

OWEN LATTIMORE

PART 1 OF 1

FILE NUMBER:100-24628

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

FILE NO. 100-1630

REPORT MADE AT Baltimore, Maryland	DATE WHEN MADE 9/8/49	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 3/10 to 7/15/49	REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7C
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TITLE OWEN LATTIMORE	CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - R ESPIONAGE - R
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SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: ~~STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL~~

*4-10-50
Info in Administrative pages
(33-127) incorporated into memo
to J.M. McInerney dated 4-10-50
1 copy of 2
sa memo
to Hennessy
4/16/50*

Allegations made by informants unsubstantiated to date linking OWEN LATTIMORE with Soviet espionage. He was suspected of engaging in espionage for a foreign power while in Shanghai, China in 1927. Sometime prior to 1937, he, [REDACTED] was working for the Soviets in China.

[REDACTED] LATTIMORE, while acting as Adviser to CHIANG KAI-SHEK, was divulging information to the Soviets. LATTIMORE born Washington, D. C. in 1900. He is considered a leading author on the Far East; has lived 27 years in China; and has traveled extensively to various parts of world. Former editor of "Pacific Affairs" 1934-41; Political Adviser to CHIANG KAI-SHEK in 1941; Director of Pacific Operations for Office of War Information during World War II; served as member of U.S. Reparations Commission to Japan in 1945. Presently Director of Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland. Some of LATTIMORE's writings described as Communist propaganda by some, while others state LATTIMORE is not a Communist or Communist sympathizer. One informant states LATTIMORE has possibly been branded a Communist because of positive stand that U. S. should not furnish aid to Nationalist China. Information concerning past & current activities of LATTIMORE set out, as well as information on organizations affiliated with. LATTIMORE presently at Bethel Vermont, and to return Baltimore, Md. 9/15/49.

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100-1630
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REFERENCES:

Bureau File 100-24628.

Bureau letter to Baltimore, dated March 4, 1949.

Report of Special Agent [REDACTED] dated b7C
at Boston, Massachusetts, April 21, 1949.

Report of Special Agent [REDACTED] dated b7C
at New York City on May 4, 1949.

Letter from Washington Field Office to Baltimore,
dated June 15, 1949.

100-1630
Baltimore

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
I. ALLEGATIONS OF ESPIONAGE ACTIVITY BY OWEN LATTIMORE	2 - 3
II. BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON OWEN LATTIMORE	4 - 16
III. [PASSPORT DATA]	16 - 18
IV. RESIDENCES	19
V. PUBLIC EXPRESSIONS BY LATTIMORE ON FAR EAST	19 - 24
VI. ORGANIZATIONS WITH WHICH LATTIMORE IS OR HAS BEEN AFFILIATED	25 - 27
VI-A. INVITATIONS EXTENDED LATTIMORE TO ADDRESS COMMUNIST FRONTS	27 - 29
VII. ALLEGATIONS CONCERNING LATTIMORE'S AFFILIATION WITH COMMUNIST FRONT GROUPS	29 - 30
VII-A. LATTIMORE'S ACTIVITIES IN CONNECTION WITH "ALIRASIA"	31
VIII. DESCRIPTION	31 - 32

100-1630
Baltimore

INDEX

<u>Names</u>	<u>Pages</u>
"ALTRASIA"	13, 30, 31
AMERICAN YOUTH FOR DEMOCRACY	27
ARTS, SCIENCES, AND PROFESSIONS, MARYLAND CHAPTER	28
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
CHIANG KAI-SHEK	2, 4, 9, 10,
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
HOLLYWOOD WRITERS MOBILIZATION	30
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS	15, 26
INTERNATIONAL FILM FOUNDATION, INCORPORATED	26
LEE, PHILIP	2, 31
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
LATTIMORE, DAVID	4, 6, 17, 18
LATTIMORE, ELEANOR HOLGATE	18
LATTIMORE, MARGARET BARNES	4
LIVING BUDDHA	12, 15
MARYLAND ASSOCIATION FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS	25, 30
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
"PACIFIC AFFAIRS"	4, 27
PASSPORT DATA RE: OWEN LATTIMORE	16

b7D, b7C

100-1630
Baltimore

Names

Pages

[REDACTED]
ROTH, ANDREW

[REDACTED]
31

[REDACTED]
"THE SITUATION IN ASIA" - book
WALTER HINES PAGE SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
WASHINGTON BOOKSHOP ASSOCIATION
WASHINGTON COMMITTEE FOR AID TO CHINA
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
4
15
29
30
[REDACTED]

b7C, b7D

100-1630
Baltimore

DETAILS;

AT BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

I. ALLEGATIONS OF ESPIONAGE ACTIVITY BY OWEN LATTIMORE

Investigation in this case was commenced following the receipt of referenced letter from the Bureau which sets out that for a number of years information has been received concerning the activities and contacts of OWEN LATTIMORE.

It was pointed out that information had been received from Confidential Informant T-1, an informant of known reliability, to the effect that General I. BERZIN, of Red Army Intelligence, at one time identified LATTIMORE as a Russian Agent. It is also the personal opinion of this informant, predicated upon a review of LATTIMORE's writings, that LATTIMORE is a Russian Agent. (1)

According to information supplied by Confidential Informant [REDACTED] of known reliability, [REDACTED] have likewise expressed the view, based on the writings of LATTIMORE, that he is a Russian Agent. b7D (2)

Further, according to information supplied by Confidential Informant T-2, LATTIMORE was involved to some extent in the PHILIP JAFFE investigation, and was a known contact of several subjects in the GREGORY case.

Confidential Informant T-1, when interviewed on December 14, 1948, in connection with another case, stated that while he was in Moscow, Russia (sometime prior to 1937) he had occasion to see General I. BERZIN, then Head of Soviet Military Intelligence, approximately every other day. During the course of one of these visits, BERZIN, in discussing China, mentioned to the informant that the Soviets had some Americans working for them in China. According to the informant, BERZIN then named OWEN LATTIMORE and JOSEPH BARNES as being two of these individuals.

Confidential Informant [REDACTED], of unknown reliability, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] that LATTIMORE, while acting as Adviser to CHIANG KAI-SHEK, was divulging information to the Soviets. b7D

This informant has never met LATTIMORE, and had never heard of him [REDACTED] b7D

100-1630
Baltimore

██████████ of unknown reliability but who has furnished reliable information in the past and is a well known individual who has known subject LATTIMORE for many years, was interviewed on May 16, 1949.

The informant advised that he knew OWEN LATTIMORE.

on the other hand, was argumentative, was not inclined to yield in his judgment, and was probably not a member of the Communist Party at that time. LATTIMORE,

It was the informant's recollection that

he had written and published an article in its journal

It has been the informant's impression that LATTIMORE was drawn ever closer to the Communists, and he feels that LATTIMORE has worked for the Communist Party.

100-1630
Baltimore

II. BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON OWEN LATTIMORE

OWEN LATTIMORE is presently the Director of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, and has been since 1938. He has spent many years in China, and is considered an expert on Far Eastern affairs.

Among other things, he is an author, and his most recent book, entitled "The Situation in Asia" was published in April, 1949, and has been described as a discussion of the revolutionary upheavals in Eastern Asia. The publicity released in connection with this book describes LATTIMORE as a leading author on the Far East. He has lived 27 years in China. He is further described as a former editor of "Pacific Affairs", as a political adviser to CHIANG KAI-SHEK in 1941, and also as Director of Pacific Operations for Office of War Information during World War II.

The 1948-49 edition of "Who's Who in America" sets out the following information concerning OWEN LATTIMORE:

University Professor
Born Washington, D. C. - July 29, 1900
Son of DAVID and MARGARET (BLUNES) LATTIMORE
Education: St. Bees School, Cumberland, England, 1915-1919
Graduate School, Harvard, 1929
Married ELEANOR HOLGATE - March 4, 1926
One Son - DAVID
Engaged in business, Shanghai, China, 1920
Newspaper work, Tientsin, 1921.
In business with ARNHOLD & CO., LTD., Tientsin and Peking, 1922-26;
Engaged in travel and writing since 1926;
Research in Manchuria under Social Science Research Council, 1929-30, in Peiping under Harvard-Yenching Institute 1930-31, under J. S. GUGGENHEIM Memorial Foundation, 1931-33;
Field work in Mongolia and research in Peiping under Institute of Pacific Relations, 1934-35;
Editor, Pacific Affairs, 1934-41;
Director Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, Johns Hopkins University;
Political adviser to CHIANG KAI-SHEK - 1941-42;
Deputy Director Pacific Operations, Office of War Information, 1942-44.
Member of: American Geographic Society
American Philosophical Society
American Historical Association
American Oriental Society

100-1630
Baltimore

Author: ~~"The Desert Road to Turkistan,"~~ 1929
~~"High Tartary,"~~ 1930
~~"Manchuria, Cradle of Conflict,"~~ 1932
~~"The Monguls of Manchuria,"~~ 1934
~~"Inner Asian Frontiers of China,"~~ 1940
~~"Mongol Journeys,"~~ 1941
~~"The Making of Modern China" (with ELEANOR LATTIMORE)~~ 1944
~~"Solution in Asia,"~~ 1945

Contributor to:

Atlantic Monthly
National Geographic Magazine
Asia, etc.
Medalist Philadelphia Geographic Society, 1933
Royal Geographic Society, 1942
Home: Ruxton, Maryland

[REDACTED] the
following biographical data concerning OWEN LATTIMORE [REDACTED]

b7D

OWEN LATTIMORE was born on July 29, 1900 in Washington, D. C. In his early childhood he lived with his parents in Paoyingfu, China. This city was 90 miles south of Peking (now Peiping). He was educated in his formative years by his parents and studied French and German from infancy in addition to the usual grade school subjects. His first formal schooling occurred at the age of 13, when his parents placed him in the College Classique Cantonale, Lousanne, Switzerland.

While visiting in England during his summer vacation of 1914, World War I broke out and his parents placed him in St. Bees School, Cumberland. He remained in this institution from January 1915 until 1919, when he returned to China and obtained his first position in business.

He had no college education. His training in the English School had been largely classical college preparatory work, with a heavy emphasis on Greek and Latin. He worked in business in China for a period of ten years, but did not advise the informant as to the nature of the business, nor his position therein. In 1929, he was granted a fellowship for travel and research in Manchuria by the Social Science Research Council. In view of his lack of a formal college education, the SSRC arranged for him to spend six

100-1630
Baltimore

months in the Division of Anthropology at Harvard University.
This gave him some academic affiliations.

At a later date in 1946, subject LATTIMORE provided the following additional information concerning his early education and travels

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LATTIMORE first entered China when he was less than one year old. His father had entered the educational service of the Chinese Government as a Professor at Manyang College, Shanghai. In 1905, his father was appointed a Professor at the Chihlia Provincial College. His first business position was as a clerk in the Arnhold Company, Ltd., in Tientsin, China. In 1922, he became a sub-editor of the weekly edition of the Peiping and Tientsin Times. In 1922 he rejoined the Arnhold Company as manager of their insurance department. In 1925, he first visited Inner Mongolia. In 1926, he resigned from the Arnhold Company and married ELEANOR HOLGATE at Tientsin, China. They have one child, named DAVID, born in Peiping, China in 1931.

In 1926 when the first beginnings of the Chinese Civil War came to light, LATTIMORE traveled to Mongolia and Chinese Turkostan. His wife traveled through Siberia to join him in Sinkiang in 1927, but at that time he was unable to get a Soviet visa to pass through Siberia. In the spring and summer of 1927, he and his wife traveled by horseback throughout the Himalayan and Mongolian regions of China. In the winter of 1927-1928, he traveled by way of India to Italy and spent the balance of his time in Rome writing his first book. In 1928-29, he returned to the United States, the first visit to his native country since he was less than one year old. He then spent six months at Harvard in preparation for his Manchurian travels under the SSRC fellowship.

In 1930-31, on a Harvard-Yenching Fellowship, he lived in Peiping, writing a book on Manchuria and studying Chinese history and the Mongol language. He continued these studies in 1931-33 under a Guggenheim Fellowship. He also traveled in Inner Mongolia and lived with the Mongols.

In 1933, he witnessed the Japanese conquest of Jehol Province. Also in 1933, he returned to the United States and joined the staff of the Institute of Pacific Relations as editor of its journal "Pacific Affairs". In the latter capacity, he returned to Peiping in 1934

and renewed his research in Chinese History, with particular emphasis on Mongolian matters.

In the spring of 1936, LATTIMORE returned from China to the United States by way of Siberia. He spent the winter of 1936-1937 in London, studying Russian. Later, in 1937, he returned to China by way of Greece and Egypt. He visited the Chinese Communist areas in Shensi and then watched the first six months of the Japanese occupation of Northern China. In December 1937, he returned to the United States.

In 1938, he spent the first half year in California and in the fall of that year, while continuing to edit "Pacific Affairs", he was appointed Director of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations at Johns Hopkins University. Between 1938 and 1941, he maintained headquarters at Baltimore in the latter position, and was active in lecturing and writing on the Japanese aggression in China. In July 1941, he was appointed personal political advisor to Generalissimo CHIANG KAI-SHEK upon the recommendation of the late FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT.

In 1942, he returned to the United States for a visit. The end of 1942 found him in China and he resigned from the service of CHIANG KAI-SHEK to accept the directorship of OWI work directed toward the Far East. In 1943, he was placed in charge of all OWI overseas work at San Francisco, California. In 1944, he became Deputy Director of OWI at Washington, D. C., in charge of all Pacific matters. In this capacity, he visited Hawaii and Australia on official business in that year. In June and July 1944, he was one of the officials to accompany the then Vice President, HENRY AGARD WALLACE, on a tour of Siberia and China. In December 1944, he resigned from OWI to return to Johns Hopkins University.

[REDACTED] As noted above, he was with Time at the age of 22 and a newspaper editor in China. Also, he has published articles and stories in the Atlantic Monthly, the National Geographic, Asia, and unnamed "scholarly journals".

b7D

In addition to the books listed under the LATTIMORE write-up in "Those Who in America", LATTIMORE is also the author of the following books:

"The Gold Tribe" - 1933

100-1630
Baltimore

"The Fishskin Tartars of the Lower Sungari"- 1933
"America and Asia"- 1943
"The Situation in Asia"- 1949

In addition, LATTHORE's wife is the author of "Turkestan Reunion" and co-author of "The Making of Modern China".

Confidential Informant [REDACTED] in referring to LATTHORE's book, "Solution in Asia", described this book as a subtle, but effective piece of propaganda. The informant stated that its main theme urged the abandonment of Oriental interests by Britain and the United States, with the concurrent expansion of Soviet influence in the areas left of English-speaking peoples. Such a program, according to the author, would produce stability, peace and prosperity in the Far East for the whole world. b7D

Confidential Informant [REDACTED] in substantiation of the above evaluation of "Solution in Asia" noted that its jacket contained the following paragraph: b7D

"He (LATTHORE) shows that all the Asiatic peoples are more interested in actual democratic practices, such as the ones that they have seen in use across the Russian border, than they are in the fine theories of Anglo-Saxon democracies, which come coupled with ruthless imperialism

Confidential Informant [REDACTED] in April, 1949, referring to the above paragraph [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] had therein adopted the language which is now common to the "Daily Worker", i.e. the identification of the word "democracy" with the USSR and as counterpoint a contemporaneous linking of the word "imperialism" with the United States. b7D

[REDACTED] b7D
It is noted that the "Publisher's Weekly", a trade journal, in January, 1946, contained a list of books published in December, 1945. Among these so [REDACTED] listed was one entitled "Soviet Far Eastern Policy" by HARRIET L. MOORE.

[REDACTED] Miss MOORE is believed by the informant to be affiliated with the American-Russian Institute in San Francisco. b7D

100-1630
Baltimore

"The New York Journal American" for February 26, 1947 contained an article by KENT HUNTER, which stated that OWEN LATTIMORE, Special Economic Adviser in Tokyo, wrote in his book "Solution in Asia":

"The Soviet Union stands for strategic security, economic prosperity, technological progress, miraculous medicine, free education, equality of opportunity, and democracy".

