

file
personal PSF: Willkie
Willkie folder

October 22, 1942.

Dear Wendell:-

I enclose a confidential memorandum to me from Sumner Welles in regard to the Persian Mission matter. I think we are proceeding along the right track, and I am glad you mentioned it to me.

Always sincerely,

Honorable Wendell L. Willkie,
15 Broad Street,
New York City,
New York.

PSF: Willkie folder
file 4-42
Personal

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 15, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

Please speak to me in regard to Mr. Wendell Willkie's suggestion that the Persian Prime Minister would be made very happy if we could send four or five high ranking officers to Iran to train their Army.

F. D. R.

PSF: Willkie

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

October 20, 1942

My dear Mr. President:

In your memorandum of October 15 you ask me to speak to you with regard to Mr. Willkie's suggestion that the Persian Prime Minister would be made very happy if you could send four or five high ranking officers to Iran to train their army.

Last May the Department of State informed the War Department that the type of mission suggested would be desirable and recommended favorable action. Since that time there has been a good deal of discussion of the matter with the War Department which has taken the position that it would be difficult to spare the necessary personnel. Finally, last month however, the War Department informed the Department of State that it was designating Major General Clarence S. Ridley as adviser to the Iranian Army and that General Ridley would be instructed to make a thorough survey of the situation and report to the War Department his views as to the advisability of despatching an American military mission. General Ridley

The President,

The White House.

is now en route to Tehran.

You may be interested to know that in addition to the mission of General Ridley, American assistance to Iran has taken the form of several non-military missions in different fields. The most important are:

(a) A mission headed by Colonel Schwarzkopf, to reorganize and administer the Rural Police.

(b) An American expert to reorganize and administer the National City Police.

(c) An American Food and Supply Adviser.

(d) A financial mission, which would probably be headed by Dr. Arthur Millspaugh, who was Administrator General of Finances of Iran from 1922 to 1927.

(e) A permanent Director General of Public Health who is yet to be selected.

I believe that the work of these various missions will be of great benefit since the officers and experts we have sent to Iran will not only be able to exert considerable personal influence upon Iranian opinion in a sense favorable to the general cause of the United Nations, but they will also be able to assist in the rehabilitation of the country which would seem to be a fundamental requisite for the ultimate conversion of Iran into an active and willing partner on our side. I feel now more than ever that a United States Army mission to work with the Iranian Army could in fact play an extremely important

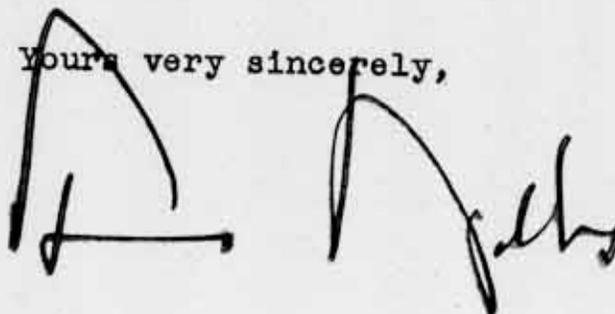
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role in this work.

I shall see that you are informed as soon as General
Ridley's recommendations are received.

Believe me

Yours very sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "A. N. Kelly". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial "A" and a long horizontal stroke.

Return to Major Murphy PSF: Willkie

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October 23, 1942

INTERVIEW WITH MAJOR R. T. KIGHT, A. C.

A. S. N. C-22566

file Personal

(NOTE: Major Kight was Mr. Willkie's Pilot)

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Current Intelligence Sec. A-2

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First of all -- to summarize the general trip, I'd like to speak of the general national feeling thrown at you every place you went.

The trip was twenty-eight-thousand-four-hundred and some odd miles and we were seven weeks in making it. We made a great number of stops on the trip. We stopped in the Middle East for around nine days, and Kuibyshev and Moscow for ten days and in Chengtu and Chungking for seven days. We travelled rather fast in the first part of the trip until we reached the Middle East and then the stops were fairly long until we got to Chengtu. From Chengtu out we travelled fairly fast, on fairly east legs.

The general summary of opinion of the feeling of the world towards us was one of very high esteem. I can't understand why they think so much of us -- because in so many ways I think we have more or less let them down from time to

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time. Nevertheless, there is a strong feeling for us; even though a certain deterioration of that feeling is going on simply because they expect a lot of us and we are not giving as much as they think we should. That was evident in Iraq, Iran, Russia, and China.

To give an instance of this deterioration: I was fortunate enough to be invited to the Kremlin dinner, where some thirty or forty polite toasts were made. One American officer, Major Grant Mason (who came along with us as observer for the Transport Command) got up and made a toast to aviation.

Well, Mr. Stalin got up and said, when translated, something like this: "Since we are going to talk about aviation, I have a thing or two I'd like to say. The United States sends us their old P-40's, and Great Britain her old Hurricanes. Then we do get a large number of P-59's and Great Britain stole 124 of them. We don't think that is the proper way to cooperate in winning this war."

The British Ambassador, Mr. Kerr, got up and more or less rebutted the statement. He said that although the British did have them, they were all in the war to the same end, and that they were being used for that purpose.

Stalin immediately bounced right back, "You still

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have the 124 P-39's." That is the way he felt about it.
(Editor's Note: Shortly after this incident, the British transferred these P-39's to the 8th Air Force.)

I visited through the Stormovik aircraft factory at Kuibyshev -- which was moved from Moscow. It is a remarkable feat. The Russians moved it up there in the dead of winter. They built the structure, moved the machinery in and started producing. Not only did they tear the plant down and move it, but they changed the type of plane they were building -- from pursuits to Stormovik ground-strafters. To keep the factory workers' hands from freezing, they built bonfires right in the aisles of the factory. They heated the boilers with these bonfires and produced airplanes. Estimates by various members of the party ranged from 12 to 25 airplanes per day. Every part of that airplane was made in this factory with the exception of the armament, engine and instruments. There were no sub-contractors even for the nuts and bolts.

It was an interesting plane to me in that it was the first one that combined steel, dural and wood in the same airplane. The fuselage was armor plate. The skin of the airplane itself was armor plate from the prop up all around the engine and right back of the pilot. This was about 3/8

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of an inch thick. In back of the pilot was a plate between 5/8 and 7/8 of an inch thick. The windshield was 2-1/2 inches of bullet resisting glass. The rest of the fuselage was plywood on steel structure and dural. The main wing panels were plywood on steel and dural.

The chief said the wings were exactly the same strength as when they made them of dural. "How much did they cost you in weight?" "Forty lbs. per wing, which isn't an exorbitant figure."

The ship was armed with six rocket bombs, two 25 mm. cannon and two 30 cal. machine guns. They had one plane set up outside for firing and I got up in it and fired it and it really has a swell rate of fire. It is faster than our 20 mm. and just a little less than our 50 cal. It is belt loaded and there is over 100 rounds to a belt. I think the muzzle velocity is a little lower than ours -- looking at the shell case and the size of the projector. The rocket bombs hung by sliding on a T track. There is a trigger affair that curves down to fit at the back of the rocket bomb. It slides forward right off the track when it goes off.

The ship was flown for us and I would judge it at 250 to 300. It would turn on a dime. It really had maneuver-

ability. They pulled it off the end of a runway and
chandelled it to beat hell. They told us the h. p. of
the engine was 1500 and it sounded like it. It was a
liquid-cooled engine.

Another thing I think is of importance is that all the
air scoops were on top of the engine, so that they were pro-
ected from ground fire. The radiators and all were pro-
ected from ground fire by armor plate -- all the engine
sticking out in front of it and around the scoop itself
there was armor plate. Just the opening where the air came
in was the only vulnerable spot. It had about five feet of
armor plated engine ahead of it to get any fire coming up.

The chief engineer said, "This is an airplane that
pilots feel at home in," and I can certainly understand that.
It is the best protection I have ever seen for a pilot.
After looking at it I was very enthusiastic over the airplane
from the protective part of it. I asked him, "Well, the Ger-
mans must fear this airplane a great deal."

"Why for every one of these shot down, the Germans
get an Iron Cross." That was his way of saying they were O.K.

The workmanship as far as finish goes, was a little
crude. Like the wood panels -- plywood was put on the wings
by 10 or 12 year olds by cutting it off by hand. It left them

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a little rough, but they were turning out wings and not destroying the strength. They weren't losing a great deal. 45% of the workmen in the factory were women. I saw boys and girls not over 12 years of age standing up and turning a lathe and doing a pretty slick job -- they were handling calipers and what have you. That was the only factory I visited.

At every stop that we made, and in every contact I had with the Russians, they impressed me with their straightforwardness and their willingness to cooperate, and with the democratic way their officers and men got along. Any private could go up to a general and speak to him just as freely as he wished and get as free answers. Their morale was very good. I think they are a very, very strong nation. At every stop we made there were signs of preparedness for any eventuality. At Tashkent, just before we entered the Sinkiang Province -- that is several hundred miles back from any front -- even the training fields were surrounded by army aircraft and bomb-proof revetments.

At Tashkent I saw four airdromes -- they put me in the worst of the four, which was a training field. There were no less than 40 aircraft on any one of these airdromes. One of them had about 50 DC-3's, Russian built, sitting on it.

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Another one had around 50 airplanes, at a little distance from me, so I couldn't say exactly what types they were. They looked to be tactical airplanes of some sort. The other two had training planes on them -- rather decrepit looking compared with ours -- nevertheless they were trainers.

Even in Siberia there is plenty of strength out there -- plenty of equipment. Gosh, I never knew there were so many people in the world until I started looking at the Russians and the Chinamen. There are sure a lot of them over there.

One other thing I would like to mention in connection with Russian feeling. Stalin and all Russians have a very high admiration for our industrial and technical development. That is what they are striving towards and they showed at every turn they would like to be close friends of ours; and I believe that easily. I do believe they want to be strong and close Allies with us; but I don't think they are going to shoot their wad to save our neck. Because there was one question that was asked time after time everyplace we stopped.

"When are you going to start the Second Front?" That question just bugabooed everyone of us. How the heck did we know?

To go on with probably a more interesting part of the trip to all of us. From Tashkent we went around the mountains

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Alma Ata
north of Almata through the pass into Urumchi. The mountains were 14,000 feet with a great number of them going to 18,000 and 20,000 feet. They are all snow-capped and very rugged. At Urumchi there are mountains 19,000 or so odd feet only a few miles from the airport. The airport itself is located on the slope of a mountain and has quite a grade to it. I was a little doubtful about the airport, but thought it usable from the report they gave me that the runway was 1200 meters. I got there and found that I could have taxied two miles if I wanted to. What they meant by that was for 1200 meters they had picked up the larger stones. They had been absolutely doing no engineering on it or anything of that nature. Actually there was no reason to do it. It had a nice surface to it and was well-drained because of its slope. The soil was rather hard. All they had to do was pick up a few rocks and have a two mile airport.

One thing about the airport -- you take off downhill and land uphill because the mountain rises abruptly at the eastern end of the field. That has its advantages, too. The wind is usually across the field and not too strong.

They are building another field just south of the one now used, which is a little clearer for approaches. I think they are just picking up more rock. There is a field about fifty miles south in the desert that they use for bad weather

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that has a homing station.

While at Urumchi we visited the military academy there and they put on a review. I think we saw all the mechanized forces in Sinkiang in that review. Six light tanks, six medium tanks, some howitzers -- some horse-drawn and some loaded in trucks and the troops in the trucks with them. All their equipment is Russian built in that area. They had cavalry, though, that we were told was probably the finest in the world. After I saw them ride their sabre course, I can believe it. Those Chinamen can really sling a sabre. There were six wands lined up, a ring on a post, a ball on the other side they would stab at, a gob of mud on the next post, and a ring, etc. About every other man would cut every wand, knock the ball off, chop the mud in half and then pick up the ring and throw it in the air with his sabre while at full gallop.

From Urumchi to Lanchow the mountains get even higher. On the map they are listed up to 18,000 or 19000 feet. The rest of them are left with a question mark. Gosh knows how high they go beyond that.

At Chengtu there are five or six very large airdromes. One of them was prepared specifically for American bombers which they thought they were going to get at one time. That

particular airdrome is at Shingching, 26 miles south of Chengtu and is 1800 meters long, 300 meters wide. The runway is crushed tamped rock, 50 centimeters thick. On top of this crushed rock they put a little earth and let the grass grow back on top of it. It blends in very nicely.

On that field I saw 12 A-29's which started out to be Dawson's mission. They lost four ships in transit due to accidents.

The pilots of those A-29's for the most part were Air Corps graduates who had been out of flying school for about three months. They had never been in a twin-engine airplane before in their life until they gave them those airplanes to take to China. I think they did a swell job conveying them considering their experience.

There were two schools of thought in China among the Americans there. It was more or less fixed in my mind as the Stilwell faction and the Chennault faction. The Stilwell faction says, "Make China the last place to send any American equipment. They don't know how to fight or to use it. Don't send in a bit. It's a waste of effort."

The Chennault faction says, "For goodness sakes, give me some airplanes and we will knock the hell out of them." The figure I heard quoted was "give me 100 bombers and 400

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pursuits and I will run every Jap out of China in two months."

Judging from the results obtained with a few airplanes I am inclined to believe it. They have in operation about 40 P-40's. They did have a few B-25's, but I think most of them are out now. They didn't lose one of those to enemy action. Our pilots over there are sur itching for a scrap. As Johnny Alison put it, "You know, Dick, this is a lot of fun: -- fighting over here, but one to ten is a little bit high in odds against you." I am inclined to agree. I think one against ten is asking a lot of a man's good nature. If they had some P-51's and maybe some more P-40's and some B-25's and B-24's and B-17's, I believe they could sure give the Japs hell over there. They could pull a squeeze play with our Navy and our Air Force that would make Tokio awfully worried. That is the opinion of a lot of people over there.

Question: Where would they get the gasoline?

Answer: We got gasoline, 100 octane, at every stop.

Question: I know, but where do they get it?

Answer: They get it from fields down near Burma. They lost approximately 25% of their fuel supplies when they lost Burma. There is another field being developed right in here near Chiayukuan. (That is low grade gasoline, though.) They

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don't have the refining equipment over there yet to turn out a high grade of gasoline. I asked General Kuo, who is military observer in Russia for China and who spent four years in the U. S. as attache. I asked him, "if we sent 200 airplanes, how could they service them?" He said, "We have gas for 200." I said, "for how long a time," and he smiled -- that is all.

I am thoroughly convinced that with some C-87's and C-54's you could support a cracker-jack size air force in China by making flying tankers. C-54's can fly in there and back and carry several thousand pounds of payload and drop about 800 gallons of its gas every trip. A C-87 can do something of that nature. The C-87 is ideal for this route because you need an airplane that can operate at extremely high altitude -- 23,000 and better. The C-87 with turbos can do it and do it nicely.

Question: Did you make any stops between Kuibyshev and Tashkent?

Answer: No, sir.

Question: You didn't get any idea of whether they had a lot of planes back in reserve?

Answer: No, sir. Not a great deal. They laid out the courses we were to fly. They had rather a broken course from

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Kuibyshev to Tashkent and my navigator said, "what the heck was the use of zig-zagging all over the place?" They said, "O. K." so we flew a straight course.

