberal position and has come in for some criticism from both the extreme left and extreme right.
6. He has a pleasing manner and has a deep admiration and affection for China and the Chinese.
7. His political attitudes are New Dealish and in a long discussion with him I found no points of difference in attitudes and appraisals of current Chinese problems and personalities. He would exert his influence in the direction of democracy, the united front and resistance to Japan. He would be, I am convinced, an extremely able and persuasive protagonist in China of your broad political attitudes.

I should like to suggest that before taking any action, you have a talk with him on current Chinese problems. If you should decide to recommend him, the fact of your having consulted him previously would add enormously to his prestige in China.


Lauchlin Currie

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

May 2, 1941

Dear Mr. Currie:

I cannot say whether Owen Lattimore would be willing to serve in the manner that you suggest in your letter of April 30. Presumably a good deal would depend on the nature of the appointment and the opportunity for effective consultation with the General.

So far as Lattimore's qualifications are concerned, I can think of no better choice. He is more thoroughly informed about China than any other American that I know. He speaks the language fluently. He has a pleasant personality with sufficient independence of spirit and thought so that he can differ with people and yet remain amiable. Everything that I know about him in either the foreground or the background is in his favor.

During the past year he has been working with a dozen of us on a committee of which I am chairman and which is studying international problems in various parts of the world. All of the members of my committee are enthusiastic over Lattimore's presentations. They are well informed, documented, cogent and clearly presented. I would recommend him heartily and without reserve.

Sincerely yours,

Isiah Bowman

Lauchlin Currie, Esquire
Administrative Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

H. E. YARNELL
REAR ADMIRAL, U. S. N. (RETIRED)
62 AYRAULT STREET, NEWPORT, R. I.

May 2, 1944.

Dear Mr. Currie, -

In reply to your note of April 30th, I feel that Owen Lattimore would be an excellent man for the position.

He has lived in China for a number of years, speaks the language, and is a noted authority on the past and present history of that country.

He is young (41 years), active, of pleasing personality, and has a great liking for the Chinese people.

I have known him personally for about five years, first in Peking, and later in Baltimore.

With kindest regards,

Very sincerely,

H. E. Yarnell

Department of State

BUREAU |
DIVISION |

FE

ENCLOSURE

TO

Letter drafted 5/21/41

ADDRESSED TO

The President



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

May 21, 1941

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Jul

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Reference your confidential memorandum of May 19.

The Chinese Government has in the past appointed various Americans to serve it as political advisers. Most of such advisers have been persons who were outstanding in the field of political science. Owen Lattimore is well and pleasantly known to a number of my associates and I perceive no objection to the Chinese Government's, should that Government so desire, appointing Mr. Lattimore to the position mentioned. It is assumed that Mr. Lattimore would of course in any such position function as a private American citizen and not as an official of this Government.

Your file is returned herewith.

Enclosures:

1. Mr. Currie's memorandum,
April 29.
2. From Isaiah Bowman,
May 2.
3. From Admiral Yarnell,
May 2.

China Folder
Number 1

"L.C.
O.K. Hoakood
7-11-41"

May 21, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Reference your confidential memorandum of May 19.

The Chinese Government has in the past appointed various Americans to serve it as political advisers. Most of such advisers have been persons who were outstanding in the field of political science. Owen Lattimore is well and pleasantly known to a number of my associates and I perceive no objection to the Chinese Government's, should that Government so desire, appointing Mr. Lattimore to the position mentioned. It is assumed that Mr. Lattimore would of course in any such position function as a private American citizen and not as an official of this Government.

Your file is returned herewith.

Cordell Hall

Enclosures:

1. Mr. Currie's memorandum, April 29.
2. From Isaiah Bowman, May 2.
3. From Admiral Yarnell, May 2.

Original of this memorandum together with attached papers, returned to Hon. Sandhler Currie, 5/20/41
Hms

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 19, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE
SECRETARY OF STATE:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

What do you think of having
the Chinese Government appoint Owen
Lattimore as political adviser? It
sounds good to me.

F.D.R.

Memorandum from Lauchlin Currie, 5/6/41 to the
President, in re Political Adviser to Chiang
Kai-shek, attached to which is memorandum which
Mr. Currie sent to the President 4/29/41, suggesting
Owen Lattimore for the position, letter from
Isaiah Bowman, 5/2/41 to Mr. Currie, letter from
H. E. Yarnell, Rear Admiral, U.S.N. (Retired),
5/2/41 to Mr. Currie, and personal history sheet
of Owen Lattimore.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*file
personal*

June 5, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Re: Owen Lattimore.

