

COLONEL WILLIAM ADDLEMAN GANOE
SHOESTRING CHALET, SIESTA KEY
4196 ROBERTS POINT CIRCLE
SARASOTA, FLORIDA

March 14, 1963

Dear Mr. Hoover,

For the rare photograph,
your cherished letter and the graciousness
with which you received General McFarland
and the book, no more words can compass my
gratitude.

I hope the little volume will be a help
to you in furthering this practical path-
tern for successful leadership. It was
not written for profit, but to start
a crusade for truth and help.

Admiringly,

William Addleman Gano

William Addleman Gano

Douglas MacArthur

NO ACK
THANK YOU LETTER
8 - Jan.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-3-79 BY bja

REC-120

62-75373-24

9 MAR 18 1963

53 MAR 26 1963

CRIMINAL RESEARCH

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

EXP. PROC.
36
32 MAR 18 1963

UPI-42

(MACARTHUR)

WASHINGTON--GEN. DOUGLAS MACARTHUR WILL UNDERGO SURGERY TOMORROW AT WALTER REED HOSPITAL WHERE HE IS UNDER TREATMENT FOR JAUNDICE, IT WAS ANNOUNCED TODAY.

3/5--GE1039A

UPI-43

ADD 1 MACARTHUR, WASHINGTON (UPI-42)
THE HOSPITAL MADE THE ANNOUNCEMENT TODAY IN A 40-WORD STATEMENT WHICH DISCLOSED THAT TESTS ON THE 84-YEAR-OLD HERO OF TWO WORLD WARS SHOWED HE HAD AN "OBSTRUCTIVE JAUNDICE OF UNKNOWN ORIGIN."
THE STATEMENT SAID THE OPERATION WOULD BE PERFORMED TOMORROW MORNING.

HOSPITAL SPOKESMEN REFUSED TO AMPLIFY FURTHER ON THE STATEMENT.
3/5--GE1041A

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

12 MAR 6 1964

ENCLOSURE

62-75373-25

and (for ref)
let to MacArthur
3-6-64
OCM/ren

March 6, 1964

ALL INFORMATION CONTAIN
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-3-79 BY 6,12

General of the Army Douglas MacArthur
Walter Reed General Hospital
6825 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20012

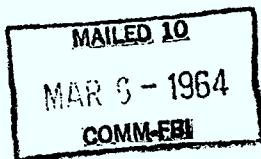
Dear General:

I am very sorry it was necessary for you to undergo surgery today but earnestly hope the operation was a complete success and that you are resting comfortably. I know you will do just as your doctor orders and consider this an opportunity to get some much needed rest.

The thoughts of all of us in the FBI are with you, and you have our best wishes for a rapid recovery.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



1 - New York

MAR 6 9 52 AM '64
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

NOTE: Bufiles reflect cordial relations with General MacArthur. He has been furnished an autographed copy of "Masters of Deceit" and the Director wrote him 1-26-60 congratulating him on his 80th birthday.

DCM:ncr (4)

REC-23

62-75373-25

Tolson _____
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Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
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Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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Callahan _____
Conrad _____
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Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : MR. CALLAHAN

DATE: 4-7-64

FROM : J. GAUTHIER

SUBJECT: FUNERAL OF GENERAL OF THE ARMY
DOUGLAS MAC ARTHUR

TIME: Wednesday, April 8, 1964, at 1:25 p.m.

PLACE: Union Station

DIRECTION OF FUNERAL MOTORCADE:

1:45 p.m. Casket placed on east end of station concourse where President will participate in full military honors.

2:15 p.m. Casket in a hearse and a funeral motorcade will proceed on Constitution Avenue, west on Pennsylvania to 14th Street, north on 14th Street to New York Avenue, west on New York Avenue to 17th Street, south on 17th Street to Constitution; thence east on 16th Street.

2:30 p.m. Casket will be moved from hearse to a caisson and the procession will move out to the U. S. Capitol over the following route: east on Constitution Avenue to Delaware Avenue and enter the U. S. Capitol Plaza where the casket will be placed in the Rotunda for public viewing.

TRAFFIC CONTROL:

After 1:30 p.m. Vehicular traffic prohibited on Constitution Avenue from 12th to 23rd Streets and 15th Street between E Street and Independence Avenue.