We picked up the first Russians at Teheran. They said, "You can have all or none of a Russian crew." First I was tempted to say I will take none of them, ^{as} but I thought it was a good chance to break the binding that was placed on us so far. ^{But} So on second thought, for safety of the flight, I said, "Let me have a radio operator and a navigator." The radio operator was very good. The navigator was a navigator-pilot -- the only type of navigation any of them use is pilotage. My navigator went ahead and shot the stars, etc. They each knew the routes and knew them well. I had three different navigators on the whole trip. I had Russians with me on the trip through China.

I.E. identifying sound features

Question: Did you make any estimate of the number of transports necessary to supply those lanes?

Answer: I made no estimate of it. The only estimate I have heard was 100 C-53's would replace the Burma Road.

I was a little disappointed in China. There is a lot of graft going on there among the officials. A lot of stuff that was brought in on the Burma Road was stuff like cottons and wools that could be imported from India cheaper and sold at

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a better price than could be manufactured in China. Some of the people in charge were doing that. I heard that 50% of the stuff brought in was that sort of thing. A fountain pen and pencil set would bring \$150.00 American money any place over there. A pistol or a sub-machine gun would bring \$1500.00 American dollars. You heard about those things in the black-market trade and different war lords buying them up. They will pay \$1.00 a round for .45 ammunition. It makes you wonder whether China is really united or not -- but united or not, the fact is they are fighting against the Japs and they are sticking together long enough to hold some semblance of a front. I still think it is a good place to use some of our stuff if we want to strike at the Japs.

Question: What airdromes is Chennault planning on if he gets bombers in there as advanced airdromes against the Japanese?

Answer: They have some airdromes, but I couldn't get the names of them down. One of them, they told me, was only 850 kilometers from Tokio. *(Lushui - Chusen + Yushan)*

Question: What route did you take North from Teheran?

Answer: From Teheran to this point here (on Caspian) to Kuibyshev.

Question: What supply lines are there along that shore?

Answer: Well, the railroad comes in there and boats ply

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the Caspian Sea.

Question: How about the shore?

Answer: I saw some dirt roads -- that is all.

I heard, while in Teheran, that they are using three ports around Basra for unloading the equipment. They were very much perplexed with the way the loads come over. The ships would be loaded with stuff for all three ports. And usually the first port that the ship went into wanted the stuff in the bottom of the ship. So, they would have to send it out of that port to another port, and bring it back to all the different ports. It simply means that more thought ought to be given to the loading of the ships and loading the cargoes according to the ports they are going to.

Question: Did you see any military aviation on the East Coast of the Caspian?

Answer: There are airdromes, but I saw no airplanes. It was rather cloudy. We had radio communications. We had a homing station (^{Khashador} Greshador) as we came across here. There were other stations on up. They have plenty of airdromes, but they are short on aircraft. However, they are not spending everything. They are holding a reserve. Stalin and Molotov both made the statement to Mr. Willkie that Stalingrad will be held. It looks like they are going to make their word stick --

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I don't know, but I am hoping so.

For the route out: In the first place, we had to go to Lanchow from Chungking. Mr. Willkie met us there. He went to visit the front, which had been a very quiet front. When he got there in a blue railway car they made it pretty active. They machine gunned the train -- a blue coach a little ways from him, and bombed the devil out of several towns out there. The Chinamen were scared to death of Mr. Willkie getting hurt. It rained at Lanchow two days before we were to leave. General Ma suggested that we leave ^{hop} between Chengtu and Chita. So we did. We took off just ^{from} at daylight and skirted out around the mountains over Lanchow. From there we went westward in order to skirt the area that was Japanese penetrated. They knew the Japs were doing a lot of reconnaissance in this area. We skirted the Northern Yangtze area. A lake on the border of Outer Mongolia made a very nice check-point as it was on a direct course from Chita.

We flew over Ulan Bator. It is evident from the materiel sent to Ulan Bator that it is to be more or less a depot and a hub for any action that might develop in this area. There is now a railroad into Ulan Bator. The Chinese and the Russians asked me to look for this particularly or I would never have thought about it. My own embassy asked me

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to look for it. The railroad entered the town from the East. There were two railyards there -- one south of the river, which had an eight track yard; and one in the city which had a three track yard. Just south of the city was an airdrome which had revetments on it and there must have been something like 20 or 30 airplanes on it, ranging from fighters to bombers, and observation, too. It looked to be older type equipment. They were dispersed and in revetments.

Just south of that airdrome was a large military barracks. There were lots of trenches and tank traps and so forth, indicating that it might have been a training ground.

In Ulan Bator there were a great number of oil tanks. There were several very large buildings. In fact, the city looked like it had a tremendous lot of new construction. They had large buildings which could have been barracks and warehouses -- even factories. There was a large radio station there which we homed on. Scattered all over the ground were little white objects I never could positively identify. They looked to be either tents for troops or tents for supplies or small dispersed fuel storages. I could never identify them positively.

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By the way, on the flight across Outer Mongolia we had excellent visibility. We checked it once by picking up a mountain ahead and timing it. It took us 35 minutes to get to it. We could see it quite a ways.

Question: Is that all desert?

Answer: It is arid, but not all desert. There is quite a bit of timber up in here. It is very arid in the southern part. Our highest altitude in flight was 11,000 feet indicated. We cleared everything at least a thousand feet. I couldn't see anything that looked any higher than that within 100 miles on either side of us. You can fly across here (outer Mongolia to Lake Baikal) without any fear. The mountains are wooded on the slopes. They have a lot of spruce and evergreen type timber.

In addition to the airdrome at Ulan Bator, when we were asking General Sterligov (Chief of Soviet Air Corps) in Russia about the route out of here he said, "Where do you want to stop?"

"We'd like to stop at Ulan Bator, Yakutsk, Seimohan."

The minute I said Ulan Bator he stopped and looked up. "What do you know about Ulan Bator?"

I said, "Nothing -- I had expected to get that information from you."

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He didn't say anything. He thumbed through a book -- "The airdrome is too small for you." Then the next day he gave me a field called Under Khan which is just east of Ulan Bator that I could use as an alternate. When we flew over it, the Russian colonel that was acting as our navigator -- well, I asked him if it was O. K. for me to circle the town and have a look at it. "Sure." We circled it and had a good look.

There are also motor roads coming into that town. Where from, I don't know.

At ^{chala} Chestah, there are three airdromes all rather large. Only one of them was paved. It had two paved runways on it around 3,000 to 4,000 feet long. The runway was unique in construction to me because I had never seen anything like that before. It was paved in hexagonal shaped concrete blocks about six feet across and they were held together by tar in between them. I noted two nice features. One was the fact that the cracks were running every which way. It should be very good to break any skid when the weather is wet. The other thing is that while you are preparing the base, the concrete blocks are pre-formed. When the base is ready they are just popped into place. It also makes it easy to repair the runways in case they are damaged. You can pull out a few and toss other ones in and the runway is fixed. It looked

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pretty good.

The other two fields at ^{Chetah} Cheetah were natural surface. They were quite large. In this valley here (valley to the east of Lake Baikal) the mountains are rather low and the valley is quite clean. There is a military airdrome in there.

By the way, the railroad running through the valley is double track.

When we first stopped they said the weather was fine for the next day for our trip out. We had the plane serviced and fueled and intended to hop directly to Seimchan. Just after having it serviced they came in with a weather report and said no stop for Seimchan. We had to stop at Yakutsk.

There were three runways there, the longest 1800 meters, and then 1600 and 1200 meters, I believe. They are natural surface, graded and kept clean. I saw an A-30 there with some old Russian bombers. That is about all. It seemed to be more or less just a stop for across there, using it to move aircraft they are getting from us on.

There was quite a large radio station there. My radio operator pointed out one thing there -- a listening post. It had crow foot antennas. He said that was used

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as a listening post to intercept radio messages.

Seinshan is a two way field. It was reported to me as being 1200 meters long, natural surface, with small rocks on it. When we got there we found it was 1500 meters with a clean approach, with a hill just north of the field -- but still room enough to make a clean turn around for a landing. Just across the river to the east were mountains that run up around 5,000 feet. The valley to the south spread out making a sort of a Y where you can fly forty by twenty miles south and turn right or left and fly another twenty-four miles without striking anything higher than trees or bushes. They have a type of instrument approach worked out on the radio compass for that field.

On the trip from Cheetah up to Yakutsk we had three or four hours of instruments. We were on top of the cloud area with ice crystals above it. Whenever the clouds would disperse we would still be in ice crystals and could see the ground straight down. They mine an awful lot of gold in this whole region.

I saw a lot of roads paralleling our route that looked to be well developed motor roads. As far as I could determine they had no real connecting link all the way there to various places, yet you could see stretches of very good

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motor road. In fact, I saw some railroad up there in one of these places. In the mining area.

The Commissar of Yakutsk Province said they had oil wells four kilometers distance of Yakutsk. (I saw oil wells on the east shore of the Caspian.) I think they are working terribly hard to develop motor roads and railroads throughout this whole route. (Siberian route.) They are dependent upon the bulk of their transportation by river-boat down the Lena river, while the roads are being developed.

We asked about fuel supplies. The governor said, "We have all the gas necessary to move any number of aircraft contemplated. We have enough stored for the rest of the winter."

At Seimohan the Commanding officer said, "We have thousands of tons of fuel." We asked him what grade. "90 and 100."

"How comes you didn't give me 100 octane?"

He stopped for a minute, "I'm sorry," he said, "I misinformed you. We don't have 100, but 95." I flew full power on the take off and had no detonation or apparent loss of power. The engines threw out puffs of black smoke.

One thing I did when we left Kuibyshev. There was so much doubt about the quality of the fuel, I talked them

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into giving me a cylinder of tetra-ethyl lead and the formula and some rubber gloves. I had enough to mix 1000 gallons of high octane gas. It made me feel a lot better about the trip. I never had to use it.

I got back to the States with one auxiliary tank full of that 95 octane gas I picked up at Seimchan. Five gallons of it has been sent to Wright Field, and one gallon to the Pratt-Whitney people.

We saw the airdrome at Anadyr, and we saw one on a spit of sand out there. There are airdromes out there. (Siberian tip.) I saw a diagram of Velkal. The one there is north and south, 1200 meters east and west; and back on the mainland is an area laid out 600 meters wide and 2000 long. I asked for it. They always gave me the old sign, "No good." But they said it would be usable for an alternate. They are just making that airdrome. However, I think they have been using it a little for DC's, but they didn't want to risk us in there -- they were afraid that we would bog in. I think these are hard enough now to take anything, but they didn't want to let us use it.

They are taking B-25's and P-40's back over that route. My navigator, Major Sukoff, had been over that route before. He told me he would start back in a B-25 with a P-40 on each wing. They are moving the airplanes in.

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When we left the coast the weather was very good right in here (Anadyr) and the Aleutians were as plain as the nose on your face. We wanted to cut the Arctic circle just for the hell of it. We started and got up a piece and ran into heavy snow flurries so we turned back and went on into Alaska. In crossing the Bering Sea, I dropped down (there were broken clouds) to the water to about 800 or 1000 feet under the clouds, until we started running into rather heavy snow flurries then we went right on top. We were on top of them at 4,000 feet. We went right on across.

At Nome it was clear, and we went right straight on into Fairbanks. We were very fortunate the whole trip on weather. That route had been closed for seven days prior to our arrival.

Question: How is the weather service in Russia?

Answer: It is excellent. They draw cracker-jack maps. 95% of the forecasters are all women. They speak with assurance and you rarely catch them wrong on a forecast. They have stations along the northern coast and draw accurate maps until you get up into the Bering Strait. They don't have enough of our reports yet to really be able to forecast what you are going to get coming across there. However, the communications are beginning to function better in

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there. You get spot weather from Nome to Fairbanks. They told me about what to expect over the Bering Sea and it was just about what they said. They gave me better information on the route into China than the Chinese could ever get me. The Chinese know just two types of weather: Blue Sky and Bad.

Anyway the weather service in China is very, very poor. It has never been known for an American plane to work a Chinese station. (You can't work our own stations there.) My radio operator would try and try to work the Chinese stations, but couldn't get a peep out of them. We could hear General Chennault's station calling us. We answered him on every frequency given us and got no contact. The Chinese were supposed to be guarding a certain frequency that would get them. We called in blind to them to please tell General Chennault that we were hearing him. They never indicated that the message got there.

As soon as we turned into Russia we had weather for the route, we had homing stations, and we went right along.

Question: Are the Russians giving us their reports for Northern Siberia?

Answer: I think they are. They really need information of our reports as long as they are going to use that route and going to come into Nome and Fairbanks and take those

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airplanes. We should be giving them a lot of those reports. I have been told more and more of them are getting there. They are getting good weather service at Markov and Anadyr. At Seimohan it is getting pretty far back.

Question: You didn't stop between Seimohan and Fairbanks?

Answer: No, sir.

There are no very high mountains on this route. I think the highest mountain is about 10,000 feet. We went to 15,000 for Yakutsk, but I don't think the mountains are over 12,000.

Question: What is your impression of the facilities of servicing those fields from those rivers?

Answer: They have thought ahead and planned ahead and laid up a pretty good supply. They indicated there was plenty of gas all along the line for any movement over that route. I think if they started moving more than they planned on, they would haul it in by air.

Question: Did the Russians give you any forecasts longer than twenty-four hours?

Answer: That is about as long as they gave us.

Question: What is the attitude of the Russians toward the Japanese?

Answer: Well, the way it was ^{ex}impressed to me, and you

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get into some pretty good discussions with those people on the Second Front -- maybe we have one with the Japanese. They say, "Oh, that is nothing. If you will only come on with the Second Front to Germany, when it comes time for the Japanese, you can blow them off like blowing dust off the palm of your hand." They have no real fear at all of any attack by the Japanese. They said, "The Japs tried us once and they know what they run up against out here."

My opinion of the Russian soldier is a good one. He is a cracker-jack. I saw a lot of their movie films of the Battles of Moscow and Leningrad and the Russian soldier is a tough, aggressive soldier. They showed a lot of Moscow while they were preparing it -- they thought it was going to turn into a siege. Every man, woman, and child must have been working in Moscow. They were building tank traps and sand-bagging the streets and smiling while doing it. They were chatting and joking. They didn't seem the least bit alarmed. I saw a big show case and it was jammed full of German Iron Crosses -- they were brand-new spanking ones; ribbons and all. I said, "where did those come from?" "Those were iron crosses the Germans were going to pass out as they marched into Moscow. Instead we gave them wooden crosses."

Question: Major, how are the Chinese getting in supplies?

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Answer: They are not getting any to amount to anything. They were getting some supplies from Russia.

There is a road that comes up along here (map) and I saw a horse-cart caravan passing through here that had wool on it and someone else saw one with tungsten on it. They started out in Kuming. When asked where they were going they said, "To Russia." They were taking this tungsten up to the Russian Steel Works, on little two-wheeled carts. So, there must be something coming in in exchange for that. There is a road all the way there. There is also a railroad coming up along there. There is a branch of it that comes almost to the border. That stops at the border -- doesn't go on in there.