I am returning herewith your file, to which I have added the cable sent by the State Department to General Chiang and his reply.

I may add that T. V. Soong saw Owen Lattimore on June 3 and concluded the arrangements. I understand that Lattimore is to leave by clipper on the 24th.

Lauchlin Currie
Lauchlin Currie

PST China: Lattimore

RS

Chungking via N. R.

Dated June 1, 1941

Rec'd 3:45 a.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

219, June 1, 10 P.M.

Department's 108, May 29, 6 p.m.

FOLLOWING FOR CURRIE FROM GENERAL CHIANG KAI SHEK:

"Your message of 29 May received. Generalissimo thanks President for suggesting Owen Lattimore as political adviser and is wiring T. V. Soong consult you regarding terms of contract for Dr. Lattimore tour."

GAUSS

RR

TELEGRAM SENT

RS

May 29, 1941

Noon

AMEMBASSY,

CHUNGKING VIA N. R.

108

Please communicate the following from Currie to General Chiang Kai-shek.

QUOTE. Dear General Chiang: The President has been pleased to give careful consideration to your request for assistance in securing a political adviser and now suggests for consideration Owen Lattimore, Director of the Page School of International Relations of Johns Hopkins University, as a person admirably equipped for the post. Should you care to act upon this suggestion it is assumed that you will do so through your Embassy here. It would be expected that Dr. Lattimore would serve as a private citizen and not in any way as a representative of the United States Government. An early response will be appreciated, as Dr. Lattimore is scheduled to give a course of lectures starting June 9. Currie. UNQUOTE.

HULL
(SKH)

FE:MMH:MBW

FE

TELEGRAM

PSF China;
Lattimore

June 11

The White House

Washington

26WU. RA. 10-

TD. Ruxton, Maryland, June 6, 1941

General Edwin M. Watson.

This is to confirm appointment Wednesday June 11th

12:50 p.m.

Owen Lattimore.

PSF China
Lattimore

June 7, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR LAUCHLIN CURRIE:

The President suggests this reply be delayed - that arrangements be made for Mr. Lattimore to come in and see him on Monday: then send the cable that the President does know him.

C. K. CLAUNCH

GENERAL WATSON

P3F China; Lattimore

June 11 [1941?]

- 5
5. You told Lauchlin Currie that you might want to see Owen Lattimore, head of the Walter Hines Page School of Diplomacy of Johns Hopkins. Would you like to have him come in today or Saturday morning?

Next week

Currie will come too
D. R.

P.S.F. China
Lattimore

**THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON**

June 20, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Re: Announcement of Lattimore's appointment.

According to T. V. Soong, the Generalissimo is holding off any announcement in the hope that an announcement will come from the White House. In the meantime, the news is getting around and Lattimore's departure on the 8th is coming closer. I am wondering, therefore, whether you would care to authorize me to suggest to Soong that he issue the attached statement. The important words, of course, are "on the nomination of President Roosevelt". This means a great deal both to the Chinese and to Lattimore's prestige and ability to get things done. Otherwise, Lattimore will start with an initial handicap arising from the suspicion that his relationship with you is remote.

Lauchlin Currie

Lauchlin Currie

L.C.
OK
JWR

PSF China;
Lattimore

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES:

Memorandum for the President from Hon. Lauchlin Currie,
6/20/41, enclosing a draft of a statement to be issued by
T. V. Soong, in re the nomination of President Roosevelt and
appointment by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek of Mr. Owen
Lattimore as his personal political advisor for a period of
six months, on which is notation "L.C. O.K. FDR", sent to
Mr. Currie, 6/23/41.

x seen
x PP 2907

hm

It is announced from Chungking that on the nomination of President Roosevelt Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek has appointed Mr. Owen Lattimore his personal political advisor, for a period of six months. Mr. Lattimore will leave for China immediately.

Mr. Lattimore, who has been Director of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations at the Johns Hopkins University since 1938, and editor of the quarterly Pacific Affairs since 1934, has not previously held any political post. As a political commentator, his reputation has been based on his long residence in China, his wide travels, and his deep knowledge of Chinese life and sympathy for Chinese aspirations. He is the author of a number of standard works of scholarship and travel and is an internationally recognized authority for Manchuria & Mongolia. In commenting on China's four years of war for national liberation he has especially emphasized the view that China is not merely the protege of the democracies, but herself a major champion of democracy, because she has been fighting, against heavier odds than any other country, to create a new independent democracy of her own. Mr. Lattimore's appointment is viewed at Chungking as a major token of the steadily increasing understanding between Chinese and Americans.