After 2:15 p.m. Vehicular traffic prohibited on Constitution Avenue from 12th Street to 2nd Street.

After 2:30 p.m. No traffic across funeral procession.

Normal Flow Traffic permitted after last component has passed two (2) blocks from a given point.

LJG:dlg
(4)

1 - Miss Holmes (Sent Direct)
1 - Mr. Tavel (Sent Direct)

58 APR 14 1964

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-3-79 BY bju

REC-125

62-75373-26

APR 9 1964

3-105

Memo Gauthier to Callahan
RE: FUNERAL OF GENERAL OF THE ARMY
4-7-64

There will be no traffic restrictions along Pennsylvania Avenue west of 6th Street. The Justice Building can be entered and departed from by way of the 10th Street vehicle entrance from Pennsylvania Avenue during the afternoon hours.

Additional orders concerning police regulations to be enforced on Thursday, April 9, 1964, when General MacArthur's body is to be removed from the Rotunda, are being obtained by WFO as soon as these plans are completed. The Director will be kept advised.

RECOMMENDATION:

None; for information only.

[Handwritten signature]
4/7

✓

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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Conrad _____
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Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Callahan

DATE: 4-8-64

FROM : L. J. Gauthier

SUBJECT: FUNERAL OF GENERAL OF THE ARMY
DOUGLAS MAC ARTHUR

TIME: Thursday, April 9, 1964

PLACE: Rotunda, U. S. Capitol

DIRECTION OF FUNERAL MOTORCADE:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-3-79 BY b, a

1:00 P. M. Casket will be carried on a caisson over the following route:

North on the U. S. Capitol Plaza to Constitution Avenue;
West on Constitution Avenue to a point in front of the
Departmental Auditorium.

At approximately 1:40 P. M., casket will be transferred to a hearse. At
approximately 1:45 P. M. funeral motorcade will move out to MATS Terminal over
the following route:

West on Constitution Avenue to 15th Street;
South on 15th Street and the George Mason Memorial Bridge
to the George Washington Memorial Parkway, arriving at
MATS Terminal at approximately 2:20 P. M.

At approximately 2:20 P. M. funeral motorcade will arrive at MATS
Terminal.

The President of the United States will participate in these Departure from
State Ceremonies at the U. S. Capitol and the funeral procession to MATS Terminal.

TRAFFIC CONTROL

After 12:30 P. M. no vehicle traffic permitted on Constitution Avenue from
2nd Street, Northeast to 17th Street, Northwest. There will be no traffic restriction
along Pennsylvania Avenue at any time. The Justice Building can be entered and
departed from by way of the 10th Street vehicle entrance from Pennsylvania Avenue
during the afternoon hours.

LJG:mah (4)
1 - Miss Holmes (Sent direct)
1 - Mr. Tavel (Sent direct)

(OVER)

Memo L. J. Gauthier to Mr. Callahan

**FUNERAL OF GENERAL OF THE ARMY
DOUGLAS MAC ARTHUR**

There will be no travel restrictions in the morning from Rock Creek Park along Constitution Avenue to the Justice Building.

gmc
4/8

proposed
ENC

V.

311
(
TELETYPE

CODE

4-8-64

URGENT

1-Mr. Sullivan
1-Mr. Hand
1-Mr. Brennan
1-Mr. Decker

TO SAC NORFOLK

FROM DIRECTOR FBI

GENERAL DOUGLAS MAC ARTHUR, INFORMATION CONCERNING.

REURTEL APRIL EIGHT INSTANT. ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE ADVISED ATTORNEY GENERAL WILL NOT TRAVEL TO NORFOLK UNTIL APRIL ELEVEN NEXT WHEN HE WILL BE THERE FOR FUNERAL SERVICES. TIME OF ARRIVAL NORFOLK NOT KNOWN.

YOU ARE INSTRUCTED TO FURNISH THIS INFORMATION TO [REDACTED] NORFOLK PD, AND ALSO TO ALERT SECRET SERVICE, NORFOLK, CONCERNING [REDACTED] OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING [REDACTED] IF NOT ALREADY DONE.