Question: Did you get to Kuming?

Answer: No, I didn't. Major Mason was able to take a jaunt down there.

Question: What is the nearest airfield to the China coast?

Answer: I don't know, sir.

People that have been over there a long time say there have been only two real battles put up by the Chinese. That was at Hanking and Changsha. Anyway, by the route armies. Both of those armies were decimated, and the Generalissimo doesn't trust the Russians and therefore isn't building the

*Old Russian Caravan
Route Lanchow to
Sanyopol*

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army and keeping it. Anyway those two armies put up a good fight.

Sometime ago we were getting in the newspapers that the Chinese were advancing. I got over there and they said, "Advancing, hell -- they are just following the Japs. The rice crop is in." The Japs were moving back with the rice -- they didn't feed the population.

A Chinese general is paid according to the number of troops he has under him. If he gets his troops all shot up and no victory -- down goes his payroll. He loses money and face. One remark I did hear was, "Just let one American airplane appear over the lines and the Chinese become a bunch of raving maniacs and charge hell-bent for election. If they just have a little bit of air support they will put up a fight."

There is one rather peculiar set-up -- speaking of our forces in this area. General Chennault is trusted implicitly by Chiang Kai-shek. The men that fly for Chennault say Chennault is one of the greatest military men today. The peculiar set-up there is that General Stilwell is in China, General Bissell is in India, and General Chennault is in China. The chain of command is Stilwell, Bissell and Chennault.

On General Stilwell's march from Burma, the A.V.G.

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wanted to fly him out. "No, I will march out." So, instead of six hours flying his party out, they spent sixty hours dropping food.

General Stilwell said, "I don't know why you want to run the Ferry Command in here. I don't think you will come within 25% of supporting yourself. Someone said, "Well, we might as well shut it off then, hadn't we?"

"Well, no, we need its supply all right."

But I think that airplanes for the route in there right now is the real answer. I think we have types of airplanes built now and being built rapidly that can take a good load of supplies in there that will pay off in big dividends.

It is only an 800 mile hop, I believe, from one of their stops along here (map of N. Burma) into ^{Dunfan} Kumping, which is 1600 miles round trip for a C-87 or a C-54. They can drop off gas when they get there and supplies, too.

The B24 is tops in maintenance. It is rugged. We stopped in Palestine for quite a while while Willkie went into Turkey. They worked there three days routine inspection. I believe they changed the plugs. It didn't have a missing plug, though -- it had quite a number of hours and plenty of time. That was all that was done there. In Moscow we gave

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it another clean-up and replaced nothing. We just serviced it. At Changtu they had to replace one prop. That is all we did as far as maintenance goes on the airplane. We had 151 hours when we got back, and there was not one delay anyplace on the trip because of mechanical failure.

The B-24 that I took to Java last January and February gave me no delay. We did take out three days in India. When we got back we had over 500 hours on the engine and it was using less than 7/10 gallons of gas per mile per engine for the whole trip. It just never missed a beat. You can take B-24's into rough fields and short fields -- bang them in just as long as you don't just plain crack them up; and they are going to take it. I think the C-87 ^{is} going to be one of our mainstays for long range transportation of war supplies.

is Transport model of B24

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*Willie
Personal
under "Willkie"*

PSF: Willkie

"The young Chinese Foreign Officer official who acted as Mr. Willkie's shadow observed that he didn't see how anyone as 'unstable' as Wendell Willkie could have been a successful business man, much less a serious contender for the Presidency. Willkie offended most of the Chinese officials who entertained him or showed him their establishments by snubbing them and concentrating on the American pressmen. And of course the gorgeous Cleopatra of Cathay wound him around her little finger causing him to suggest and implore her in the presence of her austere husband to accompany him to the U. S., promising her all of the planes she wanted."

Excerpt from report by John Carter Vincent, Counselor of Embassy

"During the visit to the cotton mill, paper mill and chemical works, I spent most of the time with Dr. Wong /Minister of Economics/ inasmuch as Mr. Willkie was surrounded throughout by the dozen or more correspondents whom he had brought on the visit and who at Mr. Willkie's request took copious notes on his comments and questions and on the responses of the plant officials and operatives questioned."

7M

PSF: Willkie folder
4-42

*file
personal*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

~~STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL~~

My dear Mr. President:

There is enclosed, as of possible interest, a copy of a despatch dated October 8, 1942 from the American Ambassador at Chungking in regard to the visit to China of Mr. Wendell Willkie, together with a memorandum prepared by the Department summarizing the despatch in question.

Faithfully yours,



Enclosures:

From Embassy, Chungking,
October 8, 1942.

Memorandum December 2, 1942.

The President,
The White House.

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date JUN 2 1972

~~STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL~~

December 2, 1942

Reference Ambassador Gauss' underlying despatch no. 671, October 8, 1942: Mr. Wendell Willkie's visit to China.

The enclosures to this despatch consist of: (1) a schedule of Mr. Willkie's official activities during his visit; (2) Chinese press reports of speeches by Mr. Willkie and prominent Chinese officials; (3) confidential comment by the Ambassador.

I.

Mr. Willkie's Speeches and the Chinese Response.

It is reported in the despatch that an extremely enthusiastic reception was given Mr. Willkie by the Chinese Government, the press and the civilian population. Chinese editorial comment emphasized the friendship between the Chinese and American peoples, the identical outlook of China and the United States, and the necessity for complete post-war cooperation between the two countries.

Mr. Willkie stated in one speech (enclosure no. 5) that his mission was two-fold: (1) to stimulate the war effort of the countries visited and (2) to help build a post-war world order under which all people shall have the right to determine their own social and political societies

and

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and live in freedom and justice regardless of race, creed or color. Freedom, racial equality, justice and opportunity for all nations and peoples, the pledging of all-out American aid to her allies, and the painting of a favorable picture of American war production were the outstanding points made by Mr. Willkie in speeches during his visit. In a prepared statement (enclosure no. 13) Mr. Willkie emphasized the need for offensive action by the United Nations, the necessity for increased aid to China and the Soviet Union, and concrete application immediately of the principles of the Atlantic Charter to the peoples of Asia.

As for the Chinese response, a memorandum from the Chinese-American Institute of Cultural Relations (enclosure no. 14), which was presented to Mr. Willkie contained a message from the Chinese people to the people of the United States expressing the following hopes: (1) that the United States will maintain the largest possible air force in China, (2) that Burma will be retaken, (3) that there will be further American bombing of Japan, (4) that the China front and the European front will be considered as equal in global strategy, (5) that the United States will be assured that China will never lay down arms until its cause is won, and (6) that the United States and China

will

will cooperate fully not only in winning the war but, even more importantly, in rebuilding a new world of freedom for all races.

II.

Confidential Comment by Ambassador Gauss (enclosure no.15)

Mr. Willkie received a most cordial welcome from the Chinese Government, which, it was learned, had been advised by Dr. T. V. Soong that Mr. Willkie might be the next President of the United States and might be seated at the peace conference where issues vital to China will be discussed and decided; Dr. Soong therefore recommended that the utmost effort be made to make Mr. Willkie's visit to China a success and that everything possible be done to win Mr. Willkie firmly to China's cause.

Mr. Willkie spared no effort to ingratiate himself with the Chinese people. His most zealous attention and time, however, were given to representatives of the press, occasionally, it is felt, at the expense of his hosts. While the Ambassador accompanied Mr. Willkie on his courtesy calls on high Chinese officials, Mr. Willkie did not accept the Ambassador's cordial invitation to stay part of the time at the Embassy (which was in accord with the Chinese Foreign Office's program), did not visit the Embassy, nor
did

did he avail himself of the Embassy's offer of assistance or information. Mr. Willkie had several private conversations with the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang, but did not inform the Ambassador of their purport. Mr. Willkie's attitude at Chungking was describable as "perhaps more that of a visiting prominent American politician than of a distinguished American acting as a 'special representative of the President'".

During his courtesy call on the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang on October 3, in company with the Ambassador, Mr. Willkie devoted most of the time to pressing an invitation to Madame Chiang to visit the United States, traveling in the Willkie plane. In response to an inquiry from Madame Chiang whether such a visit would be likely to produce "planes for China", Mr. Willkie assured her that her visit would get all the planes Madame Chiang might desire.

No. 671

Chungking, October 8, 1942.

Subject: Visit to China of Mr. Wendell L. Willkie
as a Special Representative of the
President.

~~Confidential~~

Air Pouch

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose for the Department's information the following material concerning the visit to China of Mr. Wendell L. Willkie as a Special Representative of the President:

1. A schedule showing the program of official activities during Mr. Willkie's visit.
2. Various speeches given by Mr. Willkie and prominent Chinese Government officials during the visit, as reported by the Chinese press.
3. Confidential comment by the Ambassador.

Mr. Willkie was given an enthusiastic welcome by the Chinese Government, the press and the civilian population from the time of his arrival at Chungking on October 2 until his departure on October 7. The principal streets of the city were decorated with banners bearing messages of welcome to Mr. Willkie and acclaiming Sino-American cooperation, and the streets were lined on the day of his arrival with Chinese waving American flags. Chinese newspapers at Chungking during Mr. Willkie's visit were filled with special articles devoted to his career, editorials approving his visit and items covering his activities while in China.

Editorial

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By R. H. Parks Date JUN 2 1972

Editorial comment concerning the visit emphasized three principal points: (1) the genuine friendship existing between the Chinese and American people, (2) the identical outlook between China and the United States and (3) the necessity of all-out cooperation between China and the United States during the post-war period. The TA KUNG PAO (influential independent daily), referring to Mr. Willkie's visit to the industrial areas, points out that China's failure to show a more significant industrial effort is due to the "unequal treaties" as well as the insufficient efforts of the Chinese people and the obstructive policy of Japan and appeals for the strengthening of China's war and post war economy through American aid, the need for which Mr. Willkie will be able to see during his visit to China and for which he will be able to take measures of assistance after his return to the United States. The I SHIH PAO (Catholic) comments favorably upon Mr. Willkie's views of the post-war world and acclaims his attitude on the question of racial equality and freedom. The TA KUNG PAO feels that the United States should lead the way in removing long standing prejudices concerning racial equality and notes with approval Mr. Willkie's views pertaining thereto.

The dominant note of Mr. Willkie's speeches during his visit to China has been that of freedom, racial equality, justice and opportunity for all nations and peoples, the pledging of all-out American aid to all her allies and the painting of a favorable picture of American war production. Mr. Willkie stated in one speech that his purpose in making this visit was twofold: (1) to stimulate the war effort of the countries which he visits and (2) to help build a post-war world order under which all people shall have the right to determine their own social and political societies and live in freedom and justice regardless of race, creed or color. At a final interview with the press on the day of his departure, Mr. Willkie read a prepared statement in which he emphasized the need for offensive action by the United Nations, the necessity of increased aid for China and the Soviet Union, and the belief that the principles of the Atlantic Charter should be given concrete application to the peoples of Asia and that such action should not be postponed to the post-war period but rather should be given implementation now by all the United Nations jointly.

Respectfully yours,

C. E. Gauss

Enclosures:

1. Schedule of Official Activities during Mr. Willkie's Visit.
- 2-14. Speeches by Mr. Willkie and Prominent Chinese Officials, as reported by Chinese Press.
15. Confidential Comment by the Ambassador.

Original and 2 copies to the Department.

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True copy
of signed ori-
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Enclosure no. 1 to despatch no. 671
dated October 8, 1942, from the
Embassy at Chungking.
Page no. 1 of 3 Pages.

Itinerary of Mr. Wendell L. Willkie, Special Representative of the President during His Visit to China.

- September 29 - Arrived from the Soviet Union at Tihwa (Urumchi), Sinkiang. Met at airfield by General Chu Shao-liang, Commander-in-Chief for the Northwestern War Zone, Dr. Hollington K. Tong, Vice Minister of Information, representing Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and Lieutenant Colonel J. M. McHugh, American Naval Attache, representing the American Ambassador. Paid official calls on General Chu Shao-liang and General Sheng Shih-tsai, Governor of Sinkiang.
- September 30 - Accompanied by General Chu Shao-liang and Dr. Hollington Tong (who returned to Chungking with Mr. Willkie), arrived at Lanchow, Kansu. Met at Lanchow by Mr. J. S. Service, Third Secretary of the Embassy, then at Lanchow. Paid official calls on General Ku Cheng-lun, Governor of Kansu, and attended official tea and dinner. (See Enclosure no. 2.)
- October 1 - Arrived at Chengtu. Met by General Chang Chun, Governor of Szechuan Province. Paid official call on General Chang Chun and attended official dinner given by Chinese officials and leaders. (See Enclosure no. 3.)
- October 2 - Arrived at Chungking and met by Ambassador, accompanied by Secretaries Streeper and Sprouse, who introduced high-ranking Chinese officials and chiefs of diplomatic missions to China, including Dr. H. H. Kung, Vice President of the Executive Yuan, representing Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek; General Wu Te-chen, Secretary-General of the Executive Committee of the Kuomintang; Dr. Foo Ping-sheung, Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs; Dr. K. C. Wu, Mayor of Chungking; Lieutenant General Joseph W. Stilwell, Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army Forces in China, Burma and India; the Soviet and British Ambassadors and others.
- Had brief interview with the press at the airfield. (See Enclosure no. 4.)
- Rode in parade through city to residence provided by Chinese Government during his visit.
- October 3 - Accompanied by Ambassador Gauss and Mr. John Carter Vincent, Counselor of Embassy, made following official calls: (1) Ministry of Foreign Affairs; received by Vice Minister Foo Ping-sheung; (2) Dr. H. H. Kung; received by Dr. Kung and ministers and commission chairmen of the Executive Yuan; (3) General Ho Ying-chin, Chief of the General Staff; (4) Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek; and (5) Mr. Lin Sen, Chairman of the National Government.

Attended

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October 3, cont.

- Attended luncheon given by Mr. Lin Sen, at which were also present Ambassador Gauss, Counselor of Embassy Vincent, the other members of Mr. Willkie's party, the American Naval Attache and Assistant Military Attache, Dr. H. H. Kung, General Ho Ying-chin and other high-ranking Chinese officials.

Made Speech to Central Training Corps.
(See Enclosure no. 5.)

Attended reception given by Ambassador Gauss to present Mr. Willkie to the American community, Chinese officials and the diplomatic corps.

Attended dinner given by Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, at which were also present the Ambassador, Counselor Vincent, Naval Attache McHugh, Assistant Military Attache DePass, Lieutenant General Joseph W. Stilwell, Brigadier General Claire Chennault, the members of Mr. Willkie's party, chiefs of foreign diplomatic missions to China and high-ranking Chinese Government officials.
(See Enclosure no. 6.)

(NOTE: The Chief of Protocol of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs inquired of the American Ambassador whether he would yield precedence to Mr. Willkie during the latter's visit. Mr. Gauss replied that he had pleasure in doing so. The Soviet (and at present senior) Ambassador was then approached by the Foreign Office and likewise yielded. The British Ambassador being junior to the Soviet and American Ambassadors was not approached but took his place below the other ambassadors.)