C
O
P
Y

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 23, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR LAUCHLIN CURRIE:

This is too strong. Will
you redraft the second paragraph and
let me have it when you bring Lattimore
in to see me tomorrow.

F. D. R.

Memorandum from Mr. Currie, 6/21/41 to
the President, ^{with} attached draft of a personal
letter from the President to the Generalissimo
Chiang Kai-shek, for Lattimore to bear.
(Owen Lattimore). It is a letter of
introduction.

#

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x 117176

June 23, 1941.

My dear Generalissimo:

I take great pleasure in introducing to you Mr. Owen Lattimore. I have the highest opinion of his capabilities and I know that he is intimate with and in complete accord with my basic political attitudes. I trust that you will find his advice helpful. I fully appreciate, as does he, that while serving as your political adviser he will be working solely in China's interests and that his complete loyalty will be to you.

It has taken some time to work up a comprehensive and detailed lease-lend aid program for China and to fit it in with our own and the British programs. The Chinese program is now taking shape, however, and you can count upon steadily increasing shipments of the major items of your requirements. In the meantime I am hopeful that the various measures already taken by our Governments will result in greatly increased carrying capacity on the Burma Road.

Mrs. Roosevelt joins me in extending to you and Madame Chiang our heartiest wishes for your personal health and prosperity.

Yours sincerely,

(GDR)

LC: em

His Excellency,
Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek,
President, Executive Yuan,
Chungking, China.

CABLE TO LAUCHLIN CURRIE FROM MADAME CHIANG KAI-SHEK

CHUNGKING, July 22, 1941.

FOLLOWING IS FROM GENERALISSIMO TO THE PRESIDENT
"DR. LATTIMORE YESTERDAY PRESENTED LETTER OF INTRODUCTION
CONTENTS OF WHICH IS MUCH APPRECIATED. RECEIVED VERY
FAVORABLE IMPRESSION OF DR. LATTIMORE DURING INTERVIEW.
OWING TO RAINY SEASON AND REORGANIZATION, TRAFFIC ON
BURMA ROAD WILL NOT APPRECIABLY INCREASE UNTIL OCTOBER,
BUT UNREMITTING EFFORTS CONTINUING."
CHENNAULT PLANS START OPERATIONS IN KUNMING BY OCTOBER
FIFTEENTH. MEANWHILE HOPES TO ENFORCE COMBAT TRAINING
IN BURMA IF LOCAL AUTHORITIES CONSENT. WILL YOU PLEASE
TRY EXPEDITE BOMBING PLANES SO NECESSARY IN COUNTER
OFFENSIVE. YOUR LETTER SENT THROUGH DR. LATTIMORE
RECEIVED. WARM THANKS FOR YOUR EFFORTS IN CHINA'S
BEHALF.

*File
Private
Chiang Kai-shek
Lattimore-41*

PSF China: Lattimore

China 1941

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

July 25, 1941.

J. W.
Yes - send
for Currie -
work out
J. W.

My dear Mr. President:

I am sending you for your consideration a tele-
gram which I have received today from Gauss, our new
Ambassador in Chungking.

The messages to which he refers in his telegram
are messages addressed by Mr. Currie to Owen Lattimore
and to Madame Chiang Kai-shek.

I personally feel that Ambassador Gauss is justi-
fied in his complaint and, owing to the trying condi-
tions which exist in Chungking and the great difficulties
inherent in his mission at this time, I do not feel it
wise to keep our Ambassador uninformed of important
messages of the kind to which he refers.

Will you let me know what your decision may be?
If you agree with my own recommendation I will be glad
to talk personally with Lauchlin Currie and explain the
situation to him so that he may understand why the

The President,
The White House.

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124.936

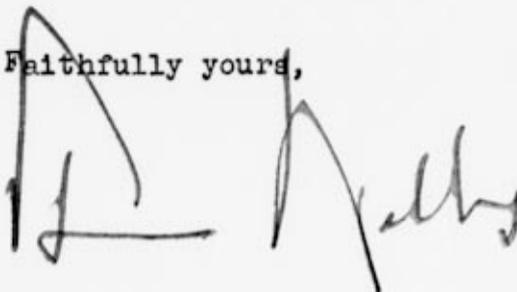
124.936/369

CB

Department is asking that messages which he sends to officials in Chungking pass through the hands of our own Ambassador.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "A. H. Kelly". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the typed phrase "Faithfully yours,".