SECRET SERVICE, WHITE HOUSE, ADVISED THAT AS OF NOW PRESIDENT JOHNSON NOT PLANNING TO BE IN NORFOLK FOR FUNERAL SERVICES. THIS IS FOR YOUR INFORMATION.

YOU ARE INSTRUCTED TO CONDUCT INVESTIGATION OF [REDACTED] AND SUBMIT REPORT EXPEDITIOUSLY WITH YOUR RECOMMENDATIONS FOR HIS INCLUSION ON THE SECURITY INDEX.

AJD:jdd
(7)

NOT RECORDED
141 APR 14 1964

① - [REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-3-79 BY bja

68 APR 15 1964
725

77-51387-138

b6
b7(c)

b6
b7(c)

b6
b7(c)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Belmont

DATE: 4-10-64

FROM : C. A. Evans

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]
BOMBING MATTERS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-3-79 BY b, a

Tolson _____
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Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

[REDACTED] employee of the "Washington Daily News," telephonically advised SA [REDACTED] of the Special Investigative Division at 10:11 a.m. this morning that he had received an anonymous telephone call from a woman in Portsmouth, Virginia, at approximately 11:50 p.m. in which the woman stated that a man by the name of [REDACTED] was going to bomb General MacArthur's funeral at Norfolk, Virginia.

[REDACTED] said the woman refused to identify herself but did state that she was the wife of a Naval Officer. According to [REDACTED] the woman sounded sober and was extremely anxious that something be done to stop [REDACTED]. She said she personally heard [REDACTED] express great dislike for MacArthur and that he was going to bomb MacArthur's funeral (newspapers indicate funeral will be on 4-11-64). The woman also stated that [REDACTED] is known to Justice of the Peace Nowiki in Norfolk and that Nowiki is in charge of the Norfolk County Jail.

[REDACTED] said that he was turning this information over to his day crew and that the News would probably check with the Bureau later today for any further developments in this matter.

Bureau indices are negative as to [REDACTED]

In connection with the above, subsequent to the telephone call, the Norfolk Office advised by teletype that similar information had been obtained from the Norfolk Police Department. The police had received a call on the early morning of April 10, 1964, indicating [REDACTED] was going to bomb MacArthur's memorial after the body had been placed in the memorial. According to the Norfolk Office, the police department had been contacted by representatives of the local newspaper indicating that the newspapers in Norfolk had received similar call. Norfolk advised the MacArthur memorial has been under guard by the local police since before the body was placed in the memorial and that searches of the memorial would be made by the Norfolk police at two hour intervals. Neither Norfolk police nor the Norfolk Office have any record of [REDACTED]. Norfolk stated local intelligence corps had been furnished the above

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Rosen
1 - Mr. Sullivan

CPA: lhm

(8)

Enclosure sent 4-10-64

25 APR 14 1964

NOT RECORDED

102 APR 16 1964

Memorandum C. A. Evans to Mr. Belmont
Re: [REDACTED]

b6
b7 (C)

ACTION:

In view of the previous information indicating the Attorney General is to participate in the MacArthur funeral on Saturday, April 11, 1964, this additional information is being furnished to the Attorney General's Office.

The above information is also being furnished to the Secret Service, and the military authorities by Liaison.

Pertinent information has also been furnished telephonically to Mr. Harold Reis, Executive Assistant to the Attorney General. Attached is letter to the Attorney General setting forth available details.

yes
COPIES
W. H. H.

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GAD

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EX 110.

Plasma

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b7(c)

$$\begin{array}{r} 5 \\ 6 \\ 38 \\ \hline 26 \end{array}$$

J. Edgar Hoover

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"NO" ROOM

MAILED 25
AUG 1 0 1964
COMM-FBI

NOV 10 1 58 PM '34

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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MAIL ROOM 104 TELETYPE UNIT ☐

CULTURE
HUMANITIES
ATHLETICS
MORALITY
PROGRESS

CHAMP

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

August 5, 1964

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director, FBI
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

History has a way of marking battlefields and ignoring plowed fields.

Gen. Douglas MacArthur worked arduously in both peace and war during his illustrious lifetime.

Many of us will always remember his timely, inspiring and determined words.

We are happy to send you a copy of "Champion" by a man who made history both in peace and war.

It will help you to get through many rough days and they are words to inspire every new class of FBI men.