Confidential Informant [REDACTED] of known reliability, advised of the following in early April, 1949: b7D

Sometime immediately prior or subsequent to Thanksgiving Day, 1948, OWEN LATTIMORE visited Cambridge, Massachusetts, apparently as the guest of JOHN FAIRBANK. FAIRBANK is Professor of Oriental Studies, Chinese Economy and History at the Harvard Graduate School, and, according to Informant [REDACTED] is one of the guiding officers of the Harvard University Regional Studies Program. A notice was placed on the bulletin board of the Russian Research Center inviting other students to attend a forum lecture by LATTIMORE at the Littauer Center lounge. The lecture was under the auspices of the Regional Studies Chinese Program. [REDACTED] b7D

Informant [REDACTED] reports that in November 1948, at this lecture, LATTIMORE condemned CHIANG KAI-SHEK unmercifully as a reactionary. LATTIMORE is alleged to have declared that there could be no hope or promise in China, of peace in Asia or of cooperation between the USA and China as long as CHIANG KAI-SHEK held power. On the other hand, LATTIMORE expressed the opinion that Communist control of China would bring unity to the nation, industrialization to its economic system, and launch a modernization program which would enable the Chinese to take their rightful position in the world. He urged that the foreign policy of the United States ought to be that of doing business with the Chinese Communists. He suggested that instead of withdrawing our consular officials from Communist occupied territories in China, that we should rather leave the same at their posts in order that they might immediately conduct negotiations with the Communist conquerors. He indicated that he had left the service of the Government of the United States because the foregoing ideas, which he had expressed, were contrary to the ones held by the policy-determining officials in the U. S. Department of State. Informant [REDACTED] b7D

100-1630
Baltimore

who has known LATTIMORE for many years, was interviewed on April 12, 1949 concerning another matter, at which time he volunteered considerable information relative to OWEN LATTIMORE and himself.

As he was not interviewed concerning the instant case, the following cannot be described as a full and accurate presentation of his knowledge on the matters referred to.

This informant advised that in his own mind, LATTIMORE is the greatest living political and economic theorist on China. He stated that unfortunately LATTIMORE is not a good or careful man in obtaining facts.

However, in his most recent book, LATTIMORE, according to this informant, has made certain factual comparisons between China and Yugoslavia. These are inaccurate comparisons [REDACTED]

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150-1630
Baltimore

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[redacted] stated that LATTIMORE, at the present time, was entertaining a cultural delegation from Chinese Mongolia. This delegation included, among its numbers, the Living Buddha of Mongol, ie., one DILOMA HUTUKHTU. LATTIMORE [redacted] had brought this Mongolian delegation into the United States with a grant of funds provided by the Carnegie Foundation. He brought them in with the original well-wishing of the Planning Division of the Department of State. [redacted]

b7D

_____ asserted that LATTIMORE had employed at the Johns Hopkins School, for a considerable length of time, a Chinese economist (unnamed), who was without a doubt a member of the Communist Party, in view of the fact that he adhered strictly to the political line laid down by the "Daily Worker". _____

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100-1630
Baltimore

[REDACTED] LATTHORE employed another assistant, also on the staff of the Institute of Pacific Relations, named "ROSSINGER" (phonetic), who had been described by an unidentified German alien ex-Communist as a Russian agent.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b7D

It is here stated that under date of June 9, 1949, an article appeared in the "Baltimore Morning Sun" to the effect that the Johns Hopkins University had been awarded a \$75,000 grant by the Carnegie Corporation to be used in the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations under the direction of OWEN LATTHORE to carry out studies of Inner Asian Frontiers.

Confidential Informant [REDACTED] of known reliability, advised that he has known LATTHORE for many years, and has been closely associated with him. He stated that LATTHORE is not a Communist, and he is not a fellow traveler.

b7D

Subsequently, during the interview, the informant advised that LATTHORE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] has spoken to some groups of a "questionable nature," and which may have a Communist tinge. The informant added, however, that he has heard LATTHORE speak and lecture on a number of occasions, and in his own mind he is convinced that there is nothing subversive in LATTHORE's talks or speeches; that said talks were not along Communist lines at all, and that he has no criticism of any of LATTHORE's speeches.

b7D

He advised further that LATTHORE has a peculiar temperament in that he has no objection to having people see him under compromising circumstances, and have them misinterpret it; that LATTHORE is the type who would have no hesitancy in openly contacting a known Communist or a fellow traveler, even though he knows that by doing so, he will necessarily arouse suspicion on the part of some people.

Confidential Informant [REDACTED] advised further that three or four years ago, the editor of the publication "Amorasia" and several others

b7D

100-1630
Baltimore

connected with it, were arrested for having in their possession certain
secret Government documents [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b7D

This informant was unable to furnish information as to the identity of any of LATTIMORE's associates [REDACTED]. He stated that he is well acquainted with the fact that LATTIMORE has been branded a Communist on occasion, and that he can well understand why. He then mentioned that around 1941 LATTIMORE was appointed personal political aide to CHIANG KAI-SHEK; that LATTIMORE was not in favor of any United States aid to the Chinese Nationalist Government; that LATTIMORE is of the firm opinion that the Nationalist Government in China is corrupt, inefficient, and "rotten to the core." The informant believes, therefore, that LATTIMORE's stand along this line is one of the reasons he has been branded a Communist. b7D

The informant added that following the return from China of General MARSHALL, he submitted a report in which MARSHALL's views relative to China coincided with those of LATTIMORE; that their views were so much alike that the MARSHALL report could well have been written by LATTIMORE, although the two men do not know each other. In any event, according to the informant, the MARSHALL report pleased LATTIMORE, who felt that the position he had taken all along concerning CHIANG KAI-SHEK and the Nationalist Government had been justified.

The informant related [REDACTED] LATTIMORE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is not a Communist or a fellow traveler. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] It is also the view of the informant that LATTIMORE has been absolutely right in his views on China, and added that the MARSHALL report and the subsequent withdrawal of United States aid to the Nationalist Government in China were moments of triumph for LATTIMORE. b7D

The informant also expressed the view that LATTIMORE may have been branded a Communist, by some, because of his membership in the Institute of

100-1630
Baltimore

Pacific Relations. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b7D

According to the informant, LATTIMORE is known all over the world, and he described him as a scholar and an extremely capable man. He pointed out that LATTIMORE has a fluent knowledge of Tientsin Chinese; that he speaks Russian and Japanese languages and also has a knowledge of Mongolian; that he is considered an outstanding authority on Far Eastern affairs.

Confidential Informant [REDACTED] advised that LATTIMORE has been the Director of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations at Johns Hopkins University since 1938, although on occasion he has been on a leave of absence for the purpose of handling special projects, such as his connection with the OWI during World War II, and also his service as political adviser to CHIANG KAI-SHEK. At the present time, LATTIMORE is engaged in considerable research work relating to Mongolian history and culture. He then pointed out that within the past year, LATTIMORE was instrumental in bringing to the United States two Mongolian families, as well as the "Living Buddha," who will be carried on the staff at the Page School of International Relations as research associates. b7D

Confidential Informant [REDACTED] a person of prominence, but whose reliability is unknown, voluntarily made an appearance at the Washington Field Office on April 27, 1948, for the purpose of furnishing information relating to other matters. It was on this occasion that he made the statement that there is reason to believe that LATTIMORE is friendly "with the extreme left point of view" and that this has caused much concern to the officials of Johns Hopkins University. He volunteered no further information concerning LATTIMORE on this occasion. b7D

LATTIMORE maintains his office at Room 300, Gilman Hall, Johns Hopkins University, and according to information set out in the Johns Hopkins University Circular, published in April, 1948, LATTIMORE was appointed Director of the Page School on October 1, 1938. In addition to LATTIMORE, the Circular lists the following persons as being connected with the school:

100-1630

Baltimore

Dr. JOHN DeFRANCIS, Assistant Professor
~~YAMABUTAKA IRE~~, Lecturer and Fellow
~~Tr. CHIH-Y CHANG~~, Fellow

It is stated in the Circular that Fellows in the Page School are appointed primarily to enable them to undertake research work.

In the field of Political Science, LATTIMORE lectures in the courses entitled "The Chinese - Russian Frontier" and "China's Regional and National Problems and International Position."

In the field of History, LATTIMORE gives a course entitled "China, History and Civilization."

He also instructs in several seminars, as follows:

1. Inner-Asian Seminar (For graduate students only)
2. Page School Seminar (Page School Fellows only)
3. Political Geography Seminar

According to information furnished by Confidential Informant T-11, and [REDACTED], LATTIMORE does not have, with few exceptions, a definite pattern to follow in connection with the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations; that his time is his own to use as he sees fit. Informant [REDACTED] advised that LATTIMORE appears to be constantly engaged in the writing of project reports in connection with the School of International Relations, and the writing of articles and books; that he does not appear to have any hobbies.

[REDACTED] This same informant advised further that LATTIMORE is in demand as a speaker and lecturer, primarily on matters relating to the Far East. b7D

III. PASSPORT DATA

The following information concerning passports issued to LATTIMORE was furnished by Confidential Informant T-12:

A review of the passport files of the State Department disclosed that LATTIMORE applied for passports on May 4, 1925; November 3, 1927; July 23, 1929; September 28, 1934; July 12, 1939; September 16, 1942; and May 4, 1944.

for
per
passport

REF TO PASSPORT

100-1630
Baltimore

At the time he applied in May, 1925, he stated that he was in possession of United States passport No. 28400, issued by the Department of State on August 1, 1918. His legal residence was given as New Hampshire, U.S.A. He stated he last left the United States in 1919, and resided in Tientsin, China, where he was employed by Arnhold and Company. LATTHORE listed his previous residences outside of the United States as China from 1910 to 1912; Switzerland, 1913 to 1914; England, 1914 to 1919; and China from 1919 to the date of his application in May of 1925. LATTHORE stated he desired to travel to China, Japan, the United Kingdom, Italy, France, Germany, and Russia.

His passport application on November 3, 1927, was made to the American Consulate in Bombay, India. He stated that he desired to visit all countries and indicated that he had been married on March 4, 1926, to ELEANOR HOLGATE, who was born at Evanston, Illinois, on May 1, 1895.

LATTHORE's passport application of September 28, 1934, disclosed that he desired to go to Japan and China for research and editorial work. His residence in the United States was given as 8 Dana Road, Hanover, New Hampshire, and he requested that his passport be mailed to the Institute of Pacific Relations, 129 East 52nd Street, New York City.

An application for registration as a citizen residing abroad dated April 3, 1935, filed by LATTHORE, disclosed that he was residing in Peiping, China, and his occupation was that of editor of "Pacific Affairs," published by the Institute of Pacific Relations.

On August 19, 1936, LATTHORE requested the State Department to renew his passport and include his wife and son, DAVID LATTHORE, on this occasion. The LATTHORES desired to sail for England in October, 1936, and request was made to forward the passports to CARL LATTHORE, 129 East 52nd Street, New York City, which is the address of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

LATTHORE's passport application dated July 12, 1939, indicates that his permanent residence in the United States was in care of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, and lists his occupation as professor. He requested that his passport be mailed in care of Alex Brown and Sons, 135 East Baltimore Street, Baltimore, Maryland.

A letter dated June 27, 1941, on the stationery of the Chinese Embassy, Washington, D. C., addressed to the Passport Division, and signed by LIU CHIEH, Consul of the Embassy, states:

*Release
for passport*

- 17 -

REF TO
PASSPORT

100-1630
Baltimore

"Mr. OWEN B. LATTIMORE, Director of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations at Johns Hopkins University, has recently been appointed personal political adviser to Generalissimo CHIANG KAI-SHEK....."

Mr. CHIEH requested that necessary papers be issued to Mr. LATTIMORE so that he might leave for China without delay. LATTIMORE's passport was amended on July 2, 1941, to exclude his wife, ELEANOR HOLGATE LATTIMORE, and his son, DAVID LATTIMORE. His passport was renewed on that same date.

This passport, No. 644858, was marked not valid for travel in any country outside the Western Hemisphere except China, the Philippine Islands, and Hongkong at that time. It was subsequently amended on January 12, 1942, to include travel in India, Burma, Africa, Egypt, and other countries en route to the United States.

A notation appeared in LATTIMORE's passport file that on September 17, 1942, he submitted a permit showing his Selective Service Order No. 11875, Serial No. T1273, classification 3-A, authorizing his absence from the country from September 23, 1942, to November 23, 1942. The number or location of his Selective Service Board was not shown. This memorandum indicated that he expected to visit Chungking, China, where he would represent the Chinese Government as a political adviser.

On January 1, 1944, a permit from Local Board No. 3, Baltimore County, Baltimore, Maryland, was given to OWEN LATTIMORE to be absent from the United States in the South Pacific area for a period of six months where he would represent the Office of War Information.

LATTIMORE's passport application dated May 4, 1944, indicated that he planned to travel to China and the Soviet Union and countries en route, including Egypt, Iran and Iraq, in the capacity of Special Assistant to the Honorable HENRY A. WALLACE, Vice-President of the United States.

In addition to the above, the Washington Field Office by letter dated June 15, 1949, in the instant case, advised that LATTIMORE was issued passport No. 69026 on May 12, 1947. In connection with his application for this passport, LATTIMORE stated he wished to go to England to attend an International Conference of the Royal Institute of Inter-Czechoslovakia as a special correspondent for the Overseas News Agency, and as a representative of the American Institute of Pacific Relations.

*release
per passport*

- 18 -

REF TO
PASSPORT

100-1630
Baltimore

IV. RESIDENCES

The record of the [REDACTED] compiled in 1945 reflects that the LATTIMORES reside on Roland View Road in Ruxton, and are understood to own their residence. b7D

[REDACTED] report reflects previous addresses as follows: b7D

3405 Greenway, Baltimore, Maryland, locating there during March, 1941;
210 Chancey Road, Baltimore, Maryland, locating there during
September, 1939.

Previous to this, the LATTIMORES resided at 6 Middleton Court, Baltimore, Maryland; 11 Club Road; and 129 East 52nd Street. The cities for these latter two addresses were not designated.

Also, it is known that the LATTIMORES from January, 1938, to August, 1938, resided at Berkley, California.

V. PUBLIC EXPRESSIONS BY LATTIMORE ON FAR EAST

Information reported under this caption is not meant to be all inclusive with respect to public expressions by LATTIMORE.

On May 9, 1949, LATTIMORE participated in a debate with Senator HOMER FERGUSON on "The American Forum of the Air," radio program broadcast from Washington, D. C. The debate entitled "What Is The United States' Responsibility in China?" was subsequently published in pamphlet form. LATTIMORE, in answer to a question as to what the consequences would be if the Communists take over all of China, said "We now have a situation in China which cannot be brought under control by further military aid. There are no forces in China capable of using that aid, and there is no popular movement in China which would support such an American program. We, therefore, have to try to minimize the further spread of Communism in Asia and do so by methods that will not upset our policy in Europe and will not disturb our world policy..... The key to the situation in China is not that the Communists have won but that the National Government has collapsed of its own corruption and its own inefficiency."

During the debate, and directing his remarks to Senator FERGUSON,

100-1630
Baltimore

LATTIMORE said, "I agree with you that it is to the American interest to stabilize the situation, to minimize the spread of Communism anywhere and everywhere. I think the present question is one as to what methods work in what area. The Marshall Plan method has worked very well in stabilizing Europe and restoring morale. Everything that we have spent in China has been misspent and mismanaged. There is no use trying to give more money to the same people to waste in the same way."

In the July 5, 1941, issue of the "Baltimore Morning Sun," there is an article concerning LATTIMORE's appointment as personal political adviser to CHIANG KAI-SHEK. In part, this article reads as follows:

"On the eve of his departure on a mission to which observers have attached the utmost significance in United States relations with China, OWEN LATTIMORE, recently appointed personal political adviser to CHIANG KAI-SHEK, ranked China as 'one of the great powers in the world today.'"