Enc.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

July 30, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

There is enclosed for your information a copy of a note of July 29, 1941 from the Chinese Ambassador transmitting a telegraphic message of July 27 addressed to you by General Chiang Kai-shek. As General Chiang's telegram is in the nature of a reply to your letter of June 23 delivered to him by Dr. Owen Lattimore, no acknowledgment would appear necessary.

In acknowledging the note from the Chinese Ambassador I am informing the Ambassador that General Chiang's message has been conveyed to you.

Enclosure:

From Chinese Ambassador, July 29,
with enclosure.

Handwritten signature

PSF China; Lattimore

*File
Personnel*

Y:FE:FRE)

CHINESE EMBASSY
WASHINGTON

July 29, 1941

My dear Mr. Secretary:

I have just received a telegraphic message from Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek which he desires to be conveyed to the President. I shall be grateful if you will be so good as to transmit it to its high destination.

I wish to take this opportunity to express to you the deep gratification felt by my Government and people over the statement which you made on July 24th in regard to Japanese aggression in Indo-China and over the measures which the United States Government has taken for the freezing control of Chinese and Japanese assets.

I am, my dear Mr. Secretary,

Very sincerely yours,

HU SHIH

Enclosure:

Telegram as above.

Honorable Sumner Welles,

Acting Secretary of State

TELEGRAM TO
THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
FROM GENERALISSIMO CHIANG KAI-SHEK
CHUNGKING, JULY 27, 1941.

I have read with great pleasure your letter of June twenty-third which was delivered to me by Dr. Owen Lattimore upon his arrival in Chungking. I am happy to have so capable a man as my political adviser, especially in view of the fact that he is in complete accord with your basic political attitude. I have had no hesitation in placing deep confidence in him, and I can assure you that his advice will receive my most careful consideration.

Your lend-lease program for China which is being carried out under your orders is highly appreciated by Chinese Government and people. With regard to the Burma Road, everything possible has been done to increase its capacity, but all important works of improvement can only be undertaken after the rainy season, which begins in June and ends in October. It is my humble opinion that this international route to the sea is of vital importance to China's war of resistance, and should therefore be improved and kept open at any cost. I am confident that, with adequate assistance from America, China will be able to frustrate the Japanese plan for dominating the Pacific, and in common with all democratic countries to vindicate our common cause against international banditry and lawlessness.

Mrs. Chiang

Mrs. Chiang joins me in sending you and Mrs. Roosevelt our cordial greetings and best wishes for success of the great and noble work you have undertaken in bringing about a better and happier world order.

CHIANG KAI-SHEK

PSF

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Lattin

file

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

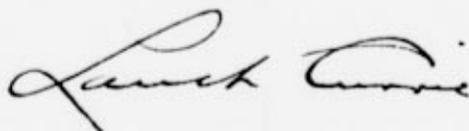
November 21, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Re: Owen Lattimore.

On November 14 I received a cable from Owen Lattimore stating that he was coming home for three months' leave, starting January 15. Today I received a cable reading as follows: "In order return before spring developments, Generalissimo suggested I make trip now, returning end January. Please change reservation to clipper nearest December 1 Hongkong. Ask wife get ready."

This may be an indication that Chiang Kai-shek is not taking the Yunnan threat as seriously as he did.



Lauchlin Currie

PS F China: Lattimore

*China folder
file
Personal 1-41*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL

November 21, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Here is an excerpt from a personal letter from China. Please read and return in person. Do not let the Career Service people see it, as it would only hurt the writer.

F. D. R.

*Threatly -
CH*

China Folder

1-41

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

C [REDACTED]

November 21, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Here is an excerpt from a personal letter from China. Please read and return in person. Do not let the Career Service people see it, as it would only hurt the writer.

F. D. R.

Re Ambassador Gauss.

Excerpt from a Personal Letter

October 15, 1941

.... Here is something for you very much under the hat, but which you may find useful to pass on if the occasion arises. We have a misfire here as an Ambassador. I'm going to speak very frankly about this for even though it be heresy I think it affects the interests of the U.S.A.