- October 4 - Visited industrial areas accompanied by Dr. Wong Wen-hao, Minister of Economic Affairs, and Counselor of Embassy Vincent. Attended luncheon given by Dr. Wong. (See despatch no. 667 of October 7, 1942 from Chungking.)

Attended tea given by Madame Chiang Kai-shek as Honorary Chairman of the China Chapter of the United China Relief. (See Enclosure no. 7.)

Attended private dinner given by Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek and had three and one-half hour conference with the Generalissimo, according to news despatches.

- October 5 - Gave interview to Associated Press and United Press representatives and revealed he had had talk with Mr. Chou En-lai, Chinese Communist Party representative at Chungking.

Visited

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October 5, cont.

- Visited cultural center of Chungking (four Chinese universities) accompanied by Dr. Ku Yu-hsiu, Vice Minister of Education, Second Secretary of Embassy Clubb and Dr. Fairbank of the Office of Strategic Services.

Attended luncheon given by Dr. Chen Li-fu, Minister of Education. (See Enclosure no. 8.)

Received at his residence the following visitors: Lieutenant General Joseph W. Stillwell, Mr. Hu Lin of the TA KUNG PAO (independent Chinese daily) and Dr. Chang Po-lin, member of the People's Political Council and President of Nankai University.

Had further interview with the Generalissimo.

October 6

- Visited arsenals. (Accompanied by Colonel Barrett, Military Attache of Embassy.)

Attended luncheon given by General Ho Ying-chin, Chief of General Staff. (See Enclosure no. 9.)

Attended reception given jointly by 18 cultural organizations at Chungking, including the Chinese-American Institute of Cultural Relations, at which were present high ranking Chinese officials and members of the diplomatic corps, including American Ambassador and Messrs. Vincent and Clubb. (See Enclosure no. 10.)

Attended dinner given by Dr. H. H. Kung, Vice President of the Executive Yuan, at which were present Madame Chiang Kai-shek, Madame Sun Yat-sen, Ambassador Gauss, Counselor of Embassy Vincent, Lieutenant General Joseph W. Stilwell, the American Military and Naval Attaches and many high ranking Chinese officials. (See Enclosure no. 11.)

Made radio broadcast to Chinese people at invitation of Chinese-American Institute of Cultural Relations. (See Enclosure no. 12.)

October 7

- Had interview with the press at which time Mr. Willkie read a prepared statement. (See Enclosure no. 13.)

Had further interview with the Generalissimo.

Departed from Chungking by plane for Chengtu, from which point he planned to fly to war zone for brief inspection tour prior to his return to the United States.

Enclosure No. 2 to Despatch No. 671 dated October 8, 1942
from American Embassy at Chungking

Lanchow, Sept. 30 (Central): In a 15-minute informal talk with local pressmen at a reception given in his honor by Governor Ku Cheng-lun after his arrival here today, Mr. Wendell Willkie, personal envoy of President Roosevelt, expressed the hope that during his present visit in China he would gain a better understanding of the conditions in this country and Chinese public opinion through contacts with the Chinese Fourth Estate and the man in the street.

He said that after visiting the two great war fronts in Africa and Europe he would like very much to visit the five-year old Chinese war front and see for himself the bravery and high morale of the Chinese soldiers. He declared that he was charged with an important mission in his trip to China, namely to further foster Sino-American friendship.

During the talk, Mr. Willkie frequently questioned about the conditions in Kansu. The Chinese pressmen informed him in detail the changes that have taken place in the province since the Sino-Japanese war.

Mr. Willkie showed deep interest in the educational and cultural developments and the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives in the province and expressed admiration for the rapid progress in those fields.

Using highly literary words, Mr. Willkie described the beauty of the rising and falling mountain ranges and the oases dotting the vast desert in China's Northwest which he saw in his five-hour air journey to Lanchow. He compared the scenery with that in America's Wild West and voiced his joy of being able to come to China by this route.

Lanchow, September 30 (Central): Had it not been for the historical Chinese resistance in the last five years it might have already been too late for us to strike, in the opinion of Mr. Wendell L. Willkie, who attended a dinner tendered jointly by Generals Chu Shao-liang and Ku Cheng-lun at the Officers' Moral Endeavor Association this evening.

Mr. Willkie observed that when China started her resistance five years ago the United States was only beginning to tighten up her national defense. He said that if China had received large-scale assistance from abroad five years ago, the world bloodshed today might have been avoided.

Describing his present trip as the most interesting one he has ever made in his life, Mr. Willkie emphasized that he came not to "advise" but to "learn." He said he was prepared to discuss with Chinese leaders and people many problems which are not only confined to wartime but also after the war.

Mr. Willkie stressed that American assistance to China reflects not only the policy of the United States Government but also the everlasting friendship the American people entertain for the Chinese people.

(True copy:
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Enclosure No. 3 to Despatch No. 671 dated October 8, 1942
from American Embassy at Chungking

Chengtu, October 1 (Central): "I am going to Chungking to talk with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek how best we can win the war and how after the war there can be freedom for all," said Mr. Wendell L. Willkie, President Roosevelt's personal envoy, in a speech at a tea party given in his honor by Governor and Madame Chang Chun at 4 o'clock Thursday afternoon.

Mr. Willkie said that the impressions he has gathered during his five-week trip have been favorable. When he surveyed the world situation with President Roosevelt prior to his departure from the United States, the situation in North Africa was extremely critical and Cairo was threatened. But by the time he arrived in Egypt the German forces had been pushed back and Cairo remained safe.

During his tour of the Near East, he continued, he had the opportunity to talk to the leaders and people of those countries and he found conditions there encouraging. He predicted closer relations between the United Nations and the Near East in the future.

Mr. Willkie praised the magnificent Soviet defense of Stalingrad.

Referring to China, Mr. Willkie emphasized the significance of the five years of resistance put up by this country.

While expressing conviction in the ultimate Allied victory, Mr. Willkie warned that the road to triumph may be very long and in any case it will be tough and hard. To appreciate victory and freedom, he said, one has to pay a heavy price for it. The heavy price the United Nations are paying now is a retribution for the blindness of their leaders in the past.

He then referred to the Manchurian incident, the Italian invasion of Ethiopia and other glaring acts of aggression when no one did anything effective to check the aggressors. As a result of shortsightedness and appeasement, the Axis countries are now running amuck.

Presenting a brighter side of the picture, Mr. Willkie said that American production of airplanes, tanks and other war material is far exceeding its own expectations. He pledged all-out American aid to all her allies.

Chengtu, Oct. 3 (Central): Following are the texts of the speeches by Governor Chang Chun of Szechwan and Mr. Wendell L. Willkie, special representative of President Roosevelt, at the reception given by Governor Chang at the Officers' Moral Endeavor Association in Chengtu on Oct. 1, in honor of Mr. Willkie:

Governor Chang:

Ladies and Gentlemen: It is with an unmixed feeling of joy that we welcome Mr. Willkie into our midst. We welcome him first of all as President Roosevelt's Special Representative, who has come to us on an important mission. And we welcome him no less for

his

his own sake as a great American citizen and political leader and distinguished statesman. Finally we welcome him as a great friend of the Chinese people, who has done much to earn their admiration and gratitude. Ever since the beginning of our struggle against Japan's aggression, Mr. Willkie has been giving us full sympathy. In a speech delivered in 1940 he strongly urged the United States' Government to adopt the following steps: to give economic assistance to China, so as to make her a free, strong, and progressive democracy; to expand armaments and build up an adequate national defense and to fortify the strategic bases in the Pacific; and to extend further aids to Great Britain in order to strengthen the American position in the Pacific. In these and similar enunciations, he not only made clear his sympathy for the Chinese people, but also revealed himself a statesman of great wisdom and foresight. For the effort he made to enlist American support to our cause, we feel justly proud and honored to have him with us and bid him a warm welcome.

China and the United States, the two sister Republics on the opposite shores of the Pacific, have long been friends. There has existed between our two peoples a unity of ideals, a unity of love and hate. They both love peace, and they both hate war. The souls of the two peoples have always responded to each other as like responds to the call of like. Though unprepared for the prosecution of a modern war, China, to defend her freedom and independence and to uphold the cause of world peace and justice, has been for over five years, and still is, fighting Japan, the arch aggressor and the evil force of the Pacific, at a sacrifice unprecedented in history. At first we had only the sympathy and support of the American people, and now the United States, Great Britain, Soviet Russia and all the United Nations are our comrades-in-arms. Our bond has deepened into profound friendship in needs. There now exists between us a unity of purpose and action, demanded of us by the threat of common foes. We know Mr. Willkie's visit to different countries is a living symbol of the unanimous determination of the American people to prosecute the struggle against the Axis Powers to a victorious end. It is our belief that as a result of his mission, Mr. Willkie will not only have important contributions to make to his own country and strengthen the relationship between our two countries, but will also help realize the common aims of the United Nations in the building up of a new world order and lasting peace.

In this war the United States is undoubtedly the leader of the United Nations. Though the successful prosecution of the war ultimately depends on the concerted effort of the Allied Powers, the position which the United States occupies is pivotal. Whatever takes place in that country is a matter of vital concern to all of us.

We firmly believe the United Nations will ultimately win, and we build our belief not only on having right and justice on our side but also on the unlimited resources of manpower and materials of the Allies and the vast capacity of production of the United States and Great Britain. Now the most urgent problem confronting Allied Statesmanship is: How to plan out the prosecution of the war as a whole, and how to use and develop to the fullest extent these resources of the Allies in the most effective way in order to meet the pressing needs of the different fronts. If this is successfully accomplished, the enemy will be given no breathing space, and their collapse will be

hastened.

hastened. On this visit Mr. Willkie has covered three continents; Africa, Europe and Asia. We believe that through his own observation and investigation he will be able to grasp the needs of these various fronts in their proper proportion within a single comprehensive view. And we also believe this understanding of the real situation will result in concrete and effective measures. The Chinese Government and the Chinese people have special reason to be enthusiastic over this, because we know, before Mr. Willkie's visit with us is over, he will have seen for himself that to strengthen the China front is imperative to the Allies' victory.

Chengtu is an ancient city in West China, located among a series of beautiful scenic spots. Many British and American people have made their homes here. Since the Sino-Japanese struggle their community has been considerably enlarged by the coming of many others from North, East and South China. They have made important contributions in many fields, social, cultural, as well as religious, and have been on excellent terms with the people of this city. In the past few years we have all been working together in the interest of our war of resistance. When we learned that Mr. Willkie included China in his visit, the people of this city and their British, American and other foreign friends cherished the hope that he might choose to come to Chengtu for a visit. Now that Mr. Willkie is here, we wish he will stay with us a while, so that we may have a chance to know him better.

Personally it is a great honor to me and my wife today to welcome Mr. Willkie, and at the same time we are happy to have this opportunity to renew our friendship with all of you who have kindly come to join us in paying homage to our distinguished guest.

Mr. Willkie:

Governor Chang, Madame Chang, Friends in the united struggle for freedom:

Even one much less sentimental than I am would be deeply moved by the gracious welcome you have given me here today. I have felt since reaching China that the dangers from enemy bombers on my long journey were not as great as the danger of being "killed by kindness" in this good country of yours!

You want to know what the situation is in the countries which I have visited. First of all, I bring you good news. I left the United States five weeks ago yesterday. The day that I arrived in Egypt Rommel's troops were checked and Cairo was saved. I can say definitely to you that Egypt stands firm and that the threat to Cairo has been removed for the time being.

In Near East I met a large number of government and military leaders and I also talked with hundreds of people in all walks of life. I can say this to you; the Near East countries are daily becoming more friendly to the cause of the United Nations and are giving increasing material and moral aid. There is no question now on which side these countries stand.

From the Near East I went to Russia. When I arrived in Russia, Stalingrad was still holding and when I left, it was still standing firm. Russia is fighting bravely and hard.

But as we all know there is another side of the world picture. Japan occupies a large section of China and has gained control of a large area of the Pacific. Germany has conquered most of Europe, is

developing

developing the resources of the occupied areas and is using hundreds of thousands of war prisoners and subject peoples in factories thus releasing more German men for the army.

We believe in final victory. But the road to victory will be a long, a tough and a hard road. I am glad that it will be a hard road for only by struggle and suffering will we realize the cost of freedom. Our difficulties today are not only the price we must pay for holding our freedom; they are also the retribution brought upon us by our short-sightedness and stupidity in the years that have been just past.

When eleven years ago Japan invaded China's northeastern provinces and started the long chain of aggressions, what nation came to China's aid and said to Japan, "You must stop." Not one. When the phoney dictator Mussolini attacked Ethiopia in 1935 what democratic nation shook a finger in his face and said, "This must stop." Not one. Now we are paying for our failures to stand together for justice, we are paying for our lack of vision and our unpreparedness.

The Governor is right when he says that I have come to talk about winning the war. I expect to talk with Generalissimo Chiang about our common effort and the achievement of victory. I expect also to talk with him about the freedoms that we must win for all mankind and for all countries in the world, no matter what the cost may be.

Finally I shall give you one more item of encouraging news. War production in America -- airplanes, tanks, armaments and war materials -- is ahead of schedule and causes even me, who have had a fantastic faith in American resources and possibilities to marvel.

Now I must end this serious speech and enjoy and the good company of all you friends here.

Chengt'u, Oct. 3 (Central): The deep conviction that China, America, Britain, Russia and the other United Nations bound together for ultimate victory are going to win this war was expressed yesterday by Mr. Wendell L. Willkie, special representative of President Roosevelt, in an inspiring speech to a mass meeting of 4,000 teachers and students of nine universities in Chengtu on the campus of the West China Union University. The speech was interpreted in Chinese by Dr. Y. P. Mei, acting President of Yenching University.

Declaring that as the first to resist the attack of the aggressor, China has "paid the full price for victory," Mr. Willkie made the assurances that America will help China fight and help her to the limit of America's resources.

Mr. Willkie asked the students present to reject narrow nationalistic self-interest and devote themselves to the attainment of genuine freedom for every man, whether Chinese, Hindu or American, after the war.

The text of Mr. Willkie's speech is as follows:

Fellow-students:

I have had many experiences in my life, but this is the first time I have had a college president to translate for me. I rather enjoy this experience because since I left college twenty-six years

ago I have wanted to make one of those fellows work for me. As a matter of fact, my six years in university were not devoted so much to acquisition of facts but rather to outwitting the faculty and increasing their discomfiture. (Laughter) How much I am enjoying the passing on of this to you through a college president as my Charlie McCarthy! (Laughter)

I have had to make many kinds of talks in my life, but there is one kind I dread especially, and that is talking to students. Each one of us acquires some prejudices along the way in the course of his life. One prejudice I formed as a young man was against the men who returned to college in their later life and posed as models for us students, or artificially depreciated their own achievements for the sake of a false modesty. Another reason for my hesitation in speaking to college audiences is the problem of split infinitives and personal pronouns in the accusative case which of course cause you students no difficulty. (Laughter) In Russia recently I visited a school where a young girl student was called upon to recite in English upon the use of the comma. Probably because of embarrassment she did not do very well. I kissed her and said, "I have passed fifty and I am still having trouble with my commas." (Laughter)

Seriously, twenty-six years ago when I graduated from law school my own country was beginning to enter the world conflict, the life and death struggle which we then called the European War. There was live discussion whether we should be involved. I graduated in June, 1916. In the following April, 1917, America entered the war. I remember with what enthusiasm on the day that war was declared I enlisted in the army under the slogan of our idealist president Woodrow Wilson. "Make the world safe for democracy." My country with its allies, threw its full strength against what we called the autocracies in order to make the world safe for the democratic way of life.