100-1630
Baltimore

"In the midst of all the speculation occasioned by the international situation, there are two things you can bank on (according to LATTIMORE) : that the British won't give up in the West, and that the Chinese won't break in the East."

"Last night, LATTIMORE described himself as one of the very few people who said nearly four years ago that the first few months of the Japanese invasion showed that China would be able to put up a long resistance with very real prospects of eventual victory."

"Long regarded as an 'expert's expert' on Far Eastern affairs, Mr. LATTIMORE's duties in Chungking will be those of an advisor to the Chinese Generalissimo. Observers have attached considerable significance to the fact that although he will be in the employ of CHIANG KAI-SHEK, he was nominated for the post by President ROOSEVELT."

In this newspaper article, LATTIMORE is quoted as having said that:

"CHIANG KAI-SHEK is one of the men of modern times who has grown in importance until he must be rated today as among the great statesmen of the world."

LATTIMORE, in the article further said:

"I think he (CHIANG KAI-SHEK) is very conspicuously the symbol of the whole Chinese nation."

LATTIMORE was asked by the press to comment on the reported clashes between the Chinese Government troops and Communist forces, and in reply said:

"While such sensational news has naturally attracted wide attention in America, it has rather unfairly obscured the fact that Chinese unity has not broken down in civil war."

In the "Baltimore American" newspaper dated July 20, 1941, is a U.P. dispatch bearing a Chungking, China dateline of July 19, 1941. This article stated that LATTIMORE had arrived in Chungking to become special advisor to Generalissimo CHIANG KAI-SHEK; also that LATTIMORE brought with him a petition signed by 358 exiled Manchurians appealing for the liberation of Marshal CHANG HSUEH LIANG, former Manchurian and North China War Lord, who has been a prisoner since his forces kidnaped Generalissimo CHIANG in 1936.

100-1630
Baltimore

The July 13, 1944 issue of the "Baltimore Morning Sun" contained an article relating to Vice President HENRY A. WALLACE's recent official mission to China and Russia, and the fact that he was accompanied on this mission by OWEN LATTIMORE and others. In part, this article reads as follows:

"Mr. LATTIMORE, who went along as a Far Eastern expert, specializing in the frontier regions between China and Russia, is on leave of absence from Johns Hopkins, where he is Director of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations. He is connected with the Office of War Information in charge of Pacific and Far East operations."

"Mr. LATTIMORE said that wrecked German tanks 'piled like mountain ranges' around the steel mills of Komsomolsk in Siberia, offer the best possible picture of the disaster which has hit the once-great Hitler war machine in Russia."

LATTIMORE, in the article, asserted:

"I was pleasantly shocked as I looked upon range after range of those once-powerful units of the Wehrmacht which now are providing scrap iron for the steel which is going into the construction of Russian ships."

The article continued:

"Next to the visual evidence of the destruction of German tanks, the party was most impressed by the definite indications of a true autonomy among the autonomous regions of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics as they exist in Siberia."

Additional information in this article was to the effect that the party spent a month in Siberia enroute to China, where they spent two weeks.

In the October 30, 1945 issue of the "Baltimore Sun" appears an article relating to LATTIMORE's appointment as Chief Economist of a Reparations Committee, which will leave for Japan the first part of November, 1945. The article stated that the group of which Mr. LATTIMORE will be a member, will aid in forming the American reparations policy. In part, the article reads as follows:

"He, (LATTIMORE) has maintained that democratic government could

100-1530
Baltimore

"not be established while the Emperor survives as an institution, but has been careful to avoid saying that America should take the initiative in removing the Emperor, maintaining that, if such a step is taken, it should be taken by the Japanese people."

"Mr. LATTIMORE, also held before the end of the war, that the old form of colonial government in the East by Europeans, as practiced before the war, was at an end. He has held that the peoples of the East want their own democratic forms."

"He has emphasized that the people of China are especially interested in establishing democratic government, and recent events in that country have not changed his opinion."

According to an article appearing in the "Baltimore Sun" on October 29, 1945, OWEN LATTIMORE, Member of the United States Reparation Commission, which will soon leave for Japan, addressed the Buffalo Branch of the Foreign Policy Association on October 28, 1945 in Buffalo, New York. On this occasion, LATTIMORE predicted that the Japanese would develop a political pressure of their own, and eventually overthrow the emperor. He stated further, according to the article, that the defeat of Japan has been so shattering that the whole Japanese structure has been weakened, and the people will change rapidly, not because of foreign indoctrination, but because they are in a crisis, and will think politically.

The "Baltimore Morning Sun" of March 13, 1946, contains one of a series of articles on Japan prepared by OWEN LATTIMORE. The following statements in this article were made by LATTIMORE:

"All the worst people in Japan today call themselves democrats and anti-militarists. The spectacle is disgusting enough to have made some Americans cynical about the possibility that there can ever be real democracy in Japan."

"The only real danger -- and it is a danger that MacARTHUR has avoided or minimized -- is that American policy might be duped into giving too much aid and comfort to parties, groups and interests which stand too far to the right, thus convincing Japanese whose real interest should be to keep ^{to} the middle of the road that they have to cross over to the left in order to preserve their interests."

"In this connection, the trend of the Japanese Communist line is interesting. The middle of the road is right where they are sitting. It is also interesting that the Japanese Communists have been very much strengthened by the return to Japan of NOZAKA, who had been

100-1630
Baltimore

"working for several years with the Chinese Communists in Yenai,
under the name of Okano."

"Very few Japanese Communists survived the war, and in view of the strict indoctrination and discipline which Communist parties always require, it will be difficult for the Japanese Communists to expand rapidly into a large party. But the policies which the Japanese Communists advocate are in favor of private enterprise (without trusts and monopolies) and in favor of small business and independent farmers who own their own land."

"Japan has long needed such reforms and the demand for such reforms will attract the support of large numbers of people who are not leftists at all, with the result that the Communists, though a small party, may be able to pull quite a large vote."

"Japanese Communist tactics are reminiscent of the Chinese Communists who, as RANDALL GOULD points out in his excellent new book, 'China in the Sun', often appear to be extremists only because they actually set out to practice reforms which the Kuomintang has approved of and talked about for many years, but has never done much about."

"In fact, we may be entering a period in which, for most of the world, the Russian Communists will represent power and toughness, while the Chinese and Japanese Communists will represent reasonableness and moderation."

100-1630
Baltimore

VI. ORGANIZATIONS WITH WHICH LATTIMORE IS OR HAS BEEN AFFILIATED

MARYLAND ASSOCIATION FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

According to information in the Vertical File, the Maryland Room, Enoch Pratt Library, the Maryland Association for Democratic Rights was formed in June, 1940, with offices at 19 Medical Arts Building, Baltimore, Maryland. This Vertical File reflects the Maryland Association for Democratic Rights is affiliated to the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights. Also in this file is a letterhead which reflects this Association is affiliated to the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. A pamphlet is in this file entitled "A Conference on Democratic Rights," dated June 14, 15, 1940, Baltimore, Maryland. The names of OWEN LATTIMORE and Mrs. OWEN LATTIMORE are among the 49 sponsors of this conference.

The June 4, 1940, issue of the "Baltimore Morning Sun" contained the following statement by BERT L. CLARKE, Temporary Executive Secretary of the Maryland Association for Democratic Rights:

"Communists will not be excluded from membership in the recently organized Maryland Association for Democratic Rights. However, neither Communists, Democrats, Republicans, nor members of other political parties will be permitted to join the Association as official representatives of their parties."

CLARKE is quoted in the article as having stated that the constitution of the parent organization of the Maryland Association for Democratic Rights opposes any attempt to pass legislation that contravenes our country's traditions of hospitality to the alien, or that denies equal civil or political rights to any minority group.

Other information in the Vertical File in question, consisting of pamphlets and announcements of meetings, did not contain any reference to OWEN LATTIMORE.

It is noted that the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pages 48 and 102. Also, that the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties was cited by this same Committee, Report, March 29, 1944, page 50, as one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party.

100-1630
Baltimore

INTERNATIONAL FILM FOUNDATION, INCORPORATED

Confidential Informant [REDACTED], of known reliability, advised that OWEN LATTIMORE was, in November, 1946, a member of the Advisory Council of the International Film Foundation, Inc. This organization handles the showing of pro-Soviet films in the United States.

b7D

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

From information reported herein, it is observed that LATTIMORE returned from China to the United States in 1933, and, thereafter, joined the Institute of Pacific Relations as editor of its journal, "Pacific Affairs," which he continued to edit for a number of years thereafter, 1934 - 1941.

The back cover of "Pacific Affairs" sets out the information quoted below concerning the Institute of Pacific Relations:

"The Institute of Pacific Relations is an unofficial and non-political organization, founded in 1925, to facilitate the scientific study of the peoples of the Pacific area. It is composed of autonomous National Councils in the principal countries having important interests in the Pacific area, together with an International Secretariat. It is privately financed by contributions from National Councils, corporations and foundations. The institute, as such, does not evaluate policies or doctrines, and is precluded from expressing opinions on national or international affairs. It is governed by a Pacific Council composed of members appointed by each of the National Councils."

In the March 19, 1949, issue of "Collier's" magazine, there is an article entitled "The Menace of Red China" by LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ. According to the article, in 1937, at New York City, EARL BROWDER called a "China Conference." BUDENZ described one of the ten United States Communist leaders present as FREDERICK VANDERBILT FIELD. At the meeting, BROWDER announced that he had received word that the "followers of CHAO YI-SHENG have to be presented in a new dress," the objective being to picture them as a mild variation of Plains state agrarian reformers. At this meeting, according to the article, FIELD outlined an alternative, proposing that they could work through legitimate Far East organizations and writers that were recognized as Oriental authors. FIELD emphasized use of the Institute

100-1630
Baltimore

of Pacific Relations. In the article, BUDENZ stated:

"This is not a Communist front organization, but FIELD later succeeded in becoming Secretary of its American Council." The article continued that there were many instances where the Communists were successful in impressing their views on the United States' State Department simply by planting articles with the proper slant in such magazines as "Far Eastern Survey", "Pacific Affairs" and "Amerasia." The first two were described as publications of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

BUDENZ reiterated in the article that the Institute of Pacific Relations is not a Communist Party front, but that Party members and apologists have infiltrated its most influential committees and publications. It is noted that from 1934 to 1941 LATTIMORE was editor of "Pacific Affairs."

The American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, was cited by the California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, page 168, as a Communist front.

VI-A. INVITATIONS EXTENDED LATTIMORE TO ADDRESS COMMUNIST FRONTS

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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100-1630
Baltimore

It is noted that the American Youth for Democracy organization was cited as subversive and Communist by Attorney General TOM CLARK, letters to Loyalty Review Board released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

Confidential Informant T-11, of known reliability, advised on April 28, 1949, that RICHARD GOODMAN extended an invitation to OWEN LATTIMORE to address a membership meeting of the Maryland Chapter of Arts, Sciences, and Professions being held at the YVCA in Baltimore on the night of May 11, 1949.

In order to identify the group for LATTIMORE, according to the informant, GOODMAN stated that it is the group which SHAPELEY is National Chairman of and that the Maryland Chapter of Arts, Sciences, and Professions is a continuation of the old ICC. Thereafter, according to the informant, LATTIMORE declined to address the group, giving as his reason that he was too busy. GOODMAN asked LATTIMORE whether he would address the group on another date and again LATTIMORE declined the invitation on the ground that he was very busy.

Confidential Informant [REDACTED], of known reliability, advised on April 4, 1949, that RICHARD GOODMAN is an officer of the Maryland Council of Arts, Sciences, and Professions, his title being Vice-Chairman for Music. b7D

Attention is directed to the statement set out above to the effect that the Maryland Chapter of Arts, Sciences, and Professions is a continuation of the old ICC. According to Confidential Informant [REDACTED] of known reliability, RICHARD GOODMAN in 1946 was Chairman of the Membership Committee of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions in Maryland. b7D

It is noted that the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions was cited as a Communist front by the California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, page 262.

Confidential Informant T-11 on June 6, 1949, advised that he had been informed by LATTIMORE that some person, name unknown, who represented the American Council of Arts, Sciences, and Professions in Baltimore, asked him to wire Senator FERGUSON, requesting him to bring the Mundt-Ferguson Bill out of committee and into the open. When LATTIMORE told this person that he knew nothing about the bill, he was informed that it is the same as the Mundt-Nixon Bill, in another form, and that the bill requires registration

100-1630
Baltimore

of subversive organizations such as Communist Political Organizations and Communist Front Organizations. LATTIMORE advised informant that when he asked the unknown person why he wanted the bill brought out into the open, the reply was that if the public knows something about it, the opposition will be more effective.

According to the informant, LATTIMORE expressed his thanks to the unknown person but did not indicate whether he would comply with the request.

Confidential Informant ^{b20} of known reliability, advised that the Washington Bookshop Association, Washington, D. C., sponsored a lecture on April 6, 1945, at the Roger Smith Hotel by Dr. OWEN LATTIMORE on a book entitled "Solution in Asia." The informant reported that LATTIMORE stated in his talk that China is deeply involved in the Russo-Japanese relations, and it is "one minute to midnight for China to come to a political decision." He related how long it had taken Russia to come into the war, and stated that Russia withstood Japanese aggression longer than anyone else. LATTIMORE stated, further, that it will be a possible confrontation when the United States and Russian armies meet in China.

This informant further stated that LATTIMORE advised that he thought China would want a democracy after the war. Since the people are so divided, the political party most likely to succeed will be the party closest to the people, according to LATTIMORE. LATTIMORE concluded his talk by stating that the ordinary citizen should see to keeping the record clear and up to date; that they should watch the vote in Congress, and by watching Congress could tell what the score would be in Asia.

The Washington Bookshop Association was cited as subversive and Communist by Attorney General TOM CLARK, letters to Loyalty Review Board released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

VII. ALLEGATIONS CONCERNING LATTIMORE'S AFFILIATION WITH COMMUNIST FRONT GROUPS

In the "Baltimore News-Post," September 28, 1945, issue, is an article by DAVID SENTNER and KENT HUNTER, entitled, "Communist Propaganda in Our Armed Forces." The article, in part, reads as follows:

"American troops under orders to attend 'weekly orientation classes' have been and still are being fed the language, economic philosophy,

100-1630
Baltimore

"and the mental motivation of the 'Communist Party line'."

"'The Making of Modern China' by OWEN and ELEANOR LATTIMORE is a book in the Army orientation library."

"An attempt has been made in this volume to sell a 'bill of goods' on the unselfish treatment of China by the Soviet Union compared to the so-called exploitation of China by the United States and Britain, plus a miscellany of lineage from standard Red propaganda."

"American troops who have believed that our war against Japan was the result of Japanese militarism and the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor, are informed in this orientation reference volume that it is really an imperialistic battle between the United States and Japan for the control of China."

"The LATTIMORES give a typical Red party line twist to the famous American 'open door' policy declared in 1899 by Secretary of State JOHN HAY by which the United States gained recognition of the right of trade equality with other nations in China."

"'Essentially', the LATTIMORES state, 'the 'open door' was a further development of the permanent American policy which may be called a policy of 'hitch-hiking imperialism' in preference to active imperialism.'"

In this same article, LATTIMORE's background was given as follows:

"OWEN LATTIMORE, a former OWI top executive, is recorded in the House Committee on Un-American Activities files as having been affiliated with the following Communist front groups: Hollywood Writers' Mobilization, Maryland Association for Democratic Rights, Washington Committee for Aid to China and on the editorial board of 'Amerasia', some of whose editorial associates were charged recently with improperly possessing State Department documents."

100-1630
Baltimore

VII-A. LATTIMORE'S ACTIVITIES IN CONNECTION WITH "AMERASIA"

[REDACTED] b1

The Baltimore Morning "Sun," June 4, 1946, issue, contains an article relating to testimony of Captain J. W. WHITFIELD, Assistant Chief of Naval Intelligence, before a House Judiciary Sub-Committee in Washington, to the effect that ANDREW ROTH, a former Naval Intelligence Officer, was charged in the Spring of 1945 with possessing secret Government papers, and had been alleged to be a fellow traveler at the time he received his Navy commission. The commission went through, according to WHITFIELD, because the United States and Russia were allies in the war, and because ROTH had special skills, such as a knowledge of Japanese.