I've known Mr. Gauss for years..... He made a reputation in Shanghai for standing up against the Japs. Opposition is his long suit. He is as stubborn as a mule and his German ancestry accentuates it. He would have made a swell corporation or criminal lawyer. But despite his 30 odd years in China, he has never lived among them, does not understand them, and conceals very poorly his dislike of them. They sense this just as a dog or horses senses it in a human. He resents it if they invite him out (and has refused several dinners) but also resents it if they don't invite him.

Just today, Vincent (1st Secretary, who lives with us) and I have expended all of our tact trying to get him to accept an invitation to the Foreign Minister's two nights hence. He refused because he was invited alone and thinks some of his staff should have been invited. Mainly he dislikes crossing the river at night and being with them.

More than this, however, he is anti-British and anti-lease lend. He thinks the British will bamboozle us in the end and that we ought to arm ourselves first and then crack the whip. Could we really do that in the present crisis? I don't think so and never have. I wrote on September 1, 1939, that the sooner we got into this war with both feet the sooner it would be over and the longer we stay out the worse it will become.

I think this combination of being anti-Chinese and anti-British at this time is bad medicine. We want to encourage them all we can, in our own selfish best interests. Trying to keep the Chinese heads up until we can really get help to them has been my major endeavor. It is going to be tough going under the new chief.

... No good can come of being hostile and suspicious and we may get fooled, but I believe if we do our part we can achieve a position which will be the best possible approach to a healthy and permanent peace when this war is over.

Published in
Pearl Harbor
Hearings

PART 20 PAGE\$ 4473

Published, also, in Foreign Relations of the U.S., 1941,
Vol. IV, the Far East, page 652.

file personal

Lauchlin Currie.

*China: Folder
Lattimore*

Chungking, November 25, 1941.

After discussing with the Generalissimo the Chinese Ambassador's conference with the Secretary of State, I feel you should urgently advise the President of the Generalissimo's very strong reaction. I have never seen him really agitated before. Loosening of economic pressure or unfreezing would dangerously increase Japan's military advantage in China. A relaxation of American pressure while Japan has its forces in China would dismay the Chinese. Any "Modus Vivendi" now arrived at with China would be disastrous to Chinese belief in America and analogous to the closing of the Burma Road, which permanently destroyed British prestige. Japan and Chinese defeatists would instantly exploit the resulting disillusionment and urge oriental solidarity against occidental treachery. It is doubtful whether either past assistance or increasing aid could compensate for the feeling of being deserted at this hour. The Generalissimo has deep confidence in the President's fidelity to his consistent policy but I must warn you that even the Generalissimo questions his ability to hold the situation together if the Chinese national trust in America is undermined by reports of Japan's escaping military defeat by diplomatic victory.

Lattimore.

Declassified per letter of Jack B. Minor,
Acting Director, Office of Security, Depart-
ment of State to Mr. Paul Fairbank, Director,
Security Division, General Services Adminis-
tration, Washington, D.C., March 20, 1957.

HL 4/8/57

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FBI China: Lattimore
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 12, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. LAUCHLIN CURRIE

I suggest you take this
up with General Marshall.

F. D. R,

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 11, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

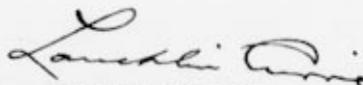
Re: Attached cable from Owen Lattimore.

I have already passed this in to the State Department.

As you probably know, General Brett is proceeding immediately to China and I am assembling for General Arnold all the material in my office bearing upon the feasibility of China as a base against Japan.

I am still greatly worried about Burma and this worry has not been lessened by Lattimore's remark that "China cannot move against Annam because a proper liaison with the British is lacking."

Yesterday a formation of Japanese planes flew over Toungoo, the Volunteer Air Corps base in Burma. Chennault sent six fighters up to engage them, but they retired.


Lauchlin Currie

CABLE TO LAUGHLIN CURRIE FROM OWEN LATTIMORE

Chungking, December 11, 1941.

After seeing the American, British, and Soviet military representatives, the Generalissimo is convinced of the absolute necessity of coordinating the various Pacific fronts. He emphasizes the importance of promptness. For instance, China cannot move against Annam because a proper liaison with the British is lacking. There are indications here that the Soviet attitude is improving and would be satisfactory once general coordination could be effected. The Generalissimo proposes a military pact for mutual aid between all democracies or A B C D if the Soviet delays joining. He also proposes inter-allied Pacific military commission to be located in Chungking, which is strategically central, to be headed by an American, since only American leadership can bring all the countries into line and coordinate inter-allied staffs in Malay Peninsula, Philippine Islands, Dutch Indies, etc. This commission should coordinate all strategy and control priorities and movements of supplies. The foregoing proposals are most urgent since they are the only way to nullify Japan's advantage of a central position and its ability to strike separately at encircling democracies; also because prestige is of utmost importance, and the setbacks of the first days will badly damage this prestige unless allied action creates the impression of efficient teamwork.

REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED

~~SECRET~~

*Generalissimo
P.F. China letters*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 16, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Re: Letters from Chiang Kai-shek
and Dr. Kung.

I should like to suggest that you defer replying to both these letters until the return to China of Lattimore and Fox. This would give them both "face" and help them in their work. If you approve I shall hold the letters and prepare drafts of replies for you shortly before they leave.



Lauchlin Currie



C
O
P
Y

*Original of this memorandum returned
to Mr. Currie as per President's notation
2/17/42
hm*

**THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON**

February 16, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Re: Letters from Chiang Kai-shek
and Dr. Kung.

I should like to suggest that you defer replying to both these letters until the return to China of Lattimore and Fox. This would give them both "face" and help them in their work. If you approve I shall hold the letters and prepare drafts of replies for you shortly before they leave.

(Signed) LAUCH CURRIE

Lauchlin Currie

"O.K.
F.D.R."

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 16, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. LAUCHLIN CURRIE

Do you think I should
answer this now or wait until
Lattimore goes back?

F. D. R.

Letter which the President received from Chiang Kai-shek, Chungking, Szechuan, 1/12/42, to the President, in re Mr. Lattimore' appt. as his political adviser.

PSF China, Lattimore

HEADQUARTERS OF THE GENERALISSIMO
CHINA

Chungking, Szechuan
12 January, 1942

Dear Mr. President,

I am happy to have the opportunity afforded by Mr. Lattimore's return to America on a short visit, to send you a word of greeting, and to thank you for recommending him as my political adviser.

Mr. Lattimore has fully measured up to our expectations and has entirely justified your choice. You unerringly detected the right man to select to act as a counsellor at a time when decisions which will affect the whole world for generations to come are in the balance. He has not only a wide knowledge of our language, history and geography, he has in addition an invaluable understanding of our contemporary political affairs. His absolute integrity is manifest in everything that he does or says, and I never have the slightest doubt that any suggestion that he may make is based upon a genuine desire to assist China to the utmost of his power.

The various Missions that you have sent to China are doing valuable work. They, and the visits of various members of your Government, have greatly helped to bring America closer to us. Personal contacts necessarily tend to promote closer and more understanding relationship and friendship. You may be assured that all the American Missions are going about their duties with a zeal that promises permanently useful results.

Since the Japanese attacks on Pearl Harbor, the Philippines and Hongkong, the Pacific problem has become more acute. It is fortunate that under your wise and steadfast leadership, the future outcome of our concerted

struggle against treachery and barbarity is assured. I assure you that I shall do my utmost to help bring about a world order based upon justice tempered with mercy.

Mr. Lattimore will personally convey to you my views on some important matters upon which I have not touched above. If there are messages you wish to send me, I should appreciate you entrusting them to Mr. Lattimore to be conveyed to me upon his return to China.

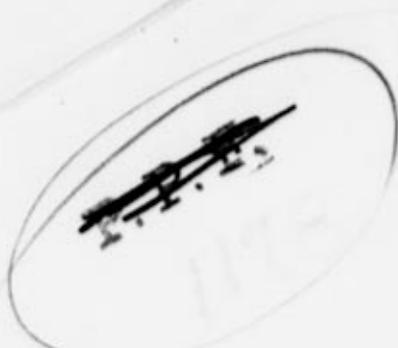
Madame Chiang joins me in sending best wishes to you and Mrs. Roosevelt.

Yours sincerely,

正 中 蔣

(Chiang Kai-shek)

President Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 16, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. LAUHLIN CURRIE

Will you be good enough
to prepare a reply for my signature
to Dr. Kung?

F. D. R.

x21
Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury,
2/12/42 to the President, enclosing letter
which Mr. A. Manuel Fox was asked to transmit
to the President from Dr. H. H. Kung. Dr.
Kung's letter is dated 1/14/42, to the President,
and is message of personal greetings.

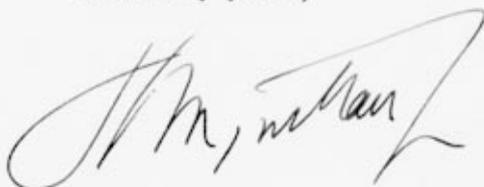
THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON

February 12, 1942.