In that struggle millions of lives were lost, millions of dollars worth of property were destroyed, but we won the war. However, after we won the war something happened. People in my own country and in other countries also, turned inward instead of outward. They abandoned the effort to make the world safe for democracy. Each nation, particularly my own began to think in terms of its own narrow self-interest, and the great ideal of Woodrow Wilson to create a League of Nations was abandoned or rendered at least ineffective because of the unwillingness of the various countries, especially my own, to maintain the high ideal. The peace treaty finally adopted contained clauses -- involving political, military, economic, maladjustment -- which were basic causes of the present world struggle. But even if the ideals of Woodrow Wilson and the world that he visualized had been realized, that would not have been enough. For the new international order was built in his mind chiefly on political realignment and adjustment, and did not contain the idea of economic cooperation. The plan included too many old shibboleths of imperialism, colonies, mandates and such by which one nation tries to rule another.

We are going to win this war in which China, America, Britain, Russia and the other United Nations are bound together for ultimate victory. One in my situation who talks about victory is bound to find himself in mental conflict. I am sure we are going to win as I am that I stand here this morning. I see the forces moving rapidly to that end. At the same time I must not lead you to think that the way to victory is easy. I hope it is not easy. There is so much of sacrifice that we in the western world must make for the kind of world we want to have.

But may I say to you, who were the first to resist the attack of the aggressor: you have paid the full price for victory. Now we must take

take up the burden you have been carrying, we must help you fight, and we must help you to the limit of the resources of our country. (Applause)

The basic question is: after we win the victory what are we going to do with it? You are students. You are about to enter a world of conflict, a world of competition, a world in which ideas are struggling for the control of the future. You will find when you go out into life, whether in China or in America, clever demagogues who preach narrow nationalistic self-interest. They will appeal to love of family and homeside, love of community and country. But you will fail your generation and time unless you reject such narrow and short-sighted leadership. Unless you see that every man, whether Chinese, Hindu or American, is entitled to be free you cannot be leaders in the new world order.

I am proud and happy to be in China for many reasons. One strong reason is that you are led by a man who has caught the vision of a new international life and who wants to help build a world where all men can be free. You young men and women face a very attractive future in which the people of your country are destined to determine the course of world history for centuries, I envy you.

As for me, I am getting old and fat and feel the need of my breakfast, so goodbye and best wishes to you all. (Laughter and loud applause)

Enclosure No. 4 to Despatch No. 671 dated October 8, 1942
from American Embassy at Chungking

Chungking, Oct. 2 (Central): "I am here to find out some facts," said Mr. Willkie in an interview with the press. Surrounded by newspapermen four deep, Mr. Willkie talked while standing. "I just want to say that one of the difficulties facing me is that one falls so much in love with the Chinese people that it is difficult to form a critical and fact-finding judgement. The Chinese people have overwhelmed me with kindness. Except for a Japanese scouting plane which I encountered on the way, I am much more in danger of being killed by kindness than by enemy bullets."

(True copy:
(Compared: *L* *S*)

Enclosure No. 5 to Despatch No. 671 dated October 8, 1942
from American Embassy at Chungking

Chungking, Oct. 3 (Central): In his first public address in Chungking Mr. Wendell L. Willkie told 1,200 public functionaries undergoing training at the Central Training Corps shortly after 3 o'clock this afternoon that "since you have fought this war against aggression for five years, it is the duty we owe you to get the planes and the weapons to China as rapidly and as much as possible."

Delivering an inspiring speech which drew continuous and loud applause from the trainees throughout, Mr. Willkie surveyed the international situation and discussed not only the immediate problem of winning the war but also the immense task of rebuilding.

Addressing the audience as "my comrades who are fighting for freedom," Mr. Willkie first told them that the American people have a deep sympathy for the Chinese people and that all America for China.

Five weeks ago today, one day before he left Washington, Mr. Willkie recalled, he called on President Roosevelt who told him that by the time he arrived in Egypt Cairo might have fallen already. But when he reached Egypt and visited the front he found the American and British troops fighting very well, the situation improving, and the German advance stopped. He added: "I can say that Egypt is much safer than several months ago and I can also say that the threat to Egypt has already been removed."

Referring to Soviet Russia, where he visited the Rzhev front, Mr. Willkie said that the Russians are still holding out at Stalingrad and that he believes the Germans might never reach Moscow.

He said the purpose for his visit to the Middle East was to see whether the countries in that part of the world have greater sympathy with the cause of the United Nations or with the cause of the Axis aggressors. "Now I can tell you after I have travelled to all the Middle East countries and have met and talked with the chiefs of state and their prime-ministers that their sympathy for the cause of the United Nations is growing everyday."

Mr. Willkie said that the production of America has broken the record of the past. He said the production for the next year will exceed what one can imagine.

"Since you have fought this war against aggression for five years," said Mr. Willkie when touching on China, "it is the duty we owe you to get the planes and the weapons to China as rapidly and as much as possible."

He explained that the purpose of his travel is twofold: firstly, to stimulate the people of the countries through which he travels, to tighten their war effort; and secondly, when the war is over, to help build a new world order when every people will have the right to determine their own social and political systems and live in a world of freedom and justice regardless of their race, creed or color (Thundering applause). If after this war the world will return to what it was like what happened after the last world war with spheres of influence, imperialistic methods and mandates, he warned, then the sacrifices during this war will have been in vain.

Mr. Willkie said it was a great pleasure to come to China to contact "such a great people, who has a great leader who not only knows how the importance of winning this war and ways of winning it but also has a vision of building a new world after the war for all people to lead a free and decent life." (One-minute applause).

Enclosure No. 6 to Despatch No. 671 dated October 8, 1942
from American Embassy at Chungking

Chungking, Oct. 5 (Central): China's optimism, conviction, and determination to achieve final victory, was reaffirmed by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in an after-dinner speech delivered at a reception he and Madame Chiang tendered in honor of Mr. Wendell L. Willkie this evening at the National Military Council. Welcoming President Roosevelt's personal envoy to China, the Generalissimo told a distinguished gathering of approximately 70 guests, including representatives of the United Nations, high Chinese officials and civic leaders, that "in order to deliver humanity from barbarism and darkness, all peace-loving peoples must go through hardships and tribulations.

Responding, Mr. Willkie paid high tribute to the Generalissimo, said he viewed this war as a great world struggle for freedom, and emphasized the vital importance of cultivating a spirit of enthusiasm for an "immediate slashing, courageous attack to enable us to sweep over the aggressor nations and on to a new world of victory with justice, freedom, equality, and opportunity for all nations and all men."

^Translated by Dr. Hollington K. Tong, Vice-Minister of Information, the Generalissimo delivered his speech of welcome which was preceded by the American national anthem played by the National Military Council band. It reads:

I consider it a great honor to have the privilege to extend, on behalf of the Chinese army and people, a most hearty welcome to our distinguished guest, Mr. Wendell Willkie, in this wartime capital. We have an old saying: "Is it not delightful to have friends coming from distant lands?" Since the announcement of Mr. Willkie's proposed visit to China, the Chinese army and people have been looking forward to his arrival with great interest and eagerness. He shares with us the same aspiration and ideals. We are indeed happy to have him in our midst.

Our guest of honor comes to China as the personal representative of President Roosevelt. He is a far-sighted statesman of high ideals. As honorary President of the United China Relief, he has worked indefatigably for China's cause. We count him as one of our closest friends, irrespective of personal acquaintanceship. From his public utterances we know that he fully comprehends the long-cherished ambition of Japan for world conquest and the significance and importance of China's stubborn resistance in face of untold sufferings. He has moreover a sympathetic understanding of the ideals which have inspired our war of resistance and our work of reconstruction.

The energetic and fruitful efforts he has made in America in the campaign for aid to China have brought the Chinese and American people closer together---people who have built up their nations upon the same ideology. His present visit has moved us to redouble our efforts in order to fulfill worthily our responsibilities as a member of the United Nations and to come up to the expectations of our allies and our good friends, among them our guest of honor, Mr. Willkie.

The forces of aggression are still at large. In order to deliver humanity from barbarism and darkness, all peace-loving peoples must needs go through hardships and tribulations. Our distinguished visitor will see with his own eyes that wanton destruction wrought by the Japanese in China during the past five years. He will notice our optimism, our conviction and our

determination

determination to achieve final victory. He will not fail to see how, in face of immense difficulties, we have been doing our utmost to increase our fighting strength and to carry on our work of reconstruction, how the Chinese army and people are struggling for the attainment of our common aim and victory.

Mr. Willkie will, I venture to hope, let the Chinese people know more fully the concerted war efforts of the American Government and people so that they may thereby be inspired to greater exertions for the common cause. If he discovers any shortcomings in the work in which we are now engaged, I hope he will give us his candid opinion.

The very simple reception of this evening is an inadequate manifestation of the warmth with which our four hundred fifty million people greet our distinguished guest, a great friend of China. There are present with us the representatives of the United Nations in China. This auspicious occasion is a token of the solidarity among the United Nations of our determination to cooperate to the fullest extent, to fight on until we obtain ultimate victory and create a new era in the future world order.

Now, I ask you to join with me in drinking to the health of President Roosevelt, to Mr. Wendell Willkie.

As soon as the applause died down, the band played the Chinese national anthem, following which Mr. Willkie spoke. In his introductory remarks, Mr. Willkie said before thanking Generalissimo and Madame for their hospitality this evening, he wished to thank the Chinese people. Ever since he set foot on China, all the way from Tihwa through Lanchow and Chengtu to Chungking, he said, he has been overwhelmed with kindness.

Mr. Willkie spoke enthusiastically of the impressions of his trip through Northwest China, particularly mentioning the vastness of the region, the beauty of rolls and rolls of snow-capped mountains, steppes and cases. He was struck by the tremendous possibilities of the Northwest.

He then delivered his main speech, which was rendered into Chinese by Dr. Hollington K. Tong. It follows:

I have come to China to pay homage not only to the Chinese people, but also to one of the truly great men of his time, your Generalissimo. This tribute I deliver to you personally, as one American who has watched for years the struggle of China under his leadership. But I deliver it to you also as the representative of President Roosevelt and as a representative of the American people.

Your Generalissimo is one of the best-known men in my country, and one of the best-liked. I think that most Americans like and respect him for two qualities. They see in him an aggressive spirit, the spirit of a man who is not daunted by difficulties but works ceaselessly to overcome them. And then also they see in him, as they have come to know about him through our newspapers, our motion pictures, our radio, a man with a broad vision of the future, who believes in his heart that freedom and security are possible of achievement not only for China but for the whole world.

I think I understand tonight more about this aggressive spirit than I ever did before. I came to China not through what used to be called a "treaty port", but through the great and wealthy provinces to the west of here. I have lived and worked in the west of

America

America, and I know from first-hand experience the kind of aggressive self-confidence which is developed in pioneer regions by men who are not afraid to take chances -- sometimes very grave chances - in pursuit of what they believe in. Prediction is not my business, but I would be prepared to make a substantial bet that the confident, aggressive, determined spirit I have seen in Sinkiang and in Kansu and in Szechwan, and which the outside world knows about chiefly through the personality of your Generalissimo, is not likely to be stopped by floods, by earthquakes or by the Japanese.

Americans are no less interested in the Generalissimo as both a symbol and a leader of the great struggle for a better future in which we are all engaged. As you know, even better than we in the United States, war is an expensive, ugly business. Its rewards must be great if mankind is not to perish by its own sword. The rewards of this war must be greater than those of any other war. And they must be paid in the cash of freedom and of security. The Generalissimo, working with the principles of Dr. Sun, has helped to launch the Chinese people on a great experiment in democracy -- one in which the goals of self-government and liberty have not been lost sight of even in national crises where security -- the security of the Chinese nation -- has been paramount.

I like to think that not only China, but the whole Pacific area and the entire world may emerge from this war with their faces set directly toward a larger experiment along the same lines. It will not really be an experiment, because we are confident that we already know the answer. We know that only liberty -- real liberty -- of all peoples is worth fighting for. We know that only security -- which means the right to live decently and well, also for all peoples -- can be a guarantee that we shall not have to fight these wars over again every generation.

Your Generalissimo stands in the very front rank among leaders of his time who have given this challenge to the world, and who are struggling to fulfill it. I report to you, as an ordinary American who loves China and the Chinese people, that your leader is a great man not only among his own people but before the world.

I view this war as a great world struggle for freedom. It will not be won by timid souls. It will be won only by bold and courageous men who inspire their peoples to undertake and carry through bold plans. Timid souls can always find reasons for delay in aggressively pushing through to victory.

I have just visited the Mediterranean area, the Middle East, and Russia; and now I am here in China. I toured the battle fronts of both Egypt and Russia. I talked with military officials, with government leaders, and above all with scores and scores of people, regular people, simple people.

And what did I learn from them, particularly from the ordinary citizen in whose intuitive judgment lies wisdom even for the experts?

I learned that the ordinary citizen from Cairo to Moscow to Chungking, a lover of liberty, wants action, action now. He feels the time has come for the United Nations, in a great unison of effort, to take the offensive everywhere.

He is ahead of his leaders, this plain citizen of Africa or Europe or Asia or America. He wants to get on with the war. He wants to get the job done.

He

He no longer believes or fears the myth that Germany and Japan are invincible. It annoys him that much of the might of the United Nations stands idle awaiting action only on some future day.

This ordinary citizen is ready now. He is the strength of the United Nations. His faith in the justice of our cause makes him a superman.

We must all catch his infectious spirit of enthusiasm for an immediate slashing, courageous attack to enable us to sweep over the aggressor nations and on to a new world of victory with justice, freedom, equality, and opportunity for all nations and all men.

Enclosure No. 7 to Despatch No. 671 dated October 8, 1942
from American Embassy at Chungking

Chungking, Oct. 4 (Central): "China is genuinely appreciative of what America has done for her," said Madame Chiang Kai-shek at a tea party welcoming Mr. Wendell L. Willkie at the new premises of the Foreign Office this afternoon. Her speech reads:

"Our guest today has visited many countries and has seen for himself what they are doing to gain victory for the United Nations. He has also had to listen to many addresses of welcome. Without wishing to disparate those extended elsewhere, I am confident that nowhere has the welcome been more sincere and heartfelt than that which he is receiving in Free China.

"I think Mr. Willkie is a very disturbing personality. Why? Well, I had a nice speech already to read to him and here he comes and shows he is not the sort of person for whom the speech was made. So he has knocked it into a cocked hat. I will have, therefore, to speak from my heart because he is so spontaneous, so warm-hearted, so essentially human that anything written down would not express the welcome felt in our hearts for him.