The article continued that ROTH was among six persons accused in the Spring of 1945 of removing, or having in his possession, certain secret Government documents. The charges against ROTH were dropped early in 1946.

Among the other defendants, PHILIP J. JAFFE, editor of "Amerasia Magazine," and EMMUEL SIGURD LARSEN, a State Department employee, were fined \$2,500 and \$500.00, respectively.

It is here noted that as a result of a surveillance maintained in connection with the PHILIP J. JAFFE case, it is known that ANDREW ROTH, referred to above, visited OWEN LATTIMORE on June 2, 1945, and it is known that he stayed overnight at the LATTIMORE residence in Ruxton, Maryland, leaving the following day. The purpose of his visit could not be determined.

VIII. DESCRIPTION

Name	OWEN LATTIMORE
Age	49 (born Washington, D. C., July 29, 1900)
Height	5' 9"
Weight	175 lbs.
Build	Medium
Hair	Brown; partially bald in front; bald spot in back

100-1630
Baltimore

Eyes	Wears tortoise shell glasses
Face	Has light colored mustache
Marital status	Married
Wife	ELEANOR HOLGATE LATTIMORE, Ruxton, Maryland
Son	DAVID LATTIMORE, Harvard College, Cambridge, Massachusetts
Parents	DAVID LATTIMORE and MARGARET BARNES LATTIMORE, Washington, D. C.
Habits	Smokes pipe; goes about hatless and has been observed on some occasions to wear metal heel plates
Occupation	Author; Director, Walter Hines Page School of International Relations
Business address	300 Gilman Hall, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland
Home address	Roland View Road, Ruxton, Maryland
Photograph	Maintained in Baltimore file
Handwriting and handprinting	Specimens on file at Bureau and also Baltimore Office
Fingerprint classification	14 M 27W 100 S 37 000

The Baltimore Police Department files do not contain any record
on subject LATTIMORE.

ENCLOSURES:

Two photographs of OWEN LATTIMORE are being transmitted to each Field
Office receiving copies of this report.

- P E N D I N G -

100-1630
Baltimore

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
GENERAL INFORMATION RE: OWEN LATTIMORE	33
[REDACTED] b7E	38
[REDACTED] THE LATTIMORES b7D	44
[REDACTED]	45
MONGOL PROJECT b7D	49
RADIO BROADCASTS	56
LATTIMORE'S COMMENTS ON RUSSIA TO BRUNG SHEN	64
[PASSPORT DATA]	65
OPPOSITION TO OVER BILL	66
AMERICAN LEGION LIST OF UNSUITABLE SPEAKERS	69
POOL REVIEW ON "THE SITUATION IN ASIA"	70
ASSOCIATES AND ACQUAINTANCES OF OWEN LATTIMORE	72
MRS. OWEN LATTIMORE - INFORMATION CONCERNING	107
RESIDENCE OF LATTIMORE AT RUMFORD, MARYLAND	111
SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES OF LATTIMORE	111

100

b7D, b7C

100-1630
Baltimore

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

N. E.

PAGE

EAST AND WEST ASSOCIATION
ECONOMY HEADQUARTERS

43, 106
42

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION, BALTIMORE BRANCH

35

b7D, b7C

100-1630
Baltimore

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

NAME

PAGE

[REDACTED]

b7C
b7D

MISS, ELGER

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

JEFFRE, PAUL

[REDACTED]

b7C
b7D

[REDACTED]

48

[REDACTED]

33, 81

[REDACTED]

100-1630
Baltimore

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

NAME

PAGE

[REDACTED]
FOREIGN AFFAIRS INSTITUTE

[REDACTED]
42

[REDACTED]
LITTLE CRE, DAVID
LITTLE CRE, ELEANOR HOLGATE

[REDACTED]
107
107

[REDACTED]
LIVING BUDDHA

[REDACTED]
49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 84

[REDACTED]
BAYLARD ASSOCIATION FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS
BAYLARD CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

[REDACTED]
33
34

[REDACTED]
MONGOL PROJECT

[REDACTED]
49

b7D, b7C

100-1630
Baltimore

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

<u>NAME</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
NATIONAL GUARDIAN	43
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE	43
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH	42
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
PEOPLES INSTITUTE OF APPLIED RELIGION	107
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
RADIO BROADCASTS BY LITTLEORE	56 - 62
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
ROTH, ANDREW, LT.	47, 81
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
RUSSIAN AMERICAN BOOK AGENCY	42
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]

b7D, b7C

100-1630
Baltimore

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

NAME

[REDACTED]

SUPPLY OF INFORMATION OF GREEN LATTITUDE

[REDACTED]

THE LECTURE GROUP
THE NEW SCHOOL

[REDACTED]

UNITED CHINA RELIEF, INC., BALTIMORE BRANCH

PAGE

[REDACTED]

111

[REDACTED]

23

25

[REDACTED]

33

b7C, b7D

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

PAGE

35
43
43
43, 109

49

105

- 321 -

100-1630
Baltimore

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

4-8-50
set 1-3-4
on 1-7-50
of 1-11-50
ser 1-16
Information set out in the main body of this report concerning the belief of [REDACTED] to the effect that LATTEMORE is a Russian Agent, as well as LATTEMORE's involvement in the PHILLIP JAFFE investigation, and that he was a known contact of several subjects in the GREGORY case, is set out in Bureau letter to Baltimore in the instant case dated March 4, 1949. b7D

set 2-4-50
of 2-11-50
ser 1-16
The information set out herein relating to OWEN LATTEMORE accompanying HENRY WALLACE, former Vice-President, on a mission to China and Russia appears in serial 7, Baltimore file 100-1630. It is noted from the information set out in this serial that other members of the WALLACE party were JOHN CARTER VINCENT, Chief of the State Department's Division of Chinese Affairs, and JOHN HAZARD of the Foreign Economic Administration's Division for Soviet Supply (1944).

Administrative
Detailed information concerning the Maryland Association for Democratic Rights can be found in the case entitled "MARYLAND ASSOCIATION FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS, INTERNAL SECURITY - C," Baltimore file 100-1210; also in Baltimore file 100-431 entitled "THE NATIONAL EMERGENCY CONFERENCE, STATE OF MARYLAND; MARYLAND ASSOCIATION FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS, INTERNAL SECURITY - C."

MARYLAND BRANCH OF UNITED CHINA RELIEF, INCORPORATED

The Baltimore "Sun" of March 23, 1944, contains an article concerning the newly organized Maryland Branch of the United China Relief, Inc., stating that an elaborate educational program to promote understanding of China and the Chinese is being mapped by this organization. According to the article, OWEN LATTEMORE was chosen as one of the officers of this organization. The main objective of the organization, according to the article, was to bring to the people of Maryland, especially to the young people, the real significance of China. It was the hope of the organization, through literature, newspapers, lectures, speeches, and the radio to teach what China has meant in the past, what she is trying to do now, and what she hopes for the future.

In the "Evening Sun" newspaper, dated June 2, 1944, was an article concerning a "China Night" meeting to be held in Baltimore on June 9, 1944, under the auspices of the Enoch Pratt Library, and the Maryland Committee of

100-1630
Baltimore

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

United China Relief. Mr. and Mrs. OWEN LATTIMORE were listed as two of the persons arranging the meeting.

MARYLAND CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

The following was obtained from a review of the Vertical File, the Maryland Room, Enoch Pratt Library, relating to OWEN LATTIMORE's association with the Maryland Civil Liberties Committee, affiliate of the American Civil Liberties Union.

In the Vertical File is a letter dated May 31, 1940, addressed to the Enoch Pratt Library in which the name OWEN LATTIMORE is included on the letterhead as one of the Vice-Chairmen of the Maryland Civil Liberties Committee. The letter in substance is in the nature of an appeal for membership support, and sets out some of the purposes of said organization.

There is no information in the Vertical File to indicate that LATTIMORE was an officer in, or associated with the Maryland Civil Liberties Committee subsequent to 1940.

The information concerning the Maryland Civil Liberties Committee and the connection of OWEN LATTIMORE with it is set out in the case entitled "MARYLAND CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE, AFFILIATE OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION," Baltimore file 100-1211.

Reference is made to the information appearing in the body of this report concerning an interview with Confidential Informant [REDACTED] on May 24, 1949. This took place in New York, and is reported in a letter from the New York Office to the Bureau dated May 26, 1949, in the instant case. The interview [REDACTED] is based on information transmitted by teletype to the Bureau and Baltimore Office by the Washington Field Office to the effect that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] while LATTIMORE was in China as an emissary of President ROOSEVELT, LATTIMORE wrote many reports for the White House. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Bureau authority was granted to interview [REDACTED]

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100-1630
Baltimore

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

him relative to OWEN LATTMORE'S involvement in Soviet espionage.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] while acting as advisor to CHIANG KAI-SHEK, was divulging information to the Soviets. [REDACTED] b7D

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] From Source [REDACTED] it is noted that [REDACTED] LATTMORE attended a Russian War Relief dance in New York, which was also attended by many prominent Communists and Ambassador MAXIM LITVINOFF of the Soviet Union. (Apparently this was around 1944). [REDACTED] b7D

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Confidential Informant T-11, on June 15, 1949, advised that a HARRY BARD (phonetic) of the Department of Education, called upon LATTMORE at the suggestion of Dr. HORN, who had asked BARD to act as coordinator for a course called "United Nations and World Cooperation." The purpose of BARD's contact with LATTMORE was to ask him to lecture on some occasion to this group in April, 1950, to which LATTMORE agreed. In addition, he wanted LATTMORE and others to introduce prominent lecturers who would appear before the group. It was on this occasion that LATTMORE informed BARD that his load had become so heavy that he is no longer Chairman of the Foreign Policy Association, Baltimore Branch, and that a new chairman had not yet been appointed. LATTMORE did state, however, that he knew that the FPA would be glad to cooperate, and that he personally would do what he could. b7D

This same informant advised on April 20, 1949, that a Mrs. EIPLE of Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, informed LATTMORE that a WALTER SMITH, who represents the Chinese Cooperative, is in this country and is interested in getting spare parts for tractors, trucks, etc. She wanted to know whether LATTMORE knew anyone who would be influential in helping SMITH, and that she was calling upon him for this information in that LATTMORE was an Honorary Vice-President of

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

[REDACTED] b7D

[REDACTED] b7D

Informant [REDACTED], who has known LATTIMORE [REDACTED], was able to furnish considerable background information concerning him. However, it is noted that it is substantially the same as set out hereinbefore in this report. b7D

He did state that LATTIMORE's books are well written, and that they are the books of a student. At this point, he expressed the opinion that LATTIMORE's books do not contain a "political slant".

Concerning LATTIMORE's family, Informant [REDACTED] advised that LATTIMORE's father was an eminent professor at Dartmouth College; that he is now retired and resides in Washington, D. C. Concerning LATTIMORE's wife, [REDACTED] He described her as an intelligent and very capable woman, who is the daughter of a former professor at Northwestern University. She taught school in China, where she met and married OWEN LATTIMORE, and as a result of this union, they have one son, DAVID LATTIMORE, who is 18 or 19 years of age, and presently a student at the Harvard College. [REDACTED] b7D

Continuing, Informant [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] b7D

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

It was ascertained that LATTIMORE does not have a definite schedule to be maintained at the Page School of International Relations, and that as Director of this school, LATTIMORE acts more or less as a personal tutor to graduate students. He does, however, give some lectures, according to this informant. As far as informant is concerned, those persons who are on LATTIMORE's staff of the Page School of International Relations are loyal Americans.

As a result [REDACTED] OWEN LITTLEORE, both at Johns Hopkins University, and at his residence in Nuxton, Maryland. [REDACTED]

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

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Reference is made to that portion of the main body of this report, which sets out information supplied by Confidential Informant [REDACTED] At the time he was interviewed by Special Agent [REDACTED] of the Boston Office, on April 12, 1949, the results of which are set out in his report in the instant case dated at Boston April 21, 1949, this informant revealed the following information concerning himself. [REDACTED]

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ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

(Mr. ADLER is currently on leave pending the result of a loyalty hearing in which he is the prime figure, predicated upon certain allegations made by one ELIZABETH BENTLEY. [REDACTED] volunteered the information that in his opinion, ADLER had demonstrated his loyalty [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] b7D

set forth in
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[REDACTED] ALGER HISS, whom he regards as thoroughly loyal despite the allegations of WHITTAKER CHAMBERS. He stated that [REDACTED] during the war years were in frequent contact with OWEN LATTIMORE. Informant stated also that many reviewers had been inclined to regard LATTIMORE's books as subtle Communist propaganda;
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] b7D

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

RE: MONGOL PROJECT

An article appeared in the Baltimore Evening "Sun" under date of March 8, 1949, setting out information concerning the Mongol Project being undertaken at the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, Johns Hopkins University. The article in part reads as follows:

"This country's first research seminar on Inner and Outer Mongolia is now being conducted at the Johns Hopkins University's Walter Hines Page School of International Relations.

"Half a dozen experts, including three men believed to be the only well-educated Mongolians in the United States, are investigating problems of language, culture, politics and history under the guidance of Owen Lattimore, director of the school.

"Describing the project today, the Hopkins announced that two Inner Mongolians, ~~Ungungga Onon~~ and ~~Gombojab Hangin~~, had been here since last November, after coming by plane from Nanking. The news of withheld pending the safe arrival of each man's wife and child, which was accomplished last week.

"The third member, a native of Outer Mongolia, is the 'living Buddha,' Dilowa Kutukhtu, who reached Baltimore last week.

"Described by Professor Lattimore as a long-term undertaking likely to last several years, the seminar also includes Miss Ruth E. Bean, a member of the United States Embassy staff in Nanking; Dr. William Austin and Dr. John De Francis, of the Page School faculty, and ~~Nebutaka Iko~~ and ~~Chang Chih-chi~~, Page School fellows. Several graduate students are also members, and Mrs. Eleanor Lattimore, the director's wife, assists.

"Started last September, the seminar 'really got under way,' Professor Lattimore said, with the arrival of Onon and Hangin, who for practical uses have adopted the first names Peter and John.

"Last in Inner Mongolia in 1945, just after the Japanese overthrow, they declined today to comment on current political trends. Outer Mongolia is a Socialist People's republic, described by Professor Lattimore as 'Russia's oldest Asiatic satellite,' dating back to 1912. Inner Mongolia, in all but the western deserts, is under the control of Chinese Communist forces.

"The seminars' first task, Professor Lattimore said, is to complete a phonetic grammar of Mongol, the first English one ever to be compiled.

100-1630
Baltimore

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

"Professor Austin, a descriptive linguist who is still learning Mongolian, is in charge. The text should be finished this summer.

"Another Page School student is now in Indonesia gathering material for a book on that area.

"Dilowa Hutukhtu, Professor Lattimore said, will occupy himself primarily with researches into Lamaist Buddhism and other facets of Mongol culture. He is 66; Onon and Hangin are in their thirties. All three, in this country on special visas, will probably have the university title of research associate.

"Miss Bean, a young Massachusetts graduate of Simmons College, is here to become the first American official in China able to speak Mongolian."

Concerning the Page School student said to be in Indonesia gathering material for a book on that area, this person is undoubtedly ~~GEORGE KAHIN~~.

{ Photographs of ONON, HANGIN, ~~RUTH BEAN~~ and the "Living Buddha" are being retained in the Baltimore Office file.

Confidential Informant T-11 on May 12, 1949, advised that OWEN LATTIMORE discussed with Mrs. LATTIMORE a letter he had just drafted to a BURTON FAZ or PAZ, who is connected with the Rockefeller Foundation. According to LATTIMORE, BURTON FAZ wanted to know what the Johns Hopkins University was "putting in" in connection with the Mongol Project as he needed this information in connection with an application to the Carnegie Corporation for assistance.

