OWEN LATTIMORE

AND THE "LOSS" OF

CHINA



ROBERT P. NEWMAN

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
BERKELEY LOS ANGELES OXFORD

University of California Press Berkeley and Los Angeles, California University of California Press, Ltd. Oxford, England

© 1992 by The Regents of the University of California

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Newman, Robert P.

Owen Lattimore and the "Loss" of China / Robert P. Newman.

p. cm.

"Philip E. Lilienthal book."

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-520-07388-6

1. Lattimore, Owen, 1900- . 2. China-Foreign relations-United States. 3. United States-Foreign relations-China. 4. Governmental investigations-United States-History-20th century. 5. McCarthy, Joseph, 1908-1957. I. Title.

E748.L34N48 1992

327.51073-dc20

91-21888 CIP

Printed in the United States of America 987654321

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences-Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984. 😣

CONTENTS

Preface	ix
Acknowledgments	xiii
Prologue	xv
PART ONE THE HERESY	
1. A Fascination with Central Asia	3
2. The IPR Years	22
3. At Johns Hopkins	38
4. "China Will Win"	44
5. Adviser to Chiang	55
6. War	75
7. OWI, San Francisco	97
8. Mission with Wallace	107
9. "Who Lost China?" Begins	123
10. Kohlberg and the Pauley Mission	141
11. The Triumph of Ideology over Politics	151
12. Cold War Declared	163
13. Europe Up, Asia Down	174
14. Barmine	185
PART TWO THE INQUISITION	
15. Top Soviet Spy	207
16. Out of the Woodwork	227
17. A Fool or a Knave	249

Contents

18. Agony at the FBI: Louis Budenz	265
19. Exit Tydings, Enter Kim Il-sung	287
20. China Attacks	304
21. McCarran	314
22. Venom: Twelve Days with SISS	358
23. Matusow, Bogolepov, the CIA, and Other	r Liars 382
24. Roy Cohn as Torquemada	400
25. Youngdahl	417
26. Rover, Asiaticus, and BDPT	437
27. Second Indictment, Second Dismissal	472
PART THREE RECOVERY AND	TRIUMPH
28. Starting Over	495
29. Ascendancy at Leeds	512
30. After Leeds	529
31. Paris	561
32. Cambridge and Pawtucket	576
Notes	
Bibliography	589 637
Index	657

Page . likemes

Book

The Philip E. Lilienthal imprint
honors special books
in commemoration of a man whose work
at the University of California Press from 1954 to 1979
was marked by dedication to young authors
and to high standards in the field of Asian Studies.
Friends, family, authors, and foundations have together
endowed the Lilienthal Fund, which enables the Press
to publish under this imprint selected books
in a way that reflects the taste and judgment
of a great and beloved editor.

OWEN LATTIMORE AND THE "LOSS" OF CHINA

ROBERT P. NEWMAN

In March 1950 Senator Joseph R. McCarthy accused Owen Lattimore, a distinguished China scholar at Johns Hopkins University, of being "the top Soviet espionage agent in the U.S." The Senate Foreign Relations Committee exonerated Lattimore four months later, but for the next two years Pat McCarran and his Senate Internal Security Committee hounded him. McCarran's subcommittee issued a 5,712page report, based on perjured testimony, claiming that Lattimore had been a "conscious, articulate instrument of the Communist conspiracy." McCarran then forced the Justice Department to indict Lattimore for perjury, bringing Roy M. Cohn to Washington to draw up the indictment. The FBI was ordered to the ends of the earth to find some credible witness who would testify that Lattimore had served the Communists. No such witness was found. Finally, in 1955 Attorney General Herbert Brownell dismissed the case.

Lattimore was a victim of the virulent witch hunts that took place in the U.S. in the 1950s after China, our friend and ally in World War II, went over to that reviled enemy, communism. Americans could not believe that China made this choice freely; its adherence to the World Communist Conspiracy must have been coerced by Soviet manipulation and domestic subversion by Americans. Some Communist mastermind in the American government had to be blamed for our "loss" of China. Lattimore, who had never been in the State Department but who had warned that

"This exhaustively well researched, lucidly written, and fascinating book on Owen Lattimore and the anti-Communist witch hunts in the late forties and early fifties chronicles a double American tragedy. Not only does it recount how careers of good and brilliant men were blindly destroyed, but how America was deprived of its most thoughtful and clear-headed China specialists. By writing Owen Lattimore and the "Loss" of China, Robert P. Newman has made a giant step toward setting right this sorry chapter of U.S. history."

—Orville Schell

University of California Press Berkeley, ca 94720