My dear Mr. President:

On his return to this country, Mr. A. Manuel Fox brought a letter which Dr. H. H. Kung asked to have transmitted to you. I am very glad to do this on his behalf, and I am enclosing the letter as I received it.

Faithfully yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'J. M. [unclear]', written in a cursive style.

The President,

The White House.

Enclosure.

國民政府行政院
THE EXECUTIVE YUAN
NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, CHINA.

PS F China;
Lattimore

Chungking, January 14, 1942.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.,
U. S. A.

Dear Mr. President,

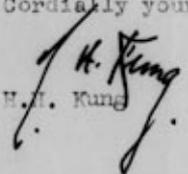
I welcome the opportunity to send you personal greetings from Chungking through the kind offices of Mr. Fox.

The developments of the last few years have amply if tragically vindicated your foresight. That which you so often and eloquently repeated is now evident to all. No single member of the comity of nations is safe when aggressor nations are allowed to choose their victims one by one.

We in China realize how much you have done to support our just cause in the past. It is, therefore, with redoubled confidence that we look forward to the future. For a while dark times may lie ahead, but the ultimate defeat of the enemies of humanity is certain, thanks in no small measure to your inspiring statesmanship and leadership under which America will save herself by her endeavor and the world by her example. While the outcome of the war will be to a considerable extent determined by American energy and resources, we are fully assured that the outcome of the peace will be guided by your sense of fair play and justice and that the New Deal you have given to America will be the model for the coming world settlement.

I sincerely hope that you are in the best of health. Please accept my kindest personal wishes and regards,

Cordially yours,


H. H. Kung

PSF Chris. Lattin June 24

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

8-6-42
etc.

Currie

and

Mr. Owen Fattimore

220-11

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 30, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE ^{x20}

To speak to me about on
Tuesday.

F. D. R.

Enclosures

x3719

x4467

Memorandum for the President from Hon.
Lauchlin Currie, 8/25/41, enclosing a cable
from ^{Currie} Lattimore, reading "Believe it would
have excellent effect if President would
appoint you participate Moscow discussions
going there via Chungking in order to
coordinate aid to China and Soviet."

x150-11

PS F China, ~~Italy~~
Lattimore

September 16, 1942.

Dear Generalissimo:

Mr. Lattimore's return to China for a brief visit before taking up other important duties here affords me an opportunity of answering your letter of August 6th.

I was, needless to say, very much heartened by the report Dr. Currie brought back of his conversations with you. It is always comforting, at a time like this, to be reassured of the steadfastness of one's allies. I am particularly pleased that you and Dr. Currie were apparently able to talk so freely and frankly. I should have been distressed if, for example, you had continued to believe that our strategy was simply to mark time in the East until Hitler was first defeated in the West.

I wish it were possible to meet your urgent needs more fully and more promptly. They will, I assure you, be met as fully and as promptly as the technical difficulties allow. In the meantime, however, despite our rapidly accelerating production, we do not seem able to overtake the ever growing demands of our Allies and of our own troops. The shipping situation, moreover, remains acute. Both of these situations will improve but at the present time we have far less shipping available than last year. For the time being, therefore, we dare not undertake to do more than build up the American air force in China and India and build up the capacity of the air transport line, so that we will be able not only to support the operation of our air force in China but will also be able to

contribute to the continued operation of your arsenals. Progress is being made in these matters. The question of dispatching American troops has so many ramifications and encounters such difficulties at the moment that it requires more study. In the meantime I am hopeful that it will prove possible to equip more Chinese troops in India.

Dr. Currie has suggested to me other things that might be done to make the cooperation between our countries more fruitful, and which might further the cause of the United Nations in general. Some of these are rather difficult to work out at the moment. Others, however, appear feasible. I have been turning various possibilities over in my mind and hope to bring about certain changes which will further our common objectives.

I join Mrs. Roosevelt in renewing our warm invitation to Madame Chiang to visit America and the White House. I am sure we could afford her ample protection from the excessive demands of the public.

With renewed expressions of my own concern for your continued health, I am

Yours sincerely,

Franklin D. Roosevelt

His Excellency,
Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek,
Chungking, China.

~~(FDR)~~

LC:em

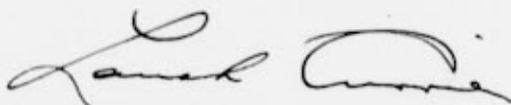
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 16, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Re: Letters to the Generalissimo
and Dr. Kung.