According to LATTIMORE, the University has spent the following money:

Salary for Professor WILLIAM AUSTIN, linguist, \$3,600.00
Salaries for two Mongols for one year, \$900 each, \$1,800.00
Third Mongol (Living Buddha) for travel from China, \$1,000.00.

According to LATTIMORE, he is setting out in his letter to BURTON FAZ that the expenses for the Living Buddha since his arrival in the United States have been paid by OWEN LATTIMORE personally.

On this same occasion, LATTIMORE mentioned that the ^{sociologist} University will offer a \$2,500 fellowship for a young anthropologist or ~~ecologist~~ to work with the Mongol Project. In addition, the Page School is giving a year's appointment to GEORGE KAHIN at \$3,500. It was stated by LATTIMORE that KAHIN is returning from a year of field work in Indonesia and this appointment was made

AL INFORMATION PAGE

in order to promote comparative work on Nationalism in Asia, including Mongol Nationalism. It was stated by LATTIMORE that JOHN DE FRANCIS would work on Nationalism in China and KAHIN on Nationalism in Indonesia.

LATTIMORE stated further that the Page School is also renewing its fellowship for Mr. JUNG KAI-IE (phonetic) at \$2,300 in order to keep him with the Mongol Project. Mr. JUNG has done field work as an agriculture economist in China and will work with the Mongols on such questions as Chinese Mongol trade and land policy in areas of Chinese colonization of Mongol land.

LATTIMORE, in his letter to FAZ, advised further that he was also working on the possibility of an appointment for Dr. RUDOLPH LOWENTHAL if arrangements could be worked out to divide his time between work for the Library and the Page School. It was stated that it would be desirable to have LOWENTHAL teach a course on the History of Russian Relations with Mongolia and China and possibly some work for the Department of Political Economy.

Under date of June 9, 1949, in the Baltimore "Sun" appeared an article entitled, "Hopkins Gets \$75,000 Grant". The article related that the Johns Hopkins University has been awarded a grant of \$75,000 to carry out studies of Inner Asian frontiers. The grant, which will be spread over a period of three years, according to the article, was made by the Carnegie Corporation and will be used in the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations. The article in part reads as follows:

"Inner Asian frontiers between China, Russia, India and Afghanistan have been the subject of studies carried on at the school for the last several years.

"Under a previous grant from the Carnegie Corporation a study of China's Central Asian province of Sinkiang was carried out in 1947-1948, the results of which are to be published this year.

"The present study centers around a group of Mongols now working at the Johns Hopkins, who are said to be the first Mongols ever to take part in research at an American university.

"Senior member of the group is Dilowa Hutukhtu or Living Buddha. Formerly the head of a large monastery in Outer Mongolia, he has been a religious exile from his native land since 1931.

"During his residence in China he held high advisory positions in the Chinese Government. Since the war he has lived principally in Lhasa, Tibet.

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

"The two younger members of the group, Peter Onon and Joh Hangan, are from Chinese Inner Mongolia. They were educated in Japan and have held positions in the Chinese Government.

"The present Page School project began as a co-operative project between the Foreign Service Institute of the State Department, the American Council of Learned Societies and the Johns Hopkins.

"During 1948-1949 Professor William M. Austin has been working with the Mongol group to produce the first scientifically planned textbook for teaching the Mongol language ever published in English.

"The progress made has been so satisfactory that language courses for a few selected students will be offered in the fall of 1949,

"Under the new grant, research will be extended to the history, institutions, social organizations, economics, and politics of Mongolia."

According to Confidential Informant T-11, considerable negotiation in connection with the Carnegie grant was carried on between LATTIMORE and JOHN GARDNER, Vice President of the Carnegie Corporation, who was the one who recommended that the \$75,000 grant be approved by the Board of Trustees of the Carnegie Corporation.

This same informant advised on June 8, 1949, that LATTIMORE informed Dr. HORTENSE POWDERMAKER, presently employed on the faculty at Queens College, Flushing, Long Island, New York, of his desire to employ an anthropologist in connection with the Mongol Project. He offered her the position and pointed out that he now has a group of five Mongols in the United States; that the Project was started with the language program in conjunction with the State Department, but that the recent Carnegie Corporation grant will now enable the Page School to make a study of the whole social complex. During the course of his conversation with Dr. POWDERMAKER, LATTIMORE mentioned that he has been working for many, many years on frontier problems and then referred to the Mongol frontier, which he stated was inhabited by people who are neither Chinese nor Russian.

Dr. POWDERMAKER advised she could not accept the offer because of prior commitments but recommended that LATTIMORE get in touch with CORA DU BOIS, whom she stated is now working in the Far East Section of the State Department.

According to this same informant, LATTIMORE, on June 18, 1949, during a discussion with Dr. CORA DU BOIS, offered her either a three year

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

appointment or a one year appointment in connection with the Mongol Project. He told her, however, that the Project would not permit paying her a salary of more than \$6,000 a year.

T-11 advised on June 23, 1949, that OWEN LATTIMORE told his wife that he had had luncheon with CORA DU BOIS that day and that he hoped she would accept his offer to associate herself with the Page School of International Relations. He informed her that if DU BOIS did accept his offer, she would take leave from the Government for one year and would commence her work at the Page School, commencing in the Fall of 1949.

Concerning the arrival of the Mongols in the United States, Confidential Informant T-11 furnished information as follows:

JOHN HANGIN and PETER ONON, traveling on Chinese passports, arrived in the United States at Seattle, Washington, in November, 1948. They were brought to the United States by LATTIMORE with the aid of the State Department. Thereafter they prevailed upon LATTIMORE to permit them to send for their families because they were worried about the Communists coming closer and closer to Nanking, China. Each of the Mongols is married and each has a wife and one child. Thereafter the families of the two Mongols in question arrived in the United States in March, 1949.

DILOMA HUFUKHTU (Living Buddha), who also traveled on a Chinese passport, arrived in the United States in March, 1949, and for a time resided at the LATTIMORE residence in Ruxton, Maryland. Subsequently he moved to 2327 Eutaw Place, Baltimore, and resided with the PETER ONON family. JOHN HANGIN and his family reside at 606 Reservoir Street, Baltimore.

According to this same informant, LATTIMORE has paid the living expenses of the "Living Buddha" since his arrival in the United States. It was stated further by the informant that it is expected that the Mongols will be attached to the Page School of International Relations for a period of several years with the title of "Research Associate" and will be a part of the regular Page School staff.

This same informant on April 6, 1949, advised that OWEN LATTIMORE in discussing the Mongol Project with P. STEWART MACAULAY, Assistant to the President of Johns Hopkins University, mentioned the possibility of borrowing several persons from other schools to work with the Mongol Project. LATTIMORE, without identifying them, stated that one of the men he has in mind is connected with one of the various intelligence and research groups in Washington and that the other man is in the Army.

100-1630
Baltimore

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

Miss RUTH BEAN, mentioned heretofore as being connected with the Mongol Project, presently resides in an apartment at 819 Nowington Avenue, Baltimore.

According to T-11, Mrs. LATTIMORE on May 16, 1949, informed RUTH BEAN that PETER ONON and JOHN HANGIN should be at attorney QUANDT's office at 2:00 P.M., that day regarding an extension of their visas. On this occasion, Mrs. LATTIMORE mentioned that, according to QUANDT, the Immigration and Naturalization Service authorities feel that the Living Buddha is an undesirable resident as he has made statements indicating he was not strongly enough anti-Communist and thus they are suspicious of him. She stated that she had told QUANDT that this is ridiculous; that this man is the Living Buddha and that the reason he is in the United States is because he did not want to be in Nanking when the Communists came in and that he had left Outer Mongolia in 1931, because of the Communists.

Mrs. LATTIMORE told RUTH BEAN that "we" have to be awfully careful that the two Mongols make their position perfectly clear, that is, that they could not have stayed in Nanking after the Communists came and that they could not have left their families there when the Communists came in. Thereafter, according to T-11, the conversation of RUTH BEAN with Mrs. LATTIMORE was substantially as follows:

RUTH BEAN: "Well, that is something that should have been done in the press statements, but everyone was being so cagey and refused to let anything political be said."

Mrs. LATTIMORE then stated that the Living Buddha was being cagey and no one told him what to say; that when the reporters asked him what he thought of the Communists, the Living Buddha said merely that he is a Lama and does not go in for politics or something to that effect. Mrs. LATTIMORE stated that instead he should have stated definitely that he ran away from the Communists.

RUTH BEAN: "The point is that in every one of these meetings we have had with newspaper people, an obvious attempt has been made to keep from saying anything like that. Frankly, I would rather have them qualified as anti-Communists publicly and take the danger to the Johns Hopkins Page School than the other way around."

Mrs. LATTIMORE: "With these two Mongols, I think they might as well know that — and put it as strongly as they like and just tell the truth. They should say that they could not have stayed

100-1630
Baltimore

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

Mrs. LATTIMORE: "there (China) because of the Communists. But there is no question about these two boys (PETER OWEN and JOHN HANGIN). The Immigration and Naturalization Service knows all about them and thinks they are fine."

RUTH BEAN: "Oh! Yes! And I'll bet the reason why they think they are fine is that they read the Hearst paper that said they weren't (apparently Communists). It may save our necks yet."

Mrs. LATTIMORE: "I just thought it as well for everybody to know that; that they must make their position in relation to Communism perfectly clear even if they have to exaggerate it a little bit. But I think OWEN said something to JOHN (HANGIN) about that anyway. But it didn't come up in connection with them in any way so they don't need to worry."

RUTH BEAN: "The only other thing is that I think somewhere along the line on the DITOMA, we can make it clear that the State Department was fully in favor of his coming."

Mrs. LATTIMORE replied that she had definitely told QUANDT that.

It is here noted that from the foregoing conversation between Mrs. LATTIMORE and RUTH BEAN, nothing was said about OWEN or HANGIN not being Communists or anti-Communist but only that they could not stay in Nanking after the Communists took over and that they could not leave their families there.

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100-1630
Baltimore

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

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T-11 advised on May 13, 1949, that attorney CHARLES V. QUANDT, of the Baltimore Life Building, informed Mrs. LATTIMORE that the Immigration and Naturalization Service has some information to the effect that the Living Buddha is an undesirable resident and that they have a record of speeches or utterances he has made and apparently they feel he is not anti-Communist or anti-something. On this occasion, Mrs. LATTIMORE informed QUANDT that the Living Buddha has not made any speeches and, as a matter of fact, cannot speak a word of English and that he had to leave Nanking, China, because of the Communists. QUANDT then informed Mrs. LATTIMORE that these "third hand stories" have a tendency to grow and grow. QUANDT wanted Mrs. LATTIMORE to have the Mongols appear at his office relative to an extension of their visas.

RE: RADIO BROADCASTS

According to Confidential Informant T-11, OWEN LATTIMORE appeared on an NBC television program in New York on May 2, 1949. It was the "Peoples' Platform" program of which QUINCY HOWE was moderator. Former Senator D. WORTH CLARK likewise appeared on the program and took the opposing view on LATTIMORE's stand relative to China.

LATTIMORE appeared on a CBS radio program in New York on May 5, 1949, being opposed in his views on China by BRUNO SHAW, who for 15 years was a newspaper editor in China. The discussion centered around LATTIMORE's recent book "The Situation in Asia".

On May 9, 1949, LATTIMORE again appeared on a radio broadcast in Washington, D. C., on the "American Forum of the Air" program, being opposed in his views on China by Senator HOMER FERGUSON.

On April 27, 1949, according to T-11, LATTIMORE informed ROBERT ALLISON, NBC program director in New York, that he would like to appear on the "Peoples' Platform" program on May 2 but refused to appear on the program with ALFRED COBURG (phonetic), whom LATTIMORE stated was not an expert on the Far East, and that COBURG was a totally irresponsible person, both personally and by position. LATTIMORE informed ALLISON further that COBURG claims China is being given to the Communists by default and that he, LATTIMORE, doesn't mind if the other person is violently opposed to his views, but that he would not appear on the same program with COBURG. ALLISON told LATTIMORE that he would try to get some other person to oppose him, preferably some Senator or Representative.

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

During the same conversation, ALLISON mentioned the possibility of getting LOUIS BUDENZ, who recently wrote an article for Collier's Magazine entitled "Red Menace in China". LATTIMORE declined to appear on the same program with BUDENZ and pointed out that he is not an expert on China and that he would be something like GEORGE CREEL. LATTIMORE then suggested to ALLISON that he endeavor to obtain MARK WATSON, who is the Washington representative for the Baltimore "Sun" paper. He pointed out that WATSON views the whole situation with reasonable alarm and that he is capable and a senior journalist.

Subsequently, according to T-11, LATTIMORE received a telegram from Mr. ALLISON pointing out that he had obtained as the other speaker for the "Peoples' Platform" program former Senator D. WORTH CLARK and that the title of the subject to be discussed would be "What To Do About China".

T-11 advised further on April 28, 1949, that LATTIMORE received a request to participate in a radio program from EDGAR SMALL, program director for a radio station in New York City. SMALL desired to have LATTIMORE present his recent book on the radio and to have FREDA UTLEY to prosecute the book. On this occasion, SMALL informed LATTIMORE that he attempted to get EDGAR SNOW and then tried to get RICHARD LAUTERBACH to appear on the same program. In reply LATTIMORE told SMALL that he would not appear on the same program with FREDA UTLEY as she was worse than CREEL. LATTIMORE described her as one of those Marxists, ex-Marxist or something of the kind and all she is interested in is fighting her battles, etc. She is, according to LATTIMORE, a totally irresponsible person. LATTIMORE then made the statement, "This book is a perfectly serious book about the problem of American foreign policy and I am not going to get mixed up with all these Marxists and Red menace and off-color Marxists and ex-Marxists, etc. — people like CREEL, UTLEY and the whole flock of them."

According to this same informant, EDGAR SMALL was willing to cancel out FREDA UTLEY but LATTIMORE declined to appear on his radio program, stating that other commitments would prevent him from so doing.

T-11 advised on April 28, 1949, that OWEN LATTIMORE advised DUDLEY FRAZIER, of the Little Brown Book Company, Boston, Massachusetts, of his conversation with EDGAR SMALL. On this occasion, LATTIMORE made the statement, "SMALL tried to spring this fellow CREEL on me and then FREDA UTLEY". LATTIMORE told FRAZIER that he didn't want to have any UTLEYS or these other queer characters sprung on him, pointing out that his book has a serious slant on the Far East and that he doesn't want to get mixed up with the Marxist group or the Red menace crowd or other wild-eyed characters.

According to T-11, LATTIMORE received several additional invitations to discuss his recent book over the radio but declined because of other pressing engagements.

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

Concerning "The American Forum of the Air" program, broadcast from Washington, D. C., on May 9, 1949, it is observed that the debate was between Senator HOMER FERGUSON and OWEN LATTIMORE with THEODORE GRANIK as moderator. The title of the debate was "What Is The United States' Responsibility In China?" Detailed comments are being set out below concerning this debate in that it represents the views of LATTIMORE on China and his observations as to what the United States foreign policy toward China should be:

MR. GRANIK: "And now, Mr. LATTIMORE, what will be the consequences to us if the Communists take over all of China?"

MR. LATTIMORE: "We can already see the consequences, Mr. GRANIK. We now have a situation in China which cannot be brought under control by further military aid. There are no forces in China capable of using that aid, and there is no popular movement in China which would support such an American program. We therefore have to try to minimize the further spread of communism in Asia, to do so by methods that will not upset our policy in Europe and will not disturb our world policy. I imagine on that there will be no difference of aim between myself and Senator FERGUSON. The difference, if any, is likely to develop on the question of method."