"We are particularly glad to have Mr. Willkie with us. He knows the aspirations of our people. He knows that, in seeking to fulfill her national aspirations, China does not desire to encroach upon the rights of others. She does not covet their lands or resources and she does not seek to interfere with their way of life. Consequently, as Mr. Willkie has so often eloquently told his American compatriots, China is not only a valuable buttress to the United Nations because of her man-power and material resources, but because of the moral and spiritual strength that has held the nation together for over five years despite the disruptive effect of a war which has put a terrible strain upon every man, woman and child in China.

"No doubt, while in other lands our guest gained insight into the manner in which our gallant Allies are facing the problem of meeting the demands of what is generally called war relief. One of our objects today, besides honoring our very distinguished guest, is to enable him to meet representatives of the various organizations that were our answer to the almost overwhelming demand upon our resources and capabilities that war thrust upon us. The fact that Mr. Willkie is honorary chairman of the United China Relief is sufficient proof that he takes a genuine personal interest in that phase of our war effort.

"With his wide knowledge of world affairs, Mr. Willkie does not need to be told that since Pearl Harbor and the extension of the war throughout the Pacific region, the difficulties of our war organizations have been greatly increased. This both in positive and negative ways. The positive effects were due to the tens of thousands of refugees which swept into Free China from Hongkong, the Netherlands Indies, Malaya and Burma and who had to be cared for. The negative side was that these very people who now looked to us for succor, had been one of the financial mainstays of our relief organization in the previous war years. This is a feature of the position that is, perhaps, not generally noted.

"Mr. Willkie would not, I suspect, be inordinately pleased if he were assailed by an avalanche of statistics. But we would like him to know that war relief alone since 1937 has cost China hundreds of millions of dollars. And this, it has to be remembered, at a time when our Customs revenue was cut off, our ports occupied and communication with the outside world rendered tenuous. Our foreign trade almost ceased. Yet, notwithstanding all these heartbreaking

disadvantages

disadvantages, our relief work has gone on, industries have been established in the southwestern and southeastern provinces, waterways have been improved, waste lands redeemed and our political and economic machinery adjusted to meet the new conditions. We realize, however, that with new and graver problems cropping up every passing day, we must continue to strain every fiber in pressing forward towards victory which is not to be had for the mere asking.

"I am convinced that during his stay with us Mr. Willkie will find that China is genuinely appreciative of what America has done for her. The friendly feeling which has always prevailed between our countries has grown stronger, and immediately more so in these bitter war years during which the American people, rich and poor, old and young, down almost to the last baby, have spontaneously and eagerly extended a helping hand to our war relief, especially to the 'warphans' whose songs we have just heard. Although there are, necessarily, many differences between our peoples, Mr. Willkie will find that a sense of justice is common to us both. It was this inherent quality which helped to enable Chinese culture to endure for so many centuries. This quality has always been latent in America and it is now more than ever apparent under the impact of war.

"In Mr. Willkie himself we have found the embodiment of that warmth, spontaneity, and energy which are also characteristic of the American people. Although the bonds between our two countries have always been close, these bonds have become closer now. But I hear you say to yourselves, why do you keep on talking? We want Mr. Willkie! In just a moment I am going to give you Mr. Willkie. Here you see him. He is not so small that you cannot see him. He is indeed a worthy representative of the American people and President Roosevelt. Wherever Mr. Willkie went on this tour sunshine and victories descended upon those lands as in the case of Egypt and Russia. I feel sure that you will agree with me that Mr. Willkie is an augury of good omen, and that his visit to China will not accomplish less than what we all are hoping and working for--the ultimate victory of the United Nations. As a living and dynamic symbol of a new world society of free nations, we welcome you, Mr. Willkie, to our midst."

Responding, Mr. Willkie said: "I have always said to myself in the last few years that compared with my desserts I am the most fortunate man of my time. I have been the recipient of many, many compliments but I accept as the quintessence of any compliment that I have received in my life that I have proved disturbing to such a delightful lady. By necessity I have had to do a good deal of speech-making in my time. And I have been accustomed to real tough competition in it. In 1940 I won 625 stumps in America when I attempted to answer the master charmer of his day. That was easy. This is tough. Her Excellency speaks of the countries I have visited and the victories that have been coincident with my visits. Here I have been captured. My heart has been taken away. I know it would be very inappropriate for me to compare the respective receptions that, as a representative of my country and my President, I have received through 13 countries and independent units that I have passed through since I left America. I think I can say this with perfect tact which, I think, will be agreed to by the members of my staff that at no place have we been in receipt of a reception that has so warmed our hearts as that which we have received in China.

"I have talked in the last few weeks with the leading statesmen of Russia, Iran, China and we have discussed many things of importance but nothing of like importance to these children because they

symbolize

symbolize all that Madame is working to achieve and all that I am dedicating my life to--a world in which people can live decent lives. Here this afternoon at this women's relief organization gathering are women who have given up their time, people who have given up their funds in order to give these children and thousands like them an opportunity to grow up in self-respect. The challenge to us is, are we merely re-fighting another war in order to re-establish the type of society we had before this war broke out under which these children lost their parents, or are we as Chinese, Americans, as citizens in the world, fighting this time to eliminate such things as imperialism, spheres of influence and mandates, etc., that carry with them the seeds of another struggle.

"If I can contribute anything in my time, the one contribution I can make is to howl and howl throughout this world that we shall see to it that all nations and all peoples will be free, that simple little children like these, whether in America, China or Russia, can live and grow up in a free society, in a decent way and uncontrolled by anybody except their own fellow citizens in their respective countries. I was talking with Madame about UCR and I asked whether the fund was properly allocated in China. She replied, 'I think so.' If you do not think it is, cable me. And I will howl. And I want to show to you that when I howl, I howl. And Madame and I are going to howl in chorus when this war is over."

Enclosure No. 8 to Despatch No. 671 dated October 8, 1942
from American Embassy at Chungking

Chungking, Oct. 5 (Central): "We hope that the United Nations should at once grab the opportunity to jointly build a firm foundation for a new and better system of education, which should in contents and spirit meet the requirements of humanity and righteousness and should be the crystallization of moral realizations and scientific achievements before it can be of service to the world," declared Mr. Chen Li-fu, Minister of Education, in a speech of welcome delivered at a luncheon party held at the Central Library in honor of Mr. Wendell Willkie at noon today.

The Minister's speech reads:

"Today, most heartily we welcome Mr. Wendell Willkie, the personal envoy of President Roosevelt. Far across many seas and by round-about air routes he has come to visit our wartime capital. Indeed to give half a day to our educational institutions in the midst of grave responsibilities and within the span of a few days' sojourn is something for which we should be grateful. This gracious act of Mr. Willkie clearly shows his deep personal concern with Chinese culture and education, which bespeaks for the current nationwide American interest in our war and the ever-increasing friendship between the United States and China.

"Ever since we opened our war of resistance under the leadership of Generalissimo Chiang, we have suffered more than once from our enemy's planned destructions directed against our culture and education, about which Mr. Willkie must have read from newspapers and other reports. Today he has the opportunity of seeing in person some of the frequently bombed but re-established cultural and educational premises of China. There is, therefore, no need for me to deal with them in detail. Suffice it to say that such destructive attempts of our enemy have in no way shattered our fighting spirit. Our enemy may have succeeded in destroying a number of our modern school buildings and in bombing a number of our cities, but they have failed to prevent us from translocating our educational institutions and from building within the shortest possible stretch of time simple but practical universities, colleges and schools in which we have been able to continue our education. Under no condition, in short, shall we permit our cultural and educational enterprises to be interrupted by the lathal attempts of our aggressor. In fact we have succeeded in making our enemy understand that in this world today there is yet existing side by side with humanity and righteousness an unconquerable spiritual power which can never be subdued by the might of arms.

"We firmly believe that those who fight for humanity and righteousness shall win. We firmly believe that conviction is strength, and to firmly hold to this conviction is and should be the responsibility of all educators throughout the world. Furthermore, we firmly believe that war is the symptom of world disease and education should be the medicine for it. With these convictions we have been struggling with great results, for five years of war have enabled the entire people of China to see some of our own weaknesses and strong points on the one hand and to achieve a worldwide recognition of the greatness of China on the other. Indeed the bitter experiences of these five years have helped to hasten into being remarkable developments within and a speedy interflow between Chinese and Western cultures. Toward the latter in particular, I am sure, more contributions will be made by Mr. Willkie. At present, while redoubling our efforts in strengthening our weak points by taking in whatever that is valuable from the West, we are trying our

best

best to widen the sphere of Chinese culture's happy influences for the benefit of mankind. In this case, I am sure, Mr. Willkie will be so kind as to benefit us with his honored opinions. We hope that the United Nations should at once grab the opportunity to jointly build a firm foundation for a new and better system of education, which should in contents and spirit meet the requirements of humanity and righteousness and should be the crystallization of moral realizations and scientific achievements before it can be of service to the world. This foundation can only have its basis in the interflow of cultures and in the close cooperation among nations.

"Among the United Nations now carrying on our war against the aggressor states, the United States, Great Britain, Soviet Russia, and China are the four nations generally recognized as the major fighting powers. Whether in spirit or from the standpoint of righteousness, or in other respects, there is a close inseparable relationship among them--and there should be a closer one yet--for the victory or defeat of the United Nations will determine the rise or fall of world civilization, the existence or complete disappearance of freedom and happiness. Shoulder to shoulder, we, the United Nations, have been fighting with this common conviction. I am happy to say that just at this very moment Mr. Willkie has crossed the common frontlines of these nations and has encountered and come to understand the different groups of people, especially the youths. As a result, he must have seen hopes for victory and collected a good deal of happy impressions which he will bring back to comfort the peoples of the United States. We share his hopes, and in the midst of such hopes let us drink to the health of President Roosevelt and his Personal Envoy, Mr. Wendell Willkie."

Chungking, Oct. 5 (Central): "I was almost moved to tears by the demonstration of students. One of the lasting impressions of my visit to China will be those full-throated cheers of the students this morning. I shall never forget them." This was the moving speech made by Mr. Wendell L. Willkie, personal envoy of President Roosevelt, at today's luncheon given by Mr. Chen Li-fu, Minister of Education, at the National Central Library.

"Before I come to China, Chinese representatives in America wanted to know what I wanted to see most in China. First and foremost, I wanted to meet Chinese educational leaders and visit Chinese educational institutes. Today I saw the leaders who are in charge of the education of the youth of China and what will be the China of tomorrow.

"I shall devote my life and time after this war to the work that the causes of this war shall never be repeated. Education will open the mind to a new world. My father was a boy arriving in America from a foreign country without relatives and friends. He gave each of his children university education. I am a living example of what education can do to any man. Education opens a man to opportunities.

"I was almost moved to tears by the demonstration of the students. One of the lasting impressions of my visit to China will be those full-throated cheers of the students this morning. I shall never forget them."

Enclosure No. 9 to Despatch No. 671 dated October 8, 1942
from American Embassy at Chungking

Chungking, October 6 (Central): Mr. Wendell L. Willkie paid tribute and respect to the high officers and rank and file of the Chinese and American forces fighting shoulder to shoulder in the China theater, at a luncheon given for him by General Ho Ying-chin, Chief of the General Staff, this noon.

Characterizing the presence of a group of high-ranking Chinese and American officers at the party as a "fine and unusual symbol," Mr. Willkie said he had not the slightest doubt that the two forces would cooperate to the fullest extent.

In this regard, Mr. Willkie said that Lieutenant-General Joseph W. Stilwell, with whom he had a long talk yesterday, has only one purpose in mind: to help the Chinese defeat the Japanese. "On behalf of the American people and army, I can assure you that the American forces under General Stilwell are devoted to this very cause," he asserted.

Welcoming the President's personal envoy to Chungking, General Ho said: "There are two aggressors in the world--Japan in the East and Nazi Germany in the West. These two we must and will defeat. The initial victories scored by Japan since Pearl Harbor may be likened to the final rally of a dying man. Even when we were fighting alone we had not the slightest doubt of our final victory. Now with the United States as our ally, victory is only a matter of time. When Mr. Willkie returns to the United States, he will please let the American people know our belief in victory and determination to win."

General Ho expressed appreciation for the services rendered by General Stilwell and the American forces under his command. He said that the most cordial relations exist between the Chinese and American forces in the China theater. He asked Mr. Willkie to tell his people that the two forces are cooperating closely. He added:

"Our main concern is: how can we quickly defeat the Japanese. On behalf of the Chinese Army, I thank Mr. Willkie for his presence here today and for American moral and material assistance."

Enclosure No. 10 to Despatch NO. 671 dated October 8, 1942
from American Embassy at Chungking

Chungking, October 6 (Central): Presiding over the reception on behalf of the cultural organizations, Gen. Wu Te-chen bid Mr. Willkie welcome to China.

Gen. Wu continued, "China is indeed honored today. Next to the President of the United States of America himself, no one, from that land which is proving itself to be the heart of opposition against the Axis, pumping life-blood through the arteries of resistance, could do us greater honor by paying us a visit, than our distinguished guest, Mr. Wendell Willkie. We are honored by our visitor, not merely because he is the Presidential envoy, but because he is also the embodiment of the spirit necessary in this war, the spirit of throwing oneself unselfishly, heart and soul into the struggle, of doing anything and everything for the common good, the spirit of one for all.

"Our wartime capital may be disappointing to one coming from the grandeur and luxuries of Washington, but, such as it is, rugged, bare, comfortless, yet dauntless, it is a symbol of the spirit animating our people, enabling them with little to do much, withstanding for five years, and for as much longer as may be necessary, the assault of the Japanese.

"Our visitor comes from a country where free man's ingenuity has made living as comfortable as can be, a country which, almost by waving a wand, can produce thousands of planes, tanks, guns and ships, a country whose government is of the people, for the people, and by the people, a country which is showing herself to be of the world, for the world, and by the world. He comes to a country where he will find little comfort, where he will find that industries, manufactures, and progress have been slowed down by Japanese interference over a long period. But here he will find a people who for the past fifty years have been struggling to put into practice Dr. Sun Yat-sen's teaching of a government of, for and by the people, and who, for the past five years, under the leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, have been successfully preventing the Japanese from upsetting such a government. He will find a people who sacrifice for world stability. He will find a people who admire the Americans, and whose endeavor is to graft the American way of government, American progress, and American freedom on to the best of our ancient Chinese Virtues. We hope that his visit here will help to bring about the defeat of the Axis Powers more quickly, and establish a lasting world peace. By that means we will the sooner reach the goal towards which we aspire, and the two countries of Abraham Lincoln and of Dr. Sun Yat-sen will stand, twin sister republics, hand in hand across the Pacific

Responding to the chairman's welcome speech, Mr. Willkie first told an interesting story about John and Mary who were love-making during a cab ride. After a long tete-a-tete as the horse trudged along, John finally asked Mary, "Would you marry me?" Mary replied, "Yes." Then both fell into a long silence. At last Mary said, "Why don't you say something?" John answered, "I have already said too much."

Mr. Willkie said that just like John he had been saying too much since his arrival in Chungking.

Expressing gratitude for the welcome the Chinese extended to him, Mr. Willkie said that during the last four years he had been in the

spotlight

spotlight, big crowds and political campaigns but not at any place had he received such warm welcomes as he is now receiving in China.