The attached draft of a letter to the Generalissimo has been read and approved by Secretary Hull. I have drafted another one for Mrs. Roosevelt renewing your invitation to Madame Chiang to visit America and the White House and assuring her along the lines you suggested that after a short visit at the White House she would be justified in keeping her public and social engagements to a minimum.



Lauchlin Currie

September 16, 1947.

Dear Dr. Kung:

Again you have placed me deeply in your debt for the rare gift of tea of the new crop. For years and years my family has been the recipient of exquisite tea from China. This, unfortunately, was cut off a couple of years ago and we had just about exhausted our stock. Your gift, therefore, was most timely.

I have been following with sympathy and close attention your skillful and determined efforts to maintain the soundness of your finances, while increasing production in every way. Although superficially American and Chinese financial and economic problems appear to have little in common, actually they are both concerned with the basic problems of increasing production and financing the war, of securing a more equitable distribution of non-war production, and of securing an adequate and just distribution of the burden of taxation.

Yours sincerely,

His Excellency,
Dr. H. H. Kung,
Ministry of Finance,
Chungking, China.

(FDR)

LC:em



HEADQUARTERS OF THE GENERALISSIMO
CHINA

President Franklin D. Roosevelt

HEADQUARTERS OF THE GENERALISSIMO
CHINA

Chungking, Szechuan
6 August, 1942

Dear Mr. President,

I have read with the closest attention your letter of July 4th which was delivered to me by Dr. Currie. I am glad of the opportunity of resuming the pleasant and useful talks I had with him last year, and to have, through him, a full exchange of views with you. I wish to thank you for sending him as your representative.

Now that Dr. Currie has re-visited China and acquainted himself with the latest developments and situations arising out of the geographical changes made since last December, I feel certain that with his astute insight and intelligent understanding he will be able to take back to you a true and grave picture of the problems now confronting the United Nations in the Far East. I have found in Dr. Currie a rare character which combines integrity of purpose, wide sympathy and persuasive tact.

In my talks with him I have emphasized the importance of strategy in the winning of the war, and I have requested him to convey to you verbally my ideas on this as well as on the many other related subjects which we discussed.

Although we are separated by the vast expanse of the Pacific, I am encouraged by the fact that, in the midst of your strenuous duties and heavy responsibilities, you are bearing in mind the importance of the China Theater of War. I am moved indeed by your deep concern and anxiety for China of which Dr. Currie told me.

Madame Chiang joins me in wishing you and Mrs. Roosevelt the best of health.

Yours sincerely,

正 中 蔣

Chiang Kai-shek

President Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

(328)

hm

*PSF China; folder
Lattimore 1-42*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 14, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. LAUGHLIN CURRIE

Will you and Dr. Lattimore
prepare reply for my signature?

F. D. R.

Enclosure

Letter from H. H. Kung, Ministry of Finance,
National Government, Chungking, China, 11/11/42,
to the President, advising that the President's
letter of 9/16 was handed to him by Dr. Lattimore.
Expresses the hope that the ideals which
President Wilson failed to achieve after the
last World War will be brought to fruition
under the President's great leadership.

December 18, 1945.

1178

Dear Mr. Kung:

In your letter of November 11th which Mr. Lattimore brought back with him on his return from Chungking, I am much encouraged by the bold and far-sighted views that you take of the way in which we must deal with the opportunities arising out of our coming victory in this war. Here in America we have clear indications that the overwhelming majority of our people are determined to find a way to a peace that will be both just and enduring and welcome every manifestation of like-mindedness among the peoples of the United Nations.

PP76677
394
PP7170

We are well aware that in spite of the encouragement of recent victories in the Mediterranean, in Europe, and in the Pacific, the Axis powers are still possessed of the power to put up a stubborn resistance. We shall test them by the strength not merely of the United Nations but by coordinating that strength and coordinating the timing of the blows that we strike in the widely separated theaters of war.

x 4725

My wife has told me a great deal about her conversations with Madame Chiang and the friendship that has rapidly formed between them and I look forward with the keenest anticipation to the time when Madame Chiang's health has been completely restored and she will be able to spend some time with us here at the White House.

PP71308
x PPT 2

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

His Excellency, #
Dr. H. H. Kung,
Minister of Finance,
Chungking, China.

(FDR)

LCMOL:cm

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