SENATOR FERGUSON: "Well, I would say that we have to look at it in this way. We have to see what it will mean if China is taken over by the Communists. Let's look at the United Nations, the Security Council, for instance. The Communists would become one of the members of the Security Council, of the Big Five, and have the right of the veto. It would place communism in the saddle in the United Nations. Another thing I think we must analyze is this: What would it do as far as the Chinese embassies all over the world are concerned? Many of the nations haven't even recognized Russia yet, but they have the Chinese embassies. They would become communist embassies. They would then have the power in those embassies to take over with the world revolution, and we would face this position. We would have a flank on the one side controlled by communism, and we are today spending billions of dollars in Europe to keep that flank from being controlled by Communists. So, as I see it today, in our own interests, the interests of the American people, as well as those of our former allies, the Chinese, we should do everything that is possible to prevent them from being taken over by communism."

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

MR. LATTIMORE:

"I think, Senator, that you may be exaggerating the question of China in the United Nations and Chinese embassies in the various countries as compared with China itself as a central power and organization. The Russians already have all the obstructive power they need in the United Nations with the veto they have; a double veto doesn't add to that. If they cooperate in the United Nations, they cooperate; if they don't, they don't. As for Chinese embassies, it is up to the individual countries whether they recognize China or not."

SENATOR FERGUSON:

***** But let's look at our interests prior to the taking over of this vast territory by the Communists. **** We fought the Pacific war, and are we going to say now that we will surrender all that we fought for? *****

MR. LATTIMORE:

"Senator, I think we ought to try to get down to the basic realities of the situation. You speak of the Communists taking over China. I think that perhaps is too strong a way of putting it. From the American point of view, what can American policy do in the situation? The key to the situation in China is not that the Communists have won but that the National government has collapsed of its own corruption and its own inefficiency. That leaves us with nothing there to support, so we cannot talk of the interests we would have defended if there were something there for us to support. We have to get to the realities of the situation and how we can deal with it."

SENATOR FERGUSON:

"Mr. LATTIMORE, I can't agree with you on that. When I think of what happened between V-J Day and today, when I think of our government sending General MARSHALL as an emissary to China; what for? To try to consolidate the Nationalist government and the Communists. Now, he was following out an order. I am satisfied that it was not his direct order; he was following it out. We have learned—and we should have known this before Yalta—that you cannot, under any circumstances, ever put the Communists into any other government that they wouldn't take it over. Let's take Czechoslovakia. Let's look at this thing in the light of what has happened. Now, what did General MARSHALL do? He did this. He had them stop fighting. He gave every preference to the Communists because the Communists were defeated at the time that he went there."

100-1630
Baltimore

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

MR. LATTIMORE:

"I should like to disagree with you there, Senator, on several points of fact and several points of opinion. On a point of fact, it can hardly be said that General MARSHALL gave any advantage to the Communist side in China, since it is on the record that during the period when the sides were lining up for the civil war, American transportation by air and sea was taking government forces to positions of advantage. The Nationalist troops were taken to that part of Manchuria to which America had access. The Communists went overland in an area which America couldn't control.

"On a question of opinion, I would differ with you in considering General MARSHALL was a very wise man. He surveyed the situation there, found a situation which America would not be in a position to control, and not being able to control the position, he recommended a policy that would not get us in deeper."

MR. LATTIMORE:

***** In the big surrenders of the Nationalist troops in Manchuria in November and December of 1948, the NEW YORK TIMES carried the report that, in one surrender of one group of Nationalist armies without fighting, they turned over to the Communists intact more American arms and supplies than the value of that \$125,000,000. So, if you are trying to aid a country which is losing the supplies and surrendering them as rapidly as that, what is the use of pouring more down the same rat hole?"

SENATOR FERGUSON:

"Well, you might call it a rat hole, but as I see it, this isn't a rat hole; this is the vital interest of the United States of America. *****"

MR. LATTIMORE:

***** I agree with you that it is to the American interest to stabilize the situation, to minimize the spread of communism anywhere and everywhere. I think the practical question is one as to what methods work in what area. The Marshall Plan method has worked very well in stabilizing Europe and restoring morale. Everything that we have spent in China has been mispent and mismanaged. There is no use trying to give more money to the same people to waste in the same way."

During the debate LATTIMORE made the statement:

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

"The essential thing in China is that, according to the testimony of Major General DAVID C. BARR, recently the head of the American military advisory group in China, 90 per cent of American arms actually delivered to the Nationalist armies are now in the hands of the Chinese communists, some by sale and some by surrender. And Major General BARR has also testified that he does not believe there is any military organization left in China capable of using any better any further aid that we might give."

During the portion of the program devoted to answering questions, several questions were asked of LATTIMORE and Senator FERGUSON. The questions directed to LATTIMORE and his reply thereto are set out below:

SENATOR BREWSTER: "Yes, I would like to ask a question of Mr. LATTIMORE. Could the Communists have seized China without the enormous amount of Japanese war material turned over by the Soviet in Manchuria and the 20 months given to organize those supplies by the United States embargo?"

MR. LATTIMORE: "On the question of the Japanese munitions in China, Senator BREWSTER, the Russians turned over to the Chinese Communists what they got in Manchuria. What the Japanese surrendered in China proper within the Great Wall, a larger amount, was turned over by us to the Chinese, and some of it was surrendered direct to the Chinese. On the question of further Russian aid, Major General BARR is only the last of a long line of informed American government witnesses recently returned from China who have testified that they have no evidence of any large scale Russian aid to the Chinese Communists. The main question in China is the collapse of the government."

QUESTION: (Identity of person asking question unknown) My question is for Mr. LATTIMORE. As I understand it, Mr. LATTIMORE, you were previously in the State Department with Mr. RALPH BARNES and, at that time, advocated a policy of coalition. Isn't it a fact that that policy advocated by you to some considerable degree has allowed the Communist advance in China?"

MR. LATTIMORE: "The question is rather irrelevant. I was never in the State Department in any capacity at any time, and I do not know anybody named RALPH BARNES."

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

During the course of the debate, Senator FERGUSON made comments concerning General MAO, of the Chinese Communists, who made the statement that in case of America going to war with Russia, the Communists in China would be on the side of Russia. Senator FERGUSON commented also that Mr. FOSTER and Mr. DENNIS had likewise stated that if America went to war with Russia, the American Communists would be on the side of Russia. LATTIMORE in reply stated,

"Senator, you have been telling us at rather considerable length something that I think all of us know, that the Chinese Communists will 'yes' the Russians right down the line on any question of international politics where each one thinks that the other's voice can help. That is not the question of Russian control in China or the spread of Communism in Asia which is what we need to stop by methods more successful than those we have been so unsuccessful with."

In summarizing the debate, Senator FERGUSON took the position that the United States ought to give moral support to China and also military aid to help the Nationalist Government carry on against dictatorship and totalitarianism.

Mr. LATTIMORE's summary was as follows:

"My summary, Mr. GRANIK, is to return where I began this debate. We have a situation which cannot be controlled by military intervention or by further military aid of the kind that has already proved so unsuccessful. We must therefore try to return or to turn aside to methods of constructive economic stabilization to minimize the further spread of communism in Asia, something I should imagine along the lines of President Truman's point 4 in his inauguration speech, constructive programs of development in backward countries. We must try to bring that into combination with our European policy."

In connection with two of LATTIMORE's radio broadcasts in New York City, surveillances were maintained on him in New York on May 2 and May 5, 1949, but no significant contacts were noted.

By letter dated May 10, 1949, the New York Office advised that following LATTIMORE's participation in the program "Peoples' Platform" on the night of May 2, his activities were observed from the time he left the radio studio until he boarded a train for Baltimore. At 11:20 P.M., LATTIMORE was observed alighting from a taxicab at Lexington Avenue and East 58th Street. Thereafter he proceeded to the La Rue Night Club, 45 East 58th Street, and was observed checking his raincoat and entering the premises of the night club. It was stated that a large scale private birthday party was being held

100-1630
Baltimore

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

at this night club by an individual named REINAMER (phonetic) and it was not deemed practicable for agents to enter the premises.

At 11:55 P.M., (May 2, 1949) LATTIMORE emerged from the night club with an unidentified individual of middle age and stature and the two shook hands in parting. Thereafter LATTIMORE proceeded to the Grand Central Station and it is known that he arrived in Baltimore the following morning.

T-11 on May 3, 1949, advised that subject LATTIMORE informed his wife that he had a good night's rest on the way down from New York. During the discussion LATTIMORE informed her that LESTER COWAN (phonetic) tuned in the latter part of the program and then called him. He stated that he met COWAN for a drink before going aboard the train; that Mrs. ANN COWAN is coming East very soon. He suggested to Mrs. LATTIMORE that they should write her now so that she can make plans to visit the LATTIMORES prior to the time the COWANS leave for Europe.

It would appear that the unidentified individual observed with LATTIMORE outside of the La Rue Night Club on the night of May 2 is possibly LESTER COWAN.

T-12 on June 24, 1949, advised that OWEN LATTIMORE had a discussion with a Mrs. CLAPP (phonetic) which in part related to a letter Mrs. CLAPP had received from some women's group known as "Maryland For Representatives Government", in which comments were made on China. She informed LATTIMORE that a Mrs. CHALFA (phonetic) had stated conditions in China were awful and that the State Department was dreadful "with all these fellow travelers telling it what to do". Mrs. CLAPP asked of LATTIMORE, "What is the matter with these people? Most missionaries were not for CHIANG KAI-SHEK." In his reply LATTIMORE stated substantially as follows:

"You remember about a quarter of a century ago LEIGHTON STUART, who is now our ambassador in Nanking, was being called a Red because he said CHIANG KAI-SHEK represented a new stage in China and we had to recognize him. On the radio tonight it was announced that WALTON BUTTERWORTH, head of the Far Eastern Division, State Department, has been nominated as Assistant Secretary of State. After the HURLEY business, when HURLEY was yelling that the Far Easterners and the State Department were a bunch of Reds, pinks, etc., they sought out this guy BUTTERWORTH, who is not a Far Eastern man; he is a European trained man and sort of solid, seasoned Maine Republican. They said we'll take this respectable and extremely large man and punch him down on top of the Far Eastern Division and they can't say there is any monkey business going on. Tonight on the radio, they describe

RE THIS MATTER PAGE

"how Senator VANDENBERG says we can't promote this guy BUTTERWORTH to be Assistant Secretary of State in charge of the Far Eastern Division because he is not a man who can control all the Reds and Pinks."

T-11 on June 2, 1949, advised that BRUNO SHAW, of New York, was in contact with OWEN LATTIMORE for the purpose of obtaining comments from LATTIMORE relative to his views on China. SHAW informed LATTIMORE that he was doing a story for the Elks Magazine on China and wants to comment on "both sides of the issue". He stated that he desired LATTIMORE to answer two questions as follows:

- (1) Does the future hold more or less promise for the Chinese people now, since the Communists have advanced, compared with what they had under the Nationalist Government?
- (2) What should the United States' attitude and relations be with the new regime?

LATTIMORE informed SHAW that the answers to his questions were set out in his recent book "The Situation in Asia" and did not care to commit himself further. LATTIMORE did say, with reference to whether the Chinese people would be better off under a Communist regime than under the Nationalist Government, that it depends on whether the degree of communisticness in China is replied to by an economic blockade of China, whether they are left alone, etc. He added:

"Who can possibly project in advance what Communism as such is going to be like in China? Nobody has seen Communism anywhere. Russia certainly has not got it. Whatever they have, it is not Communism. The Chinese have not had anything yet you can put a firm label on. How are you going to put a label on Communism — what some supposed future Communism in China is going to be? China is not like Czechoslovakia which had a working democracy and there you have something to compare with. But what are you going to compare with in China?"

Thereafter the conversation was substantially as follows:

BRUNO SHAW: "When you say Russia does not have Communism, you mean that STALIN in interpreting LENIN and LENIN in interpreting MARK, have both departed from MARK's fundamental principles?"

LATTIMORE: "I am not saying anything of the kind. I am merely saying that what you have in Russia is some kind of socialism,

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

LATTIMORE: "whether a state socialism or some other kind, I am not enough of an expert to say. Even Russians themselves do not claim they have Communism. Now whether they have got that (socialism) because STALIN departed from LENIN and LENIN departed from MARX, I don't know. How do I know whether it is because they departed from it or have not gotten there yet? Who knows? Who can possibly say what MARX would have made of Russia if MARX had lived until the Russian Revolution and if MARX had been a Russian instead of a German. It doesn't seem to me a realistic approach at all."

LATTIMORE concluded by stating that he could add nothing to what he had in his recent book; that he had tried to deal with a very confused and fluid and changing situation as far as he could in print and could not give any sort of off-hand statement that would be anything better.

PASSPORT DATA

In addition to the information set out in the main body of this report, concerning the issuance of various passports to LATTIMORE, Confidential Informant T-12 furnished the information set out below:

REF TO PASSPORT

A letter dated September 15, 1942, on the letterhead of the White House, Washington, D. C., signed by LAUCHLIN CURRIE, Administrative Assistant to the President, states:

"Mr. OWEN LATTIMORE is returning immediately to China, resuming there his duties as political adviser to Generalissimo CHIANGKAI-SHEK. As you will recall, he was appointed to this post last year on the nomination of the President. In view of the importance of Mr. LATTIMORE's post, I am sure you will concur with me that he should be given a special passport."

"LATTIMORE's passport application of September 15, 1942, shows his permanent residence as Ruxton, Maryland, and indicated that he planned to visit China, Brazil, Africa and India. He requested that this passport be mailed in care of LAUCHLIN CURRIE, Room 222, State Department Building, or notify Branch 90, White House."

release per passport

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b7D

100-1630
Baltimore

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

The Boston Office by letter dated June 30, 1949, referred to the report of SA [REDACTED] in the instant case dated April 21, 1949. It was stated that in the preparation of this report, the writer thereof interviewed [REDACTED], who has had considerable experience in doing research work. At the request of the Boston Agent, he voluntarily reviewed all of the issues "Pacific Affairs", published under subject LATTIMORE's editorship (1934-1941). There was enclosed with this letter the informant's rough drafted notes reflecting the results of this review. It was stated in the letter that a cursory review of the same reflects that during LATTIMORE's editorship of this journal, articles or book reviews by the following [REDACTED] appear:

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JOSEPH BARNES
FREDERICK V. FIELD
~~ELMER WILSON~~
NATHANIEL PEPPER
VICTOR A. YAKHONTOFF
HARRIET MOORE
~~GUNTHER SMITH~~
ANNA LOUISE STRONG
EDGAR SNOW
JAMES S. ALLEN
MARY VAN FLECK
NYM MALES (Mrs. EDGAR SNOW)
MICHAEL GREENBERG
EDWARD C. CARTER
MICHAEL F. M. LINDSAY.

It was pointed out in the Boston letter that this list is not intended to be all inclusive but, as indicated, represents a merely casual review of the names referred to in the rough draft notes of [REDACTED]

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T-11 advised that on April 6, 1949, a Mrs. SUGAR (phonetic — possibly Mrs. HERBERT-SHUGER) informed subject LATTIMORE that in contacting him, she was acting in behalf of Dr. DIESENDRUK (believed to be Dr. JUDITH DIESENDRUK, Bacteriologist at Johns Hopkins University), who was Secretary of the Committee to Abolish the Ober Bill. She stated that this is the committee that obtained the names of the people who signed the advertisement opposing the Ober Bill. Also that the committee now feels that the next step is to initiate a referendum. She asked LATTIMORE whether he would be willing to endorse a referendum.

According to the informant, LATTIMORE, after some deliberate thought, said, "Let me think that one over will you? Who else is on the list?" Thereafter Mrs. SUGAR furnished the names of approximately 12 persons. LATTIMORE

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

told her that he was with another group that also signed a petition and that he would check with the other members of that group and would let her know about endorsing a referendum. In reply to a question by Mrs. SUGAR as to whether he would like to call Dr. DIESENDRUK, LATTIMORE replied merely, "No, I'd better check with the others first".

According to this same informant, there is no indication that LATTIMORE endorsed the referendum in question.

It is stated that the Maryland Subversive Activities Act of 1949, generally referred to as the Ober Bill, was passed by the Legislature and became effective on April 22, 1949. The Ober Bill makes it a crime to belong to organizations advocating violent overthrow of the government and requires a loyalty check of public employees, including school teachers. It is noted that the Communist Party of Maryland made a concentrated effort to prevent the passage of the bill by the Legislature and following its passage, attempted to dissuade the Governor of Maryland from signing the bill.