Continuing, Mr. Willkie said that in every cultural society there are those who have high ideals, look ahead and contribute to the welfare of mankind. "Such societies are yours and I am happy to be here today.

However, Mr. Willkie emphasized that high ideals are not enough in themselves but must be translated into facts for the welfare of mankind.

Mr. Willkie then stated, "I came in the midst of a war in which America and China are allies. Production of the United States is an effective aid for China. I am naturally interested in victory. There is nothing I won't do for the achievement of that. But there is something beyond that. After this war, China, America and all other nations that are willing to join will see to it that the people of different nations will live a free life without outside intervention. Not only that. Every nation must open up its resources for all other people, irrespective of race and creed. To that cause I dedicate my life and I call upon you cultural organizations to aim at such a good. In this part of the world you are brilliantly led by the Generalissimo toward such a goal. So goodbye and good luck! I hope that next time when I meet you again, you will all be citizens of a free world."

Enclosure No. 11 to Despatch No. 671 dated October 8, 1942
from American Embassy at Chungking

Chungking, Oct. 6 (Central): Dr. Kung delivered a welcome address. He said as follows:

Mr. Willkie, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Madame Kung and myself wish to thank all of you for your presence this evening to join us in honoring Mr. Willkie. We are appreciative of President Roosevelt's sending him to our country. Mr. Willkie's name has been on everyone's lips ever since the announcement of his visit to China; and judging by the way he has won our hearts during the last few days, it is needless for me to stress the extent of our admiration for him.

You will no doubt have heard about his life and his accomplishments. Besides having been a prominent lawyer and a successful industrialist, he is a statesman of vision, courage and action, as eminently shown by his whole-hearted cooperation with President Roosevelt in America's war efforts. His ideals for the post-war world have received our full endorsement.

We welcome you, Mr. Willkie, both as the representative of President Roosevelt and as the representative of the American people, together with whom we have dedicated ourselves to defeating the forces of aggression. No better instance of the vitality of the democratic cause can be found than the fact of your presence here tonight. We deeply appreciate your undertaking so arduous an adventure in order to see with your own eyes and to invigorate by your infectious enthusiasm the war efforts of the various members of the Grand Coalition against aggression.

As President of the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives and the National Child Welfare Association, both of which have received valuable assistance from America, and as President of the Sino-American Institute of Cultural Relations, I have invited, besides my official colleagues, officers and friends of these organizations, and leaders in financial, educational, industrial, political and military circles, to join us in extending our heartfelt welcome to Mr. Willkie.... I take particular pleasure in greeting a former fellow-student at Oberlin: we studied not only in the same institution but under the same professor.

Our Government, through President Lin Sen and through our Generalissimo, has already entertained Mr. Willkie officially. This informal party, therefore, is only an expression of our friendship and love for the one who has taken a genuine interest in our people.

I think I am expressing the desire of all of us here that just as Mr. Willkie is the Goodwill Ambassador of the American people to China, we wish him to act as our Ambassador by taking back with him to the American people the Goodwill of our people.

Replying, Mr. Willkie expressed thanks for the warm welcome and hospitality extended to him. He said that after passing through so many countries he got the deepest impressions in China. He added that China is warm and close to his heart.

Enclosure No. 12 to Despatch No. 671 dated October 8, 1942
from American Embassy at Chungking

Chungking, Oct. 6 (Central): At 8:15 p.m. Mr. Willkie made a broadcast to the Chinese people at the invitation of the Chinese-American Institute of Cultural Relations. He said:

People of China:

I have been in Chungking now for 5 days. I have met your President. I have had a very stimulating experience of long discussion with your Generalissimo. I have been in conferences with your ministers. I have visited your factories, your arsenals, your farms and your schools. I have been much impressed by all of those whom I met and I have been especially honored to receive the confidence of your great Generalissimo in discussion. But the thing above all else that touches me since I have been in this country has been the overwhelming kindness and the response of the ordinary people that I have met on the street, in the factories and as I drove along the highway. I came in through your great Northwest. I passed the long beautiful mountains, rows and rows of snow-capped mountains, hills as lovely as ever pictured in dream. And then I saw deserts, even those deserts are beautiful. I could not but think of the days when I was a young man and worked and lived as a laborer in the west of America and saw the west of America developed. I have seen its water towers, I have seen its irrigation works, I have seen great industries grow. I know the vigor and the freshness of a western country. As I drove through those sections, having a very practical mind, I saw here water paradises, there irrigation projects, I saw sites for industries and transportation facilities and I have no doubt that when this war passes, China will become one of the greatest industrial countries of the world. I think you have the wisdom to avoid the mistakes that we have made -- the mistakes of disparity of the distribution of the rewards of society that creates a great industrial empire. I came to China to discuss with your Generalissimo and to find out facts. I did so because in my judgment the hope or the failure of mankind in the coming centuries will be determined by whether or not those men who assume leadership have the wisdom, the vision and the imagination to solve the problems of the Great East, in terms of human values, in terms of freedom, in terms of loss of empire and imperialism. America, great free America, which is pouring out its treasures, which is pouring out its resources to help all who fight with it, owes a much greater duty than merely the contribution of ammunition, and armaments and airplanes to the people over here who have fought for five years. We owe much more than that. We owe the duty to join nations such as China to see this problem over here is worked out so that China can be completely free, so that other peoples who are now under domination can be completely free. Mankind is on the march. Men are reading and books are open. The colonial days are past. If they are not past, then mankind will degenerate into a wheel of war. Although I have no authority to speak for all the people of the United States, I can speak for myself. I expect to devote the balance of my life to seeing, speaking, working that the world can be reconstructed after this war on a basis where all men can be free and live under governments of their own choosing with economic rights and basic commodities of this world so that all man can live a decent life under constant rising standard of living. I am much indebted to you for the flood of kindness with which I have been overwhelmed while in China and this will be my cherished memory. This will probably be the last time when I shall see many of your people while in China. When I do next meet or see any of you, I hope we shall be both citizens of a free country in a world of peace and prosperity.

(True copy: *EL*)
(Compared: *EL*)

Enclosure No. 13 to Despatch No. 671 dated October 8, 1942
from American Embassy at Chungking

Chungking, October 7 (Central): That defense will not win the war, that it is "just and wise for us to see to it" that China and Russia "secure an equitable share of our arms production," and that "men need more than arms to fight and win this kind of war," were the three points emphasized by Mr. Wendell L. Willkie in a prepared statement to the press this morning. It reads:

"I have travelled through thirteen countries. I have seen kingdoms, soviets, republics, mandated areas, colonies and dependencies. I have seen an almost bewildering variety of ways of living, and ways of ruling and of being ruled. But I have found four things common to all the countries I have visited and to all the ordinary people in those countries with whom I have talked:

"First, they all want the United Nations to win the war.

"Second, they want the United Nations to get on the offensive now.

"Third, they all want a chance at the end of the war to live in liberty and independence.

"Fourth, they all doubt, in varying degree, the readiness of the leading democracies of the world to stand up and be counted for freedom for others after the war is over. This doubt kills their enthusiastic participation on our side.

"Now without the real support of these common people, the winning of war will be enormously difficult. The winning of the peace will be nearly impossible. This war is not simply a technical problem for task forces. It is also a war for men's minds. We must organize on our side not simply the sympathies but the active, aggressive, offensive spirit of nearly three-fourths of the people of the world who live in South America, Africa, Eastern Europe and Asia. We have not done this, and at present are not doing this. We have got to do it.

"First of all, everything I have seen on this trip has strengthened my conviction that defense will not win the war. I think we have got to pin this idea in our hats, and look at it often -- Defense won't win for us either in a military sense or in a political sense.

"It is my personal opinion that the time has come for an all-out armed offensive everywhere by all the United Nations. We are ready to deliver some knock-put punches, if I can believe what I have seen with my own eyes.

"We can start these punches at home, but they have got to connect if they are going to hurt the enemy. In the United States we have talked a lot to the world about our production figures. But some of our allies have seen very little of our actual arms. It is only natural for them to wonder where our boasted production has gone. It is only natural for some of them to wonder how much longer they will have to eat like children at the second table.

"Some of the countries I have visited look on the map like the last stop on the line. But in terms of the blows they are

delivering

delivering to our enemies, they should be the first steps. China and Russia have each contributed to the defeat of the Axis aggressors some 5,000,000 of their finest men in casualties. Each has engaged and held with heroic tenacity powerful and ruthless enemies. It is both just and wise for us to see to it that they secure an equitable share of our arms production.

"However, men need more than arms to fight and win this kind of war. They need enthusiasm for the future and a conviction that the flags they fight under are in bright, clean colors. The truth is that we as a nation have not made up our minds as to what kind of a world we want to speak for when victory comes.

"Especially here in Asia the common people feel that we have asked them to join us for no better reason than that Japanese rule would be even worse than Western imperialism. This is a continent where the record of the Western democracies has been long and mixed; but where people -- and remember there are a billion of them -- are determined no longer to live under foreign control. Freedom and opportunity are the words which have modern magic for the people of Asia, and we have let the Japanese -- the most cruel imperialists the modern world has known -- steal these words from us and corrupt them to their own uses.

"Most of the people in Asia have never known democracy. They may or may not want our type of democracy. Obviously all of them are not ready to have democracy handed to them next Tuesday on a silver platter. But they are determined to work out their own destiny under governments selected by themselves.

"Even the name of the Atlantic Charter disturbs thoughtful men and women I have been talking to. Do all of those who signed it, these people ask, agree that it applies to the Pacific? We must answer this question with a clear and simple statement of where we stand. And we must begin to sweat over our common problem of translating such a statement into plans which will be concrete and meaningful to the lives of these millions of people who are our allies.

"Some of the plans to which such a statement would lead are already clear, I deeply believe, to most Americans:

"We believe this war must mean an end to the empire of nations over other nations. No foot of Chinese soil, for example, should be or can be ruled from now on except by the people who live on it. And we must say so now, not after the war.

"We believe it is the world's job to find some system for helping colonial peoples who join the United Nations' cause to become free and independent nations. We must set up firm timetables under which they can work out and train governments of their own choosing, and we must establish iron-clad guarantees, administered by all the United Nations jointly, that they shall not slip back into colonial status.

"Some say these subjects should be hushed until victory is won. Exactly the reverse is true. Sincere efforts to find progressive solutions now will bring strength to our cause. Remember, opponents of social change always urge delay because of some present crisis. After the war, the changes may be too little and too late.

We must develop between nations trade and trade routes strong enough to give all peoples the same vested interest in peace which we in America have had.

"In the United States, we are being asked to give up temporarily our individual freedom and economic liberty in order to crush the Axis. We must recover this freedom and this liberty after the war. The way to make certain we do recover our traditional American way of life with a rising standard of living for all is to create a world in which all men everywhere can be free."

Chungking, October 7 (Central): Speaking as a true friend of China whose sole desire is to see China win this war, Mr. Wendell L. Willkie strongly urged the Chinese people "to cooperate with their government to the very limit," in an official statement to the Chinese and foreign press corps at a press conference at 9 o'clock this morning.

Addressing some 60 Chinese newspapermen and foreign correspondents in the presence of Dr. Wang Shih-chieh, Minister of Information, and Dr. Hollington K. Tong, Vice-Minister of Information, President Roosevelt's personal envoy stressed the "tremendous importance that every cooperation be given on the part of every citizen of China who wants China to win this war."

In making this appeal, Mr. Willkie was referring to the "inflationary or financial problem" which, together with the military problem, he considered the most important facing China. He said:

"It will be inappropriate for me to define the Chinese problems. I am interested in your industrial, agricultural and military operations. I am also interested in your attitude toward the war and the world we are apt to have after this war.

"Two of the greatest present problems facing China today are the military operations and the inflationary or financial problem. I want to emphasize that the second is as important as the first, and the struggle being made by Dr. H. H. Kung and those under him and associated with him to prevent inflation is just as heroic and important a struggle as the military operations. I expect to make a more thorough study of it.

"Without being presumptuous or suggestive as to how China should solve it, it is of tremendous importance that every cooperation be given on the part of every citizen of China who wants to see China win this war. You could win militarywise but you may lose it otherwise as occurred in Russia and France at the end of the last war.

"I am always hesitant to comment on the people I have visited and their internal problems. But it may not be inappropriate for one who has been received so kindly to emphasize at this conference the cooperation of every Chinese patriot. The struggle has no such dramatics as military fighting and cannot be visualized as one with tanks, guns and planes, but it marches on.

"Your kindness has given me the right to speak. I could say nothing more to the Chinese people in response to their kindness except to urge them to cooperate with their government to the very limit about their problem. In time of financial and inflationary troubles, there are infinitesimal ways by which a citizen may seek to profit at the expense of his nation, such as hoardings, artificial purchases and things of that kind.

"Anybody who loves China wants China to win. I mean that as sincerely, deeply and pointedly as what I have said to you."

Mr. Willkie

Mr. Willkie made the above remarks after he had finished reading his prepared statement concerning which he emphasized: "This is my own personal statement of my own personal views. I may say that as to my personal statement, I speak for nobody else nor does anybody else speak for me."

Following a running translation of his written statement in Chinese by Professor G. C. Chi of the International Department of the Ministry of Information, Mr. Willkie told pressmen he first wanted to express his great personal appreciation of the kindness that has been shown him from the President and the Generalissimo down through all classes of Chinese society.

He remembered vividly every morning several hundred people gathered outside the gate of his residence as he went out to see various things. He also recalled the full-throated cheers of the students and faculty members. "I love people very much. The reception has moved and touched me as I went through every element of Chinese life. This is true in Chungking, Chengtu and other places. That memory I shall cherish.

Asked of his personal reaction to yesterday's Ta Kung Pao editorial appealing to the United States to be the first to abrogate the "unequal treaties" China concluded with her, Mr. Willkie said that the questioner has come to some specific governmental measure that is now in being.

Explaining his position, Mr. Willkie said: "I am here to discuss specific things for the President and my Government. I am here also as an individual whom for some reason 23,000,000 American people had voted and I can say what I damn please." Here he lighted a cigarette after which he continued: "I don't think there is any doubt as to my views on this subject since my arrival in Chungking."

Another reporter reminded Mr. Willkie of a press report about Mr. Roosevelt's latest Lease-Lend report to Congress in which the President was reported to have said that one-third of the United States' armed production had gone to Russia, another one-third to Britain and the rest were divided among other United Nations. "What was the percentage to China?" the reporter asked.

"Those figures were inaccurately reported," emphatically replied Mr. Willkie, chewing his gum. Continuing, he said: "I would not say any more for if I do it will be like writing a letter to Hitler and telling him about it."

A correspondent asked if the Chinese Government feels the same way with Mr. Willkie in his views on post-war problem. He answered: "They are competent to speak for themselves, and I'd be presumptuous to speak for them."

Answering another question concerning post-war freedom, which was mentioned in his prepared statement, Mr. Willkie further clarified his view: "Personally I am fearful that if steps are not taken before the war is over, hopes may dissipate again like in the last war."

Mr. Wang Yun-sheng, editor-in-chief of the Chungking edition of the Ta Kung Pao, expressed the hope that Mr. Willkie would arouse the United States and other United Nations to take steps to retake Burma in view of the importance of Burma to China and her allies in the prosecution of the war. With regard to the naval phase, Mr. Wang said that the United States is largely responsible, just as the Chinese Army is on the Asiatic mainland. That being the case, what can the United States do on the mainland to help crush Japan?