REC-44

EX 110

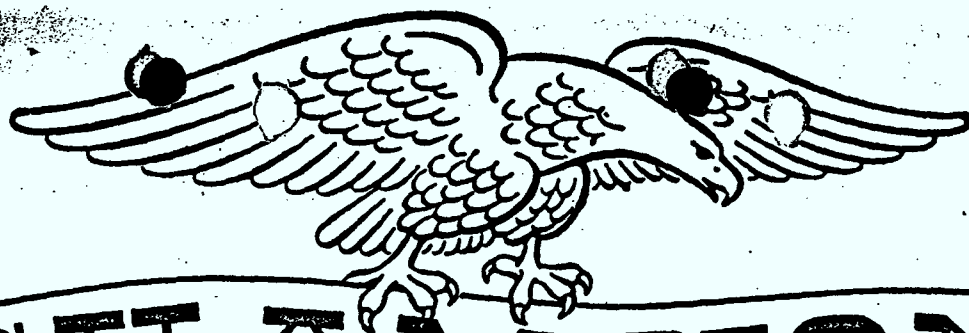
Cordially,

21 AUG 28 1964

~~EXP. PROC.~~

AUG 6 1964

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-3-79 BY b/w



CHAMPION

TO BE A TRUE CHAMPION YOU MUST HAVE A HEART THAT IS CLEAN, A GOAL THAT IS HIGH, A TEMPER OF THE WILL, A VIGOR OF THE EMOTIONS, A TEMPERAMENTAL PREDOMINANCE OF COURAGE OVER TIMIDITY, AN APPETITE FOR ADVENTURE OVER THE LOVE OF EASE.

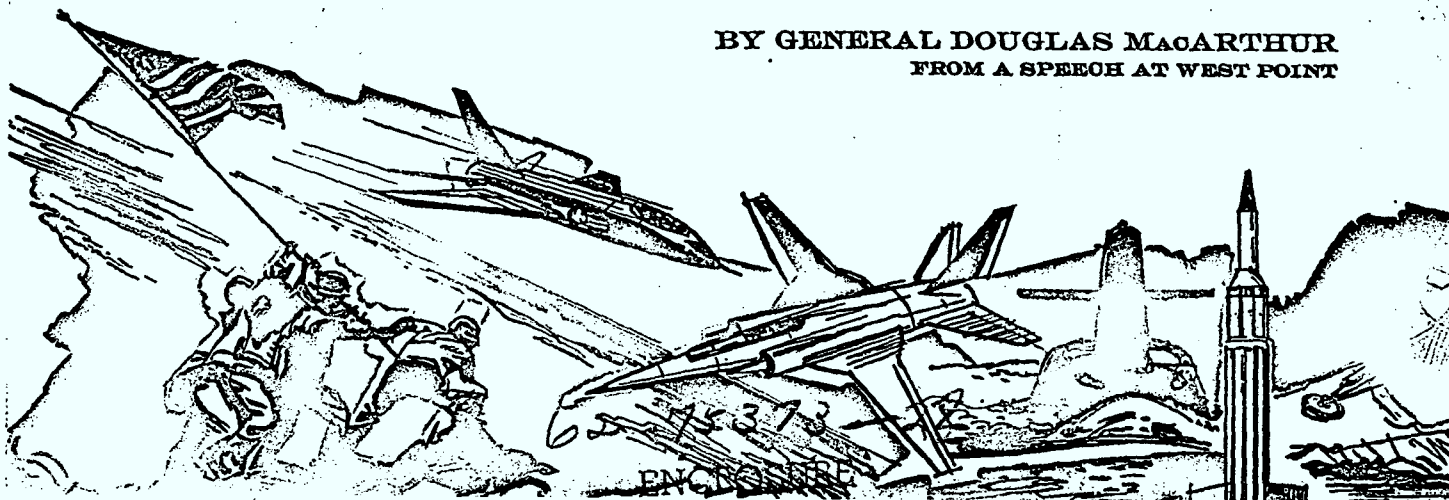
YOU CANNOT SUBSTITUTE WORDS FOR ACTIONS, NOR SEEK THE PATH OF COMFORT, BUT YOU MUST FACE THE STRESS AND SPUR OF DIFFICULTY AND CHALLENGE.

YOU MUST LEARN TO STAND UP TO THE STORM BUT HAVE COMPASSION ON THOSE WHO FALL; LEARN TO LAUGH BUT NEVER FORGET HOW TO WEEP; TO BE SERIOUS YET NEVER TAKE YOURSELF TOO SERIOUSLY; REACH INTO THE FUTURE YET NEVER NEGLECT THE PAST; BE MODEST SO THAT YOU WILL REMEMBER THE SIMPLICITY OF TRUE GREATNESS, THE OPEN MIND OF TRUE WISDOM, THE MEEKNESS OF TRUE STRENGTH.

BE STRONG ENOUGH TO KNOW WHEN YOU ARE WEAK, AND BRAVE ENOUGH TO FACE YOURSELF WHEN YOU ARE AFRAID. BE PROUD AND UNBENDING IN HONEST FAILURE, BUT HUMBLE AND GENTLE IN SUCCESS.

ALL THIS WILL CREATE IN YOUR HEART THE SENSE OF WONDER, THE UNFAILING HOPE OF WHAT NEXT, AND THE JOY AND INSPIRATION OF LIFE.

BY GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR
FROM A SPEECH AT WEST POINT



TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

13 AUG 1973

DAAG-ASR-S (73028/3)

Mr. Harry Kulick, Director
Office of Records Operation and Management
Department of Justice
Room 6335, Justice Bldg
Washington, DC 20530

Dear Mr. Kulick:

Douglas
The inclosed two China messages, from the personal collection of papers of the late General MacArthur, are forwarded for declassification review and comment since they appear to contain information of interest to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

We have determined that there is no objection from a military standpoint to declassification of the two messages in question. Should your response be favorable, we will obtain the views of the Central Intelligence Agency prior to taking any final action.

Sincerely,

CYRUS H. FRANKER *ST-105*

S. J. POMRENZE
Chief, Office Management
Division

Incl
as

2 ENCLOSURE

*Memo to
Director, Office of
Records Operations and
Management
10/10/73
JPL: jz/pwk*

REC-862-75373-29
16

OCT 11 1973

REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED
WHEN SEPARATED FROM
CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURES

Declassified per Army
and Justice letters dtd 8-13-73
10-10-73. 1259 ON 1-3-79
SSA/bjw

1 XEROX
OCT 19 1973

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INCOMING MESSAGE

RECEIVED 15

NIGHT

16 Jun 48

FROM : SHANGHAI PORTAL

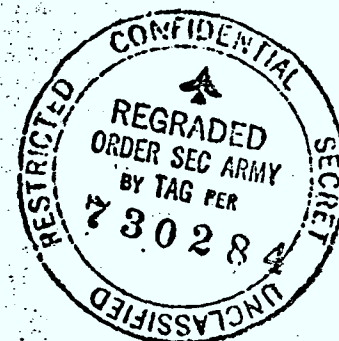
TO : DIRECTOR (G-2)

INFO : CHIEF AND WASHINGTON (G-2)

RE : BKA 370

Soviet and Satellite nationals travelling from Shanghai 15 Jun on US President Lines Gen Gordon via Yokohama and Honolulu: Holiman, Daniel; Polish: Kercs, Valter; Estonian; Pajo, Vabulil; Estonian; all following Russians: Kalizit, Paraskovia; Piskel, Anatoly and Natalie with son George and daughter Helen; Pinkus, Harriana; Roshin, Eugene and wife Ezenia; Lebedinsky, Alexander and wife Lydie; Vaina Ioff, Aleksai and wife Nina; Popova, Marina; Skoroff, Boris and wife Taisa, on whom derogatory info is on file as former Japanese collaborator and presently active Soviet agent.

ENTERED



ACTION: G-2

INFORMATION: G-1, AG

ADDED DIST : COMMANDER IN CHIEF, CHIEF OF STAFF (17 Jun 48)

NOTE Corrected copy received AG-OR 181520 I.

50780

152350 Z

173741

Paraphrase not required. Security in correspondence per

XEROX

OCT 19 1973

62-75373-29

Handling and transmission of literal plain text of this message as correspondence of the same classification has been authorized by the War Department in accordance with the provisions of paragraphs 16-C, 18-E, 53-A, 53-D (1) (2) (3) and 60-A (1) (2) (3) (4) AR 380-5

COPY No.

ENCLOSURE

15-60735-1 GPO

Best available copy

INCOMING MESSAGE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
ROUTINE

CDC

17 Aug 48

FROM : CC 271ST AACB SHANGHAI

TO : CINCPAC (USPOLAD)

NR : 170215 Z (155 Aug 16, 4 PM)

Re CINCPAC tel C 62485 Aug 9. Sculevich strongly believed
Soviet agent. Accredited agent of Sortorgplot. Manager of
Union Steamship Co in Shanghai.

CABOT

ACTION : C-1

INFORMATION : COMMANDER IN CHIEF, CHIEF OF STAFF, C-2, C-3,
TRANS, COM & SOI, DIPLOMATIC

73934

ROUTINE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TCO : 170215 Z

MCN : 94530

"Paraphrase not required. Handle as CONFIDENTIAL correspondence
per para E1 1 and 60 a (4). AR 380-5."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

1
JG
OCT 19 1973

Handling and transmission of literal plain text of this message as correspond-
ence of the same classification has been authorized by the War Department
in accordance with the provisions of paragraphs 10-1, 18-E, 53-A, 53-D (1)
(2) (3), and 60-A (1) (2) (3) (4), AR 380-5, 6 March 1946.

COPY NO.

Truman Text: 'With Deep Regret ...'

The President's statement on the dismissal of Gen. MacArthur, his order to the Far Eastern commander and his order to Gen. Ridgway follow:

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

With deep regret I have concluded that General of the Army Douglas MacArthur is unable to give his whole-hearted support to the policies of the United States government and of the United Nations in matters pertaining to his official duties. In view of the specific responsibilities imposed upon me by the Constitution of the United States and the added responsibility which has been entrusted to me by the United Nations, I have decided that I must make a change of command in the Far East. I have, therefore, relieved Gen. MacArthur of his commands and have designated Lt. Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway as his successor.

Full and vigorous debate on matters of national policy is a vital element in the constitutional system of our free democracy. It is fundamental, however, that military commanders must be governed by the policies and directives issued to them in the manner provided by our laws and Constitution. In time of crisis, this consideration is particularly compelling.

Gen. MacArthur's place in history as one of our greatest commanders is fully established. The nation owes him a debt of gratitude for the distinguished and exceptional service which he has rendered his country in posts of great responsibility. For that reason I repeat my regret at the necessity for the action I feel compelled to take in his

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Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Nichols _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Harbo _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Tele. Room _____
Nease _____
Gandy _____

STATEMENT BY THE
PRESIDENT
I deeply regret that it becomes my duty as President and Commander in Chief of the United States military forces to relieve Gen. Douglas MacArthur of his commands as Supreme Commander, Allied Powers; Commander in Chief, United Nations Command; Commander in Chief, Far East; and Commander, U. S. Army, Far East.

INDEXED - 35
NOT RECORDED
44 OCT 10 1951

EX-105

G.I.R.-5

Page

Times-Herald 5
Wash. Post _____
Wash. News _____
Wash. Star _____
N.Y. Mirror _____

Date: 4/11/51

Tolson _____
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 Glavin _____
 Nichols _____
 Rosen _____
 Tracy _____
 Harbo _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Nease _____
 Gandy _____

Text

(Continued from First Page)

mands, effective at once, to Lt. Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway. You are authorized to have issued such orders as are necessary to complete desired travel to such place as you select.

My reasons for your replacement, will be made public concurrently with the delivery to you of the foregoing order, and are contained in the next following message. (See attached statement by the President.)

**ORDER TO LT. GEN.
 MATTHEW B. RIDGWAY
 FROM GENERAL GEORGE
 C. MARSHALL,
 SECRETARY OF DEFENSE**

The President has decided to relieve General MacArthur and appoint you as his successor as Supreme Commander, Allied Powers; Commander in Chief, United Nations Command; Commander in Chief, Far East; and Commanding General, U.S. Army, Far East.

It is realized that your presence in Korea in the immediate future is highly important, but we are sure you can make the proper distribution of your time until you can turn over active command of the Eighth Army to its new commander. For this purpose, Lt. Gen. James A. Van Fleet is en route to report to you for such duties as you may direct.

Page

Times-Herald 6

Wash. Post _____

Wash. News _____

Wash. Star _____

N.Y. Mirror _____

Date: 4/11/51

★ Danger of UN split over Korean policy

Until repercussions from the violent shock of General MacArthur's removal from command subside there will be little chance for the voice of reason and common sense to be heard.

Even now, however, it is well to keep in mind that the split between General MacArthur and his followers and the Truman administration with its supporters is only one part of the picture.

There is grave danger that the United Nations itself may be divided into two irreconcilable blocks.

Carlos P. Romulo, 1949 president of the General Assembly of the UN, gives this clear picture of why United Nations forces are fighting in Korea (the Yale Review, December, 1950):

"After centuries of obscurity and submergence, Asia has assumed a new importance in world affairs. It has emerged as one of the main proving grounds of the United Nations, a place of decision on the issue of war or peace, and one of the reasons for which the deep social and economic disequilibrium of modern society will have to be redressed if the future is to be made secure from ruinous conflicts, wars and revolutions.

"Korea, which is the epitome of the plight and the challenge of Asia, is a turning point in the life of the United Nations. The attack upon the Republic of Korea on June 25, 1950, drove the world organization to the wall. It had to resist aggression and maintain the rule of law or surrender its right to continued existence.

UN faced deadly peril

"After five years of alternating crises and recoveries, which sorely tried its vitality and power though never to the point of mortal danger, the United Nations suddenly found itself confronted with deadly peril south of the 38th parallel in embattled Korea.

"There it had to make a stand, politically and militarily, and it did..."

It made a stand, right enough, but about 98 per cent of that stand was made by the United States, and every day it is becoming increasingly obvious that the United States and the United Nations are not, in fact, "standing" for the same objective.

A large section of UN members is growing more and more voluble in its demand that Red China be admitted to membership.

An overwhelming majority of the people of the U. S. on the other hand, do not hesitate to express their conviction

NOT RECORDED
42 OCT 3 1951

LOS ANGELES DAILY NEWS

DATED APR 12 1951

F144

58 OCT 3 1951

that the UN has no more chance to survive Communist cells within its organization than a human body has to survive cancerous tissue.

As of today, at least, it appears that the Truman administration is unwilling to compel a showdown on this issue as it would be doing if it followed General MacArthur's proposed program.

This unwillingness may be caused by some important facts that are not available to the public.

For one thing, the MacArthur plan of war against China might cause an immediate split between the United States and her European allies at the very time when General Eisenhower is moving heaven and earth to prepare defenses against Red aggression in Europe.

U. S. would stand alone

In any event, it seems certain that if we were to pursue an uncompromising policy of all-out war against communism in Asia we would have to stand alone except for such manpower help as could be organized among the rebellious hordes within Asia itself.

Even though the Truman administration were in agreement with the MacArthur policy in principle, the practical question of whether we are yet ready for the drastic action called for by that policy is one this writer, certainly, is unprepared to answer. And being unprepared he feels that hot, emotional outbursts would be a grave disservice to the public.

For many years the Daily News has been expressing the conviction that the Era of the Pacific is at hand; that with mass man on the land mass of the world, which is Asia, and not Europe, which is the sick appendage of Asia, rests the fate of western civilization.

Our course of action, however, must be the product of extremely careful timing, enlightened statesmanship and diplomacy.

It is very easy to get into a terrible war of destruction and almost impossible to get out of it. It seems to us that now is the time to prepare defenses against war rather than a time to expand the one we are in.

The Communists are not getting stronger in Asia. Starvation, disease, internal confusion, lack of transportation, oil and production facilities combine to work against them.

The United States, on the other hand, is getting stronger with each passing week.

For all of these reasons we cannot escape the feeling that the administration had no choice but to head its team in Asia with a commander who can conscientiously play the kind of game upon which we are now relying to win the long, weary years that lie ahead in the battle of readjustment.—*Manchester Boddy*

April 18, 1951

NATIONAL SECURITY OUR FIRST CONCERN

The dismissal of Gen. MacArthur is sweeping this nation and the world with heated, emotional discussion, unaccompanied by objective analysis.

There seems to be no middle ground. Opinions are violent. One of the most unfortunate aspects of the situation is the way both sides appear to be making a political football out of our national security, which should be our primary concern.

This is a time when, above everything else, we need objective, dispassionate examination of all the facts.

Perhaps it would have been wiser to let MacArthur resign without furor. (Certainly there was no need for the cheap and gratuitous insult implicit in Mr. Truman's observation that the general is now free to travel where he wishes. The Army customarily asks retiring generals where they want to go.)

The factual history of the past nine months (as shown in the administration white paper on dealings with MacArthur) leaves very little doubt that the general disregarded and disobeyed his orders. Quite clearly he violated the military tradition that generals do not enter into political affairs.

On the other hand, his ouster must be accounted a great victory for the extreme left wing of the Socialist British government. It is also comforting news to Russia and Red China, as evidence of a serious division within the ranks of the free nations.

There are two basic issues involved in the MacArthur controversy.

The first issue involves Gen. MacArthur's responsibilities in the four commands from which he was relieved by Mr. Truman. He was supposed to carry out the policies and directives of the

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U.S. government and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. He was under orders NOT to question those policies in his public statements.

That is the only issue the administration is discussing. That is the issue on which he was dismissed, because he actively opposed the policies of the U.S. government.

The second issue, and the one which is certain to become the main field of the coming debate, is our Far Eastern or, in fact, our entire foreign policy.

Gen. MacArthur holds that Asia, partly because the shooting started there, is our main theater of decision in defense of the free world. He wants a full campaign against Red China.

His opponents admit that the ban on bombing Chinese bases is unrealistic, but argue that it is the lesser evil in comparison with precipitating a world war at this juncture, when we are still unready.

Even former President Hoover, who deplores MacArthur's dismissal as a national tragedy, has warned repeatedly against involvement in war with Red China's millions.

There are those, in considerable number and with considerable authority, who fear that full scale war on Red China will bring in Russia, and start the third world war we hope to avoid.

That is the basic issue in the great debate that now is shaping up. Should we and can we wage an all-out war with Red China? Can we, at this point in time, risk involvement in a world war before we are fully prepared?

It is the vital concern of every American that this argument should be settled without recourse to emotions, personalities or politics. It can and must be divorced from the personal elements of the MacArthur dispute. The national security is the only issue.

VIRGIL PINKLEY

April 12, 1951

Made in England

American foreign policy is now a British product.

Furthermore, as General MacArthur's un-American dismissal shows, British authority extends over our armed forces abroad.

British Socialists now decide why and where and when American soldiers shall die on foreign battlefields.

* * *

General MacArthur would not have been removed from his commands if the British Socialists had not demanded his removal.

Their motive was plain.

The mercenary-minded British Socialists want to retain the old Tory Hong Kong trade, which is now **TRADE WITH THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS**.

So they did not want MacArthur to win an anti-Communist victory.

Therefore they instituted a virulent campaign against him, with the aid of American copperheads.

Betraying humanity and freedom for the sake of profits, they desired a **COMMUNIST PEACE**.

And, through their own Foreign Office, our Hiss-laden State Department and Truman's "invincible ignorance," they got MacArthur removed.

The United States capitulated to Socialist Britain.

Now the British Socialists propose to write a Korean peace, and also a Japanese treaty, with **COMMUNIST CHINA** and **SOVIET RUSSIA** participating.

This portends another American capitulation—**TO COMMUNISM**.

* * *

Quite evidently, we Americans are "in for it."

Under Truman, we have no American policy.

Under Truman, the United Nations may engage us in Socialist wars anywhere in the world—wars that we cannot win.

And under Truman, as Korea proves, **SOCIALIST BRITAIN** will misdirect and misguide us in these wasting wars—to the greater glory of Karl Marx, and the pecuniary benefit of British Socialism, and the ultimate supremacy of **RUSSIAN BOLSHEVISM**.

O'Dwyer Keeps In— Hiss Goes to Prison— But M'Arthur Ousted

What a travesty of government we are seeing!

Our ambassador to Mexico, William F. O'Dwyer, friend, pal and intimate of hoodlums and gangsters—as revealed by the Kefauver probe—continues to hold the confidence of Mr. Truman and the New Deal government and is retained in perhaps the most important diplomatic post in the Western Hemisphere