In a paid advertisement in the "Afro American" newspaper of March 5, 1949, was a petition entitled "Raise Every Voice. Defend Civil Liberties. Defeat the Ober Bill." This petition contained 145 names but LATTIMORE's name was not on this particular petition.

The Baltimore Morning "Sun" newspaper of February 11, 1949, contained a lengthy article describing persons who appeared at a public hearing before the Senate and House Judiciary Committee at Annapolis, Maryland, in opposition to the proposed Ober Bill. One person opposing the bill was EUGENE O'DUNNE, former Judge of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore, who stated that he was appearing against the bill on behalf of what he called "A self-controlled, self-organized, un-incorporated and responsible group of 46 interested citizens". Among them, he said, are the following:

City Councilman WARREN ~~BUCKLER~~
Reverend Doctor ALBERT EDWARD ~~DAY~~
Reverend Doctor HARRY LEE ~~DOLL~~
Reverend DON FRANK ~~FENN~~
HANS ~~FROELICHER~~, JR.
Doctor MANFRED ~~GUTTMACHER~~
SIDNEY ~~HOLLANDER~~
✓ GERALD W. ~~JOHNSON~~
OWEN LATTIMORE
JOHN HENRY ~~LEWIN~~
Rabbi MORRIS ~~LIEBERMAN~~
Doctor ARTHUR O. ~~LOVEJOY~~

100-1630
Baltimore

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

Rabbi ABRAHAM ~~SHUSTERMAN~~
SIMON E. ~~SOBELOFF~~
Reverend Doctor T. GUTHRIE ~~SPEERS~~
Doctor ABEL ~~WOLMAN~~.

There is no record in the Baltimore Office indicating that O'DUNNE is or has been engaged in subversive activities or that he has supported any Communist front groups.

ARTHUR O. LOVEJOY, who is a professor of Philosophy, is known to be one of the founders of the Maryland Civil Liberties Committee and is presently active in that organization. Also presently members of the Maryland Civil Liberties Committee are Dr. DON FRANK FENN, HANS FROELICHER, JR., and SIDNEY HOLLANDER.

Concerning Mrs. SUGAR (phonetic), she is believed identical with Mrs. HERBERT SHUGER, who in 1942, was listed together with her husband, as a member of the Bookshop Association of Baltimore, Inc., which was completely controlled and dominated by Communists.

Concerning Dr. JUDITH DIESENDEUK, it is stated that informants of the Baltimore Office advise that she is a member of the White Collar Section of the Communist Party in Baltimore and that she has been active in the Progressive Party locally (see letter to the Bureau dated May 20, 1949, entitled, "COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, Legislative Activities; INTERNAL SECURITY - C", page 9, Baltimore file 100-12463-437).

As stated above, as far as could be determined by Confidential Informant T-11, LATTIMORE did not desire to identify himself with the Dr. DIESENDEUK group by endorsing the referendum referred to.

100-1630
Baltimore

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

Under date of May 6, 1949, there appeared in the Baltimore Morning "Sun" newspaper an article headed "OWEN LATTIMORE Is On Legion List." It was stated in the article that the American Legion National Americanism Commission has compiled a list of 102 artists, writers, and actors, and others which they consider unsuitable for Legion sponsorship as "speakers or entertainers." The list contains the name of OWEN LATTIMORE. The article states further that KENNETH R. HARTER, Chairman of the Legion's Americanism Commission for Maryland, said that this list had been sent to all Post Commanders in the State, and explained that those persons named on the list do not adhere to the same beliefs that the American Legion adheres to, but added that this did not imply that they are Communists. HARTER explained that the National Legion Headquarters furnished the list to avoid "embarrassment" for local groups, which might unwittingly invite speakers or entertainers with "whose ideals we are in conflict."

According to Informant T-11, a representative of the "Sun" newspaper was in touch with OWEN LATTIMORE on May 5, 1949, concerning the American Legion list. LATTIMORE advised that the only name on the list he recognized was that of WILLIAM L. CHURCH, and added that he was glad to be on any list with him. LATTIMORE expressed surprise to learn his name was on the list, but stated he had no particular comment to make, and that he could not imagine why his name was included in such a list. He also informed the press representative that his work is in the public market, and that anybody can form his own opinion.

Along this line, T-11 advised on May 6, 1949, of a conversation between P. STEWART MACAULAY, Assistant to the President at Johns Hopkins University, and subject LATTIMORE. At the outset of their conversation, MACAULAY facetiously said, "I have an invitation for you to speak before the American Legion of Baltimore." Then LATTIMORE told MACAULAY that he thought it was a "dirty trick" for the "Sun" paper to make a headline story of his name being on the American Legion list, MACAULAY replied with these words, "It's your own damn fault."

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

LATTIMORE, according to this same informant, then asked MACAULAY why the name LARRY ADLER, the harmonica player of Baltimore, was listed by the American Legion. MACAULAY stated that he did not know and that there were a number of names on the list that left him mystified.

The informant was unable to furnish any further information as to what MACAULAY meant when he told LATTIMORE that it was his own fault that his name appeared on the list, but expressed the opinion that it is because MACAULAY is acquainted with the fact LATTIMORE has identified himself in the past with Communist front groups, which have been publicized in the press.

Concerning LATTIMORE's most recent book "The Situation in Asia", T-11 advised on April 12, 1949, that he had a discussion with Mrs. OWEN LATTIMORE concerning recent book reviews on this book. Mrs. LATTIMORE on this occasion informed him that she thought all of the book reviews were good except the one which appeared in the "New York Times", which she considered very critical.

The book review which appeared in the "New York Times" of April 10, 1949, is by STUART LILLICO, formerly a newspaperman in China and Japan. In part his comments on LATTIMORE's book are set out as follows:

"The trouble with Asia, according to OWEN LATTIMORE, is that the whole continent is out of control. Nothing that the United States or its allies can do, he contends, will ever put the West back in control of the lands and peoples from Suez to the western Pacific. However, in 'The Situation in Asia' he explains what can still be salvaged and how it can be done. His program calls for reorientation of American policy, particularly our insistence on 'law and order' in preference to democratic progress.

"It is doubtful whether the United States has another man so well informed on northeastern Asia—and at the same time so literate—as OWEN LATTIMORE.

"Scores of students of the Far East are indebted to Mr. LATTIMORE for their knowledge, their theories and their sympathies. 'The Situation in Asia,' therefore, is likely to have a definite influence on informed American thinking.

"It is difficult to reduce Mr. LATTIMORE's reasoning to a few words, but it is approximately this: The West can no longer control events in Asia. In all but a few negligible states nationalism is in the saddle. The West simply does not have the strength to restore the old colonial order under any disguise, and the United States is doing

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

"itself and democracy a dis-service when it backs Netherlands, British or French efforts to 'restore order.'

"The author sees the possibility of Communist control in many Asiatic governments, but less danger of Soviet domination. (He expects Far Eastern 'Titoism' to keep the Russians under control.) Communism is attractive now because it talks a sure-fire program--nationalism and freedom from landlord exploitation. Few Asiatics see a Russian threat to their freedom and livelihood. 'The inclination,' he asserts, 'to call Marxism progressive, and the increasing tendency to take the word 'democratic' away from Europe and America and give it to Russia and Marxism, are among the hard facts of the Asia of today.'

"Many who read 'The Situation in Asia' quickly will feel that Mr. LATTIMORE is backing the Soviet line. Actually, he is not. He appears to have tried to maintain complete objectivity and to paint the picture as he sees it. Often he seems to feel that Russian policy is sounder, more astute and/or more progressive than that adopted by the United States--and he says so. He thinks we are frequently confused and occasionally plain wrong. For example, he says we have made a mistake in opposing Outer Mongolia's application for membership in the United Nations. If the Mongols ever are to reject Russian domination, he believes, they must be encouraged to assert their individuality. Accepting them into the world family would be a cheap and effective encouragement.

"Much as this reviewer admires Mr. LATTIMORE, it seems necessary to say that 'The Situation in Asia' represents something of an inflationary trend. In short, his book occasionally discusses subjects in which his competence is not obvious. He is thoroughly at home in China, and probably no other American can analyze the Kuomintang with such authority. But he is not necessarily equally at home in Yugoslavia, whose relations with the Kremlin he explains in the same persuasive voice. LATTIMORE on CHIANG certainly needs no documentation, but LATTIMORE on TITO may. The critical reader would like to know the basis for categorical statements on subjects far from LATTIMORE's customary field.

"In his closing chapter Mr. LATTIMORE remarks that 'the most successful American policies have been carried out through the United Nations; the most disastrous have been those that by-passed it.' It is part of his program for improving our overseas position that, instead of operating independently, we use the United Nations for all our foreign operations."

ASSOCIATES AND ACQUAINTANCES OF GLEN LATTIGRE

JOSEPH FELS BARNES

Confidential Informant T-11 advised on June 20, 1949, that LATTIGRE had informed him that he intended to proceed to Bethel, Vermont, on June 27, and that enroute he would stop overnight at the home of JOSEPH BARNES in New York City. The informant gathered the impression that LATTIGRE had not seen BARNES for some time in that BARNES informed LATTIGRE that he was anxious to see him as he had a lot he wanted to tell him, and also a lot he wanted to ask him.

By teletype dated June 28, 1949, the New York Office advised that JOSEPH FELS BARNES resides at 430 West 22nd St., New York City; that BARNES is a well known newspaper man, formerly Foreign Editor of the "New York Herald Tribune," and formerly Editor of the "New York Star"; that he was also formerly associated with the Institute of Pacific Relations. It was stated further that reliable informants regard BARNES as pro-Soviet, and that there have been numerous unsupported allegations to the effect that BARNES has acted as a Soviet agent.

[REDACTED]

Confidential Informant [REDACTED] whose identity is known to the Bureau, advised that in 1943-1944 JOSEPH BARNES resided at 430 W. 22nd Street, New York City. At that time he was employed at the Office of War Information as Assistant Director of Overseas Operations, in Charge of Radio and Publications. The informant stated that before World War II, BARNES was a foreign newspaper correspondent in Moscow.

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According to this informant, one HAAKOR CHEVALIER, who has been definitely identified as one who undertook military espionage on behalf of the Soviet Union, while residing in New York City during the latter part of 1943 and early part of 1944.

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b7D

100-1630
Baltimore

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

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According to Confidential Informant [REDACTED] in 1934, JOSEPH BARNES was Secretary of the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, and at that time was traveling in Russia.

ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Confidential Informant [REDACTED] of known reliability, advised that [REDACTED] ANNA LOUISE STRONG visit the LATTHORES [REDACTED] b7D

On May 14, 1949, Confidential Informant T-11 advised that he learned from Mrs. LATTHORE that her husband had met ANN LOUISE STRONG on the corner of Cold Spring Lane and Charles Street, in Baltimore, on May 14, 1949, and had thereafter driven her to the LATTHORE home. Just previous to this, Miss STRONG had arrived in Baltimore via train. The informant was unable to learn the purpose of Miss STRONG's visit to the LATTHORE home, but he did learn that she spent the entire afternoon of May 14th with the LATTHORES, and thereafter departed from Baltimore for Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

DAVID WAHL

Confidential Informant T-11 on May 4, 1949, was informed by LATTHORE that he had talked to DAVE WAHL that day and learned that he planned to attend the Israel reception at the Jewish Embassy in Washington, D. C., on the night of May 4, 1949. LATTHORE further advised the informant that he made tentative arrangements to see DAVE WAHL in New York on the following afternoon.

This same informant advised on June 3, 1949, that he had learned that DAVID WAHL planned to drive from New York to Baltimore on June 4, and that he wanted to see the LATTHORES while in Baltimore. The informant was unable to determine whether WAHL actually visited the LATTHORES on June 4, 1949.

100-1630
Baltimore

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

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[REDACTED]

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According to the above-described New Haven report, MARSALKA in 1948 was Assistant Professor of History and Russian Studies at Yale University. The report sets out information that

MARSALKA has been active in PCA activities in New Haven

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CARL PRESTON GREEN

On March 28, 1949, Confidential Informant T-19, of known reliability, advised that a CARL GREEN was stopping at the LATTIMORE home; [REDACTED] This CARL GREEN was subsequently identified as CARL PRESTON GREEN, who at that time resided at 1112 16th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. The informant was unable to learn the purpose of GREEN's visit to the LATTIMORE residence [REDACTED]

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On April 12, 1949, Confidential Informant T-11 advised that he learned from Mrs. LATTIMORE that CARL GREEN was then in New York, and had been endeavoring to make a connection with NBC in the performance end of television.

On April 20, 1949, according to Informant T-11, CARL GREEN informed LATTIMORE that he had done a show on CBS, and while his own performance was satisfactory, the show, itself, was not good. GREEN informed LATTIMORE that he would soon move into an apartment in New York, and that he would expect LATTIMORE to stay with him whenever he came to New York City. GREEN inquired of LATTIMORE whether he would come over to Washington for the SMITH party on Saturday night, in reply to which LATTIMORE stated that he had not heard anything about it.

Confidential Informant T-20, former member of the Communist Party, was interviewed on October 18, 1948 in Washington, D. C. concerning CARL GREEN. This informant related that the Communist Party and sympathizers have "used" CARL GREEN for a number of years for various Communistic causes, and that he has always willingly accepted such assignments, even though they have sometimes been of a menial character; that GREEN is considered an intellectual, and as such does not take part in open Communist functions. The informant made the statement that practically all of GREEN's friends and acquaintances are Communists or "left-wingers".

On another occasion, this same informant furnished the following information:

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

Concerning CARL GREEN, the following information appears in the report of SA [redacted] dated at Washington, D. C., September 9, 1948, in the case [redacted] entitled [redacted]

Washington Informant [redacted] indicated that GREEN is a personal friend of DAVID R. PAHL. [redacted]

In this same report, information is set out to the effect that Washington Informant [redacted] advised on February 1, 1946, that ERNA ROSENBERG conferred with her husband ALLAN, at which time they discussed a party that ERNA was going to have soon. Among the guests to be invited were CARL GREEN, MAYNARD GUTTLER, DAVID WAHL, PHILIP DUNAWAY, and BOWEN SMITH and his wife. b2

According to the same informant on February 4, 1946, ERNA ROSENBERG contacted EMILY SHARPMAN, at which time they discussed the condition of CARL GREEN. ERNA commented that GREEN was in terrible condition, and that he definitely needed the assistance of a psychiatrist in view of his perverted nature. ERNA said that GREEN had figured it out that he would have to be analyzed so often that it would cost him \$2,500 annually for the services of a psychiatrist.

On March 18, 1946, ARNA ROSENBERG and EMILY SELAFIAN again discussed CARL GREEN and the injury he received in a fight. They expressed their opinion that GREEN had been injured because of his homosexual make-up in that he had made advances to individuals who were not cooperative.

100-1630
Baltimore

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

It is noted from this same report, described above, that GREEN's address in 1948 was 1112 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. [REDACTED]

b7E

GEORGE McTURNAN KAHIN

Confidential Informant T-11 has advised that GEORGE KAHIN resides in Litchfield, Connecticut, with his wife, MAGGIE KAHIN. On June 4, 1949, KAHIN, who just returned to the United States from Indonesia, and China, made arrangements to visit LATTIMORE in Baltimore, and thereafter visited him on June 6, 1949, staying overnight at the LATTIMORE home. On June 7, 1949, according to this informant, he proceeded to Washington, D. C., where he stopped two days at the Washington Hotel before returning to his home in Connecticut.

This same informant subsequently determined that GEORGE KAHIN is connected with the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, and that he will move to Baltimore in the fall of 1949, where he will engage in writing and research work on Indonesian nationalism at the Page School of International Relations.

It was on June 4, 1949, according to Confidential Informant T-11, that LATTIMORE informed KAHIN that he received a Carnegie grant, and that the Mongol Project was going forward on a three year basis; that the Page School is now set up for a string of comparison nationalist studies from the Russian frontier right down to Southeast Asia.

It was on this occasion that KAHIN made the statement:

"I must say that I have made a special effort to get as much material as I can on the Communist angles of the Nationalists."

It is here noted that this same GEORGE KAHIN is referred to in [REDACTED] It is further noted that MIRA JORDAN, until recently, was in Indonesia as Secretary on the U. N. Committee of Good Offices on the Indonesian Question. She was repatriated from Indonesia as a result of pro-Communist activities and association with Communist Party leaders. [REDACTED]

b7C, b7D

[REDACTED] b7D
It is observed from the July 4, 1949, issued of "Time" magazine, in an article on Indonesia, the following statement is made:

"The Republicans also reported that they had executed three other Chieftians, former Premier AMIR SJARIFODDEN, R.M. SURIPINO, a former Republican diplomat, and a Communist Party Secretary named HADJONO."

In a teletype from the New York Office on June 10, 1949, it was stated that GEORGE McTURNAN KAHIN was born in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1918.

Confidential Informant T-11 advised that GEORGE KAHIN was present at the LATTIMORE residence on June 6, 1949, when he received information from his wife, MARGIE KAHIN, to the effect that he had received a notice of a "bag" arriving on BOAC Lines at LaGuardia Field. On this occasion KAHIN instructed his wife to send the Customs receipt to "JACK" in New York.

By teletype on June 7, 1949, the New York Office was requested to arrange examination of KAHIN's bag at LaGuardia Field and the Washington Field Office was requested to determine KAHIN's contacts in Washington, where he planned to be on June 7 and 8, 1949, it being noted that KAHIN planned to stay at the Washington Hotel.

DUDLEY FRAZIER

According to Confidential Informant T-11, DUDLEY FRAZIER is connected with the Little Brown Company of Boston, Mass., and has acted as LATTIMORE's agent in connection with his book, "The Situation in Asia."

The same informant advised on March 26, 1949, that DUDLEY FRAZIER was in Baltimore and told LATTIMORE that he was stopping at 1521 Northwick Road. It was subsequently determined that this is the address of Mrs. ADELYNE DOHLE BRELSKIN.

100-1630
Baltimore

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

There are a number of references on Mrs. BREESKIN in the Baltimore files. The report of SA [REDACTED] San Francisco, April 30, 1945, in the case entitled [REDACTED] contains information to the effect that the address book [REDACTED] contains the name of Mrs. ADOLYN BREESKIN, Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore, Maryland. b7C

Under date of April 5, 1946, an article relative to the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions appeared in the Baltimore "Sun" newspaper. The name Mrs. ADOLYN D. BREESKIN, Acting Director of the Baltimore Museum of Art, appeared as a director of one of the units of the Independent Citizens Committee of Arts, Sciences, and Professions. It is here stated that ADOLYN BREESKIN is known to this office to have been frequently active in Communist front groups in Baltimore.

The purpose of the visit of DUDLEY FRAZIER to the BREESKIN residence could not be determined.

T-11 on April 14, 1949, advised that DUDLEY FRAZIER told OWEN LITTLE that it was too early yet to determine how his new book, "The Situation in Asia," would go. On this occasion, LITTLE informed FRAZIER that he had received comments on his book from BILL SHERR, JAMES ARBURG, and BILL MARSH (phonetic). There was some discussion, according to the informant, about presenting this book on a radio program, and LITTLE suggested to FRAZIER that JAMES ARBURG be obtained to offer the favorable comment and MARK WATSON, of the Baltimore "Sun," be obtained for the unfavorable criticism.

100-1630
Baltimore

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

RICHARD EDWARD LAUTERBACH

As will be noted from information reported herein, subject LATTHORE met RICHARD LAUTERBACH in New York on the afternoon of March 30, 1949, and on the same evening both of them appeared as speakers on a program at Springfield, Massachusetts, held under the auspices of the Adult Education League on the Far East.

The New York Office by teletype in the instant case dated March 30, 1949, advised that RICHARD EDWARD LAUTERBACH, 142 West 18th Street, New York City [REDACTED]

It was stated therein that LAUTERBACH was Bureau Chief of "Time" and "Life" in Moscow in 1943 and 1944; that he was a roving editor for "Time" in the Far East in 1945; that he is the author of "These Are The Russians" and "Through Russia's Back Door." LAUTERBACH was awarded a Heiman Fellowship at Harvard in 1946. It was stated further in the teletype that LAUTERBACH currently contributes to various magazines and recently was Senior Editor with the New York "Star" newspaper in New York City.

b7C

In the report of S [REDACTED] dated at Albany, New York, March 7, 1949, in the case entitled "COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF YADDO, SARATOGA SPRINGS, NEW YORK; INTERNAL SECURITY - R," it was stated that LAUTERBACH is a possible associate of Mrs. ELIZABETH AGNES, Executive Director of the Yaddo Estate [REDACTED]

RICHARD LAUTERBACH, who was then the Editor of the now defunct magazine "48". AGNES SIEDLEY had been a guest at the Yaddo Estate from July, 1943, to March, 1943, when newspaper publicity broke on the RICHARD SORGE spy ring in Japan, as well as on AGNES SIEDLEY. It was further stated in this report that Dr. P. BORCIC was a Yugoslav public health official and had formerly collaborated with Miss SIEDLEY [REDACTED]

(see Baltimore File 100-12970-1).

b7C, b7D

100-1630
Baltimore

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

Reference is made to the report of SA [REDACTED] dated at Boston, Massachusetts, April 21, 1949, in the instant case wherein the following information is set out concerning some of LATTIMORE's associates, as furnished to the Boston Office by [REDACTED] b7C, b7D

ANDREW ROTH

ROTH was formerly a Lieutenant in the Office of Naval Intelligence. He was indicted in that case referred to as the "Anerasia Case" as the result of the removal of certain secret government documents from government files. ROTH was never brought to trial but a co-defendant, PHILIP JAFFE, was convicted on espionage charges in 1946. While in the employ of the Navy Department, ROTH began preparation of a manuscript which was subsequently published under the title, "Dilemma In Japan".

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b7D

From the report of SA [REDACTED] dated at Baltimore June 6, 1945, in the case entitled, "PHILIP JACOB JAFFE, was., ET AL; ESPIONAGE - C" [REDACTED] information is set out to the effect that ANDREW ROTH accompanied by ROSE YARDUMIAN, arrived in Baltimore at approximately 5:00 P.M., June 2, 1945. Both stayed at the home of OWEN LATTIMORE at Fuxton, Maryland, and left for Washington, D. C., with an unidentified man at 7:00 P.M., on June 3, 1945. The purpose of this visit to the LATTIMORE residence could not be determined. It is noted that this same ANDREW ROTH was arrested in the Spring of 1945, charged, with five others, with having in his possession certain secret government documents. However, charges against ROTH were dropped early in 1946, although two other persons, PHILIP J. JAFFE, Editor of the "Anerasia" Magazine, and EMANUEL LARSEN, State Department employee, were both convicted and fined as a result of being charged with having in their possession certain secret government documents. b7C

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

CHARLES SIEPMANN

SIEPMANN is a naturalized British-American citizen, a former teacher at Harvard University, and an associate in government service of ARCHIBALD MACLEISH. During the war years, SIEPMANN, as was the subject, was affiliated with the OWI. Thereafter, SIEPMANN was associated with the FCC as a government employee. He, too, prepared a book entitled "Radio's Second Chance", which was also published by CAMERON's firm [REDACTED]

It will be further noted that SIEPMANN is a close associate of former FCC Commissioner CLIFTON DARR, who has been most recently active in the "Scientific and Cultural Conference for Peace", sponsored by the ASP in New York City. In the latter part of March, 1949, this conference was described by the State Department, according to the "New York Times" of March 17, 1949, as a Communist propaganda effort. b7D

MICHAEL GREENBERG

GREENBERG [REDACTED]

In connection with a review of GREENBERG's Selective Service file in Cambridge, Massachusetts, it was determined that both GREENBERG and LAUCHLIN CURRIE [REDACTED] were well known personally to [REDACTED]. b7D

By teletype to the Boston Office of March 29, 1949, information was furnished to that office concerning LATTIMORE's plans to visit Springfield, Massachusetts, and Boston, and that he had expressed a desire to see FRANCIS CLEVES and CLYDE TUCKO (phonetic) when in Boston.

In the report of [REDACTED], of the Boston Office, referred to above, it is stated that it is believed that CLEVES and TUCKO are probably identical with FRANCIS CLEVES, a history professor specializing in oriental studies at the Harvard Graduate School and a member of the staff of the Regional Studies Program at Harvard, and CLYDE TUCKERMAN, Director of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University. Both of these schools are designed to prepare graduate students for work in foreign relations as employees of the United States Department of State and the Central Intelligence Agency. b7C

Concerning the visit of OWEN LATTIMORE to Massachusetts - March 30 through April 4, 1949, the following information is set out in the report of SA [REDACTED] dated at Boston, Massachusetts, April 21, 1949, in the instant case, commencing on page 13: b7C

100-1630
Baltimore

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

On March 30, 1949, LATTIMORE, his wife, the Living Buddha and RICHARD E. LAUTERBACH registered at the Sheraton Hotel, Springfield, Massachusetts, at 6:30 P.M. After eating at the hotel, they went to the Springfield Technical High School where LATTIMORE and LAUTERBACH participated in a forum sponsored by the Adult Education League on the Far East. The "Springfield Union" of March 31, 1949, quotes LAUTERBACH as making the following statement:

"The blood transfusions being given Europe by the Marshall Plan are running out into the wounds of unsuccessful colonial war in Indonesia and Indo-China."

The balance of a lengthy article is devoted to the remarks of Mr. LAUTERBACH, who condemned CHIANG KAI-SHEK with concurrence from LATTIMORE and who urged that the present United States and allied nations' policy in the Far East was outmoded. They called for recognition of peoples' governments in the Orient.

At the Forum in question both LATTIMORE and LAUTERBACH asserted that GEORGE MARSHALL should have stayed in China; that the Chinese peasants fare better under Communists than they did under CHIANG KAI-SHEK; that the Communists in China do not press Marxist theories and will undoubtedly do the Chinese peasants good.

[REDACTED]

b7D

After the Forum, LATTIMORE and LAUTERBACH were observed [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b7D

The two speakers returned to their hotel and on the following morning LAUTERBACH returned to New York City while LATTIMORE continued to Cambridge, Massachusetts.

On March 31, 1949, LATTIMORE, his wife and the Living Buddha arrived in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and went to the home of Dr. FAIRBANK. They resided at this home throughout their stay in Cambridge. Dr. FAIRBANK's residence is located at 41 Winthrop Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The activities of LATTIMORE at Cambridge, Massachusetts, until his departure on the morning of April 4, 1949, are set out in detail in the Boston report referred to above but nothing of apparent significance was observed.

MR. ROCHE (phonetic)

Confidential Informant T-11 on June 23, 1949, advised that LATTIMORE told a Mr. ROCHE (phonetic), of New York City, that he could not stay at

100-1630
Baltimore

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

ROCHE's place on the night of June 27, but that he would go to the home of JOE ~~BARRELS~~ on 22nd Street. LATTI ORE told ROCHE further that he would call him on the night of June 27 after he arrived in New York City. The informant was unable to learn the first name of Mr. ROCHE or his address but was able to secure his telephone number in New York, which is Area 42009.

JOSEPH CHIAI SELLERSNYAK
Also known as "SHELLY"

[REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED]

b7D

100-1630
Baltimore

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] b7D

The following observations were made on March 27, 1949, as a result of a surveillance maintained by the writer and Special Agents [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] b7C

At 10:15 A.M., OWEN LATTIMORE, accompanied by the Living Buddha and two unidentified men, walked into Pennsylvania Railroad Depot and approached a man dressed in a Naval uniform (may have been the rank of Lieutenant or Lieutenant Commander). LATTIMORE addressing his remark to the Navy man, said, "Are you the one to be met?" Thereafter everyone was introduced and it was obvious that none of them had known the Navy man previously. One unidentified man thereafter left the group and walked to the ticket window where Agent CALLAHAN heard him ask for a timetable to New York. He did not rejoin the group and nothing further was seen of him.

LATTIMORE, The Living Buddha, the Navy man and an unidentified gray-haired man (possibly VILHJALMUR STEFANSSON) proceeded out of the depot to a black Dodge Sedan bearing Maryland license 314261. (This car is registered jointly to the LATTIMORES.) Waiting in the car were two women, one Mrs. LATTIMORE and a dark-haired woman who appeared to be in her early 30's (possibly EVELYN STEFANSSON). This party thereafter proceeded in the LATTIMORE car to Old Fort Washington, Maryland, where they were observed to park outside of a house subsequently identified as that of Mr. and Mrs. MOSES CHIAM SHELESNYAK. Parked outside the house was a Hillman Coupe bearing Maryland license 567656. It was determined that this car is registered to MOSES C. SHELESNYAK, Fort Washington, Prince Georges County, Maryland.

There is no record of PAUL KRAFT (phonetic) in the Baltimore or Washington Offices and efforts to identify him with the Navy Department in Washington, D. C., have been negative. (See letter from the Washington Field Office dated June 15, 1949, in the instant case.)

According to Confidential Informant T-11, the SHELESNYAKS and the LATTIMORES are very close friends and are frequently in the company of each other. This same informant ascertained that MOSES SHELESNYAK is employed in the Office of Naval Research in Washington, D. C.; that the SHELESNYAKS have one daughter, name unknown, who is in college, and one boy, name unknown, who is about 12 years of age and resides at home with his parents.

T-11 on May 4, 1949, advised that Mrs. LATTIMORE contacted a real estate agent with a view to determining the availability of a not too expensive

100-1630
Baltimore

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

house in Baltimore for the SHELESNYAKS. This same informant advised that arrangements had been made for Mrs. SHELESNYAK to meet Mrs. LATTIMORE on May 4, 1949, at 11:00 A.M., in front of the real estate office located at 1433 Park Avenue in Baltimore, and that the two of them intended to look at a house for sale and later that evening, the LATTIMORES and the SHELESNYAKS were to have dinner at the Cosmos Club in Washington, D. C., between 6:00 and 7:00 o'clock. The informant advised in this connection that a Mrs. ESTES (phonetic), of Washington, D. C., had been in touch with OWEN LATTIMORE and wanted him to address some meeting in Washington on the night of May 4.

As a result of a surveillance maintained on May 4, 1949, by the writer and SA [REDACTED] the following observations were made: b7C

Mrs. MOSES/SHELESNYAK met Mrs. LATTIMORE at 1433 Park Avenue in Baltimore at 11:15 A.M. The two of them accompanied by a real estate agent, proceeded from this address to 1318 Bolton Street, where they were observed entering the house.

At 12:55 P.M., Mrs. LATTIMORE, Mrs. SHELESNYAK and the real estate agent came out of the house on Bolton Street and walked to Mrs. LATTIMORE's automobile bearing Maryland license 314261. All of them proceeded in this automobile to the LATTIMORE residence.

Later that day in Washington, D. C., the writer and Agent [REDACTED] were joined by Special Agents [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] of the Washington Field Office, where the following observations were made: b7C

6:50 P.M. (May 4, 1949) - The LATTIMORE car, Maryland tags 314261, was observed parked outside the Cosmos Club on Madison Place near E Street, Northwest.

7:50 P.M. - LATTIMORE and MOSES SHELESNYAK were observed driving past Madison Place in the SHELESNYAK Hillman Convertible Automobile, Maryland tags 567656. This car was lost in traffic but subsequently located parked on F Street, Northwest, between 10th and 11th.

8:05 P.M. - Mrs. LATTIMORE and Mrs. SHELESNYAK came out of the Cosmos Club, walked to the LATTIMORE car and thereafter drove off.

10:10 P.M. - OWEN LATTIMORE, his wife, and Mr. and Mrs. MOSES SHELESNYAK were observed coming out of 1110 F Street, Northwest (one listing on the register board on the inside building at 1110 F Street, Northwest, shows "Cooperative Committee - ESTES").