"Speaking"

"Speaking personally and not as a military strategist," Mr. Willkie answered, "I agree with the first statement--I have no disagreement with him (Mr. Wang) about the importance of Burma."

Mr. Willkie thanked the press for its cooperation during his stay in China. "The press of China has been perfectly swell to me. If my life is not cast in a different way, I would love to be a newspaper correspondent. Many, many thanks and good luck," he said, thus closing the conference at precisely 9:39 a.m.

Enclosure No. 14 to Despatch No. 671 dated October 8, 1942
from American Embassy at Chungking

Chungking, Oct. 7 (Central): A memorandum indicating some thoughts and hopes that stand uppermost in the hearts of the Chinese people at this moment was presented yesterday to Mr. Wendell L. Willkie by the Chinese-American Institute of Cultural Relations.

The memorandum was prepared by a group of the officers and members of the Institute when it was learned that the distinguished visitor was interested in knowing what message the Chinese people would like to have him bring back to America.

In transmitting the memorandum to Mr. Willkie, Dr. H. H. Kung, President of the Institute, said, "If indeed this group of Chinese intelligentsia may speak for the Chinese people, will you kindly convey their views to your President and your people".

The memorandum set forth six points, briefly as follows:

(1) That America should keep as large an air force in China as can be possibly maintained and supplied, inasmuch as the present strength is far from sufficient to support the Chinese army in any effective counter-offensive against the enemy;

(2) That America should make concerted efforts with the other United Nations to take back Burma from Japanese hands at the earliest possible time, thereby removing Japanese threats to India and facilitating the inflow of material aid to China from the United Nations;

(3) That America should send further bombing squadrons to Japanese cities to bring the war to Japanese soil;

(4) That in Allied global strategy the China front and the European front should be considered equal in importance;

(5) That, despite untold sufferings and sacrifices as the first nation to take up arms against the forces of aggression, the Chinese people will never lay down arms until their cause and that of the United Nations is won and won decisively; and,

(6) That America and China should cooperate to the fullest possible extent not only in winning military victory but even more importantly in rebuilding a new and better world order in which every people, irrespective of color, race or religion, shall enjoy equal freedom to develop its national life according to its cultural pattern and in which no war for predatory conquest shall ever be allowed to happen again to the civilized world.

Enclosure no. 15 to despatch no. 671
dated October 8, 1942 from the
Embassy at Chungking.

Page no. 1 of 3 Pages.

Confidential comment by the Ambassador.

Mr. Willkie's visit to China was cordially welcomed by the Chinese Government. Elaborate arrangements were made for his reception and entertainment, and for popular demonstrations of acclaim. Every effort was made to evidence a most cordial attitude of friendship toward the United States and toward Mr. Willkie personally as a prominent American, a "special envoy" of the President, and a personage in American political life likely to exercise great influence in American and world affairs affecting China.

It is known to the Embassy that Dr. T. V. Soong, Minister of Foreign Affairs of China, now in Washington, informed the Chinese Government that Mr. Willkie (1) might be the next President of the United States and (2) might be seated at the peace conference where issues vital to China will be discussed and decided. He recommended, therefore, that the utmost effort be made to make Mr. Willkie's visit to China a success and to do everything possible to win Mr. Willkie firmly to China's cause.

Mr. Willkie's visit to China may be described as successful in that he was well received and extravagantly entertained. He was extremely cordial in his attitude toward the Chinese, energetic and untiring in carrying out his program of visits of inspection, speeches, et cetera.

Mr. Willkie has not held public office, nor, apparently, has he traveled extensively abroad. His attitude at Chungking was perhaps more that of a visiting prominent American politician than of a distinguished American acting as a "special representative of the President". Chinese officials and other Chinese familiar with the United States were somewhat amused at what they described as the American political campaign technique of Mr. Willkie during his visit. Others not familiar with the United States or foreign countries were somewhat confused and startled but interested and friendly.

The principal observation made on Mr. Willkie's visit was his attitude toward the press--Chinese and foreign. He courted the correspondents and newspapermen on every occasion, invited them to accompany him on his inspection visits (although the official program did not so contemplate), and, ignoring his hosts--cabinet ministers--on such visits, he surrounded himself with the press and encouraged them to record his remarks. Upon his arrival at Chungking, he submitted to the press, leaving his hosts (Chinese officials) waiting while he gave a press interview. During his presence at receptions and other gatherings he was quick to yield to any request of the press, abandoning his Chinese hosts and going into a corner with the press men for as much as ten to fifteen minutes. This attitude was rather disconcerting to high Chinese officials, but they accepted the situation with typical Oriental grace and Chinese good humor (if not amusement).

The

Enclosure no. 15 to despatch no. 671
dated October 8, 1942, from the
Embassy at Chungking.
Page no. 2 of 3 Pages.

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The diplomatic representatives of the United Nations were faithful in their attendance by invitation at a number of functions given for Mr. Willkie; but beyond the acknowledgment of introductions, he had nothing to say to any of them, although he had recently visited in their countries in several instances.

Mr. Willkie did not visit the American Embassy. The program prepared by the Foreign Office contemplated that he would proceed to the American Embassy and spend the first night at the Ambassador's residence. A cordial invitation was extended to Mr. Willkie to do so, but he elected otherwise. The Ambassador accompanied Mr. Willkie on his courtesy calls on the Chairman of the National Government, the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, Dr. H. H. Kung, the Vice President of the Executive Yuan, General Ho Ying-chin, Chief of General Staff, and the Foreign Office. The Ambassador also attended the official dinners and luncheons given by the Chairman of the National Government, the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang, and Dr. Kung. He held a reception for Mr. Willkie attended by the high Chinese officials, the heads of diplomatic missions, and the American community. He also attended the reception for Mr. Willkie given by the cultural associations. On visits of inspection to factories, arsenals, educational institutions, etc., officers or attaches of the Embassy were detailed to accompany Mr. Willkie--at the request of the Foreign Office. The Naval Attache of the Embassy accompanied the Generalissimo's representative to welcome Mr. Willkie upon his arrival in China at Tihwa (Urumchi). The Military and Naval Attaches left Chungking with Mr. Willkie on his departure to visit the Tungkwan war front. The attaches will return to Chungking from the war front.

Mr. Willkie had several private conversations with the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek. The Ambassador was not invited to be present at these conversations, nor was he informed by Mr. Willkie of their purport. It is the custom of the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang to invite prominent foreign visitors for private conversations (seldom in the presence of the diplomatic representatives) when China's ambitions are disclosed and there is often complaint and criticism on the lack of sufficient aid from one country or another, and criticism of the attitude of one country or another.

During the courtesy call on Generalissimo and Madame Chiang on Saturday, October 3d, Mr. Willkie devoted most of the time to pressing an invitation to Madame Chiang to visit the United States, traveling in the Willkie plane. In response to an inquiry from Madame Chiang whether such a visit would be likely to produce "planes for China", Mr. Willkie assured her that her visit would get all the planes Madame Chiang might desire.

Generalissimo Chiang smiled throughout this conversation but made no commitment beyond saying that Madame Chiang had always desired to re-visit the United States and some day she might do so.

The Ambassador informed Mr. Willkie of the desire of the

Embassy

Enclosure no. 2 to despatch no. 671
dated October 8, 1942, from the
Embassy at Chungking.
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Embassy to be of any assistance to him during his visit, and to give him any information desired. Mr. Willkie, however, sought no information or guidance from the Ambassador or the Embassy. There were no consultations or discussions on Chinese or other affairs.

C. E. G.

(Copy: *hff*)
(Compared: *ans*)



Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D.C.

December 14, 1942

PSF: Willkie folder
4-42

*file
personal*

Dear Miss Tully:

The President might be interested
in the enclosed memorandum from Mr. Hoover, which
reports an "off the record" address recently
made by Mr. Willkie.

Sincerely yours,

Francis Biddle
Francis Biddle

Miss Grace Tully

The White House

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Dec. 9, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

"The Guild Reporter," official organ of the American Newspaper Guild, for December 1, 1942, carried an announcement that Wendell Willkie made an "off the record" address to the New York Newspaper Guild at a general membership meeting in New York City. The date of the meeting was not shown in the afore-mentioned publication. Information has been received that Willkie addressed the New York Newspaper Guild in the auditorium of the Hotel Capitol, New York City, on November 19, 1942. It is reported that among the "off-the-record" remarks made by Willkie were the following.

1. Secretary of War Stimson had no right to force him (Willkie) to omit an attack on Admiral Darlan in a radio speech which Willkie gave on November 16, 1942.
2. The entire military and naval censorship of the United States is utterly stupid and incompetent.
3. The American military censor in Cairo is a homosexualist whose only qualifications for his job are his society connections in Washington.
4. Winston Churchill has refused to tell him (Willkie) or the President anything about Britain's postwar empire aims. Willkie will force Churchill to make a clear-cut statement on the future of the freedom of colonial nations after the war "no matter how much hell" he (Willkie) will have to raise.
5. The Soviet Union has the best espionage system in the world. Stalin informed him (Willkie) that Soviet secret agents within Nazi Germany forward to Stalin almost daily reports on German industrial production in the minutest detail.

The foregoing information has been furnished to the Military Intelligence Service, the Office of Naval Intelligence and the State Department.

Respectfully,

J. EDGAR HOOVER

Director

Local Mail

RTHCLIFFE HOUSE,
LONDON, E.C. 4.
Telephone: GEneral 6000.
PSF: *Willkie*
January 18th, 1943. 16th Day.

**The Hour,
The Man**

MR. WENDELL WILLKIE has been telling the students at Duke University, North Carolina, that he has not found any outstanding qualities in Mr. STALIN, Mr. CHURCHILL, PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, or GENERAL CHIANG KAI-SHEK that could not be duplicated at Akron, Ohio, where he practised law for many years.

Akron, it may be remarked, is known as the "Rubber City" of the United States, where the principal industry is the production of millions of motor-car tyres, whose unending similarity and patient quality of always following the man at the wheel suggest the very antithesis of leadership in any form.

This simile may or may not have been in Mr. WILLKIE's mind at the time of his allusion, but it certainly lends piquancy to an inquiry which can profitably be made into the soundness of his argument.

According to Mr. WILLKIE, leadership is less a matter of personal quality than one of personal publicity. The leaders he named, he said, are none of them indispensable.

The Indispensables

WE would rather say that the test of a great leader is his appearance and his indispensability at the moment when the inspiration of such leadership is most needed.

In later times, in changed circumstances, leaders may become dispensable, and the torch they have carried may be borne by other hands. But the example they have given abides, and their work may bear fruit long after they have passed the hour of their highest destiny.

History abounds with examples of this kind. NAPOLEON, for instance, was finally overthrown after the loss of both NELSON and PITT. Thus they were no longer indispensable at the time of his defeat, but few will argue that what they had already accomplished was not indispensable to that defeat.

No one who has yet emerged could have led (and served) this country so well as MR. CHURCHILL did in the summer of 1940, when his power of inspiring the nation as a leader was the chief thing that stood between us and disaster.

True Leadership

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT rallied the people of the United States to him for the most part by his New Deal and his interest in the "forgotten man." These ideas exalted him, and he was able to lead a whole nation into war when Japan attacked because by that time there were in America no forgotten men.

Similarly, STALIN and GENERAL CHIANG KAI-SHEK were indispensable when they became the voices of desire in Russian and Chinese hearts, and pointed the way to its fulfilment.

The APOSTLE PAUL wrote to the Corinthians: "If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?"

These men knew when to sound the trumpet, and what call to sound. If there are others who could have done so at the time with like effect, we do not know them, and the first essential proof of a leader is that he must emerge as such.

No amount of publicity is going to keep a man in power as a leader unless the call he sounds is one that his followers are willing to hear. It is the message that counts, be it for good or evil, and the leader is indispensable only at the moment of its delivery.

The call sounded, the bugler may pass. But at the moment of its delivery, when he stood at the front, he was indispensable, not brave and in patterned obscurity in the rubber tyres of Akron.

*file
planned* PSF: Willkie ~~New Yorker~~ 4-43

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 22, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

John Rankin phoned me this morning and after asking if my wire were clear or if I were having it taken down, he gave me the following in great confidence.

He said that among other statements made by Willkie in his powwow with the young Republicans he said that Stalin had his harem . . . maybe some of us would like to have one too but, etc. Then in direct quotes he said "He likes them middle aged, fat and frowsy."

MHM

April 28, 1944

*file
personal
for the
President*

PSF: Wilkie folder 4-44

If Wilkie is considered for Knox's job, he should be DRAFTED and NOT NEGOTIATED with.

He said to banker Wasserman of Philadelphia this week that he would keep silent until after the Republican Convention as he preferred Roosevelt over Dewey; that he thought between three and five million voters would follow him in such a decision. But actually Wilkie is not in a voluntary position. The President can draft in war time any unemployed man for brain work or physical work and have the public behind him. But any negotiation, directly or indirectly, with Wilkie would be interpreted by the President's political enemies, as a political act.

Inside the Administration of the war effort, Wilkie would be out of political activity. His political activity for the President might be misinterpreted; his political activity, should he negotiate with Dewey, might be harmful.

R. F. Willkie
A Sane Plea for Unity

There could be no more appropriate time to speak of national unity than on the eve of the day on which Abraham Lincoln is honored by the nation that owes its unity to him. And in treating this subject Mr. Wendell Willkie adopted a sane and patriotic approach, one which comes as a refreshing change from the bitter polemics which have been addressed to the same theme. There have been many who have paid lip-service to national unity since the country was plunged into war—but all too often the plea has been for all Americans to unite in thinking like the speaker. Those who refused to heed and believe were to be cast out of decent human society. The left bellowed "Fascist" and the right shouted "Communist"; both sought to drag the nation apart in the interests of harmony and co-operation.

This was not Mr. Willkie's way. While he placed his finger squarely upon the faults of the present Administration's record, while he demanded a new leadership, he did not call names or cloak his thoughts in words of chameleon meaning; neither did he, while protesting the offenses of Mr. Roosevelt against unity, proceed to array bloc against bloc or interest against interest on his own account.

In time of war, when nerves are frayed and seek easy outlets against the nearest targets, the strain on so complex a social fabric as the United States of America is great. When war comes on the heels of radical experiments in government and the political maneuverings of a class administration the strain is multiplied. There are serious questions of government involved in the coming election; basic adjustments are being made in the American economy, all in the distorting atmosphere of the greatest war the world has known. Surely this demands restraint, and calm consideration of the issues, and the utmost endeavor to reach a common ground on the part of all the nation's citizens. It requires that the farmer, the worker, the business man, the politician, each seek to fit himself into the framework of the national interest and to understand the problems and aspirations of his neighbor.

Abraham Lincoln could see nothing inconsistent in coupling "malice toward none" with "firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right." There need be no weakness in restraint, no sacrifice of principle in fundamental unity. And malice must be abjured, firmness maintained if, in Lincoln's words, the people of the United States are to "finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who has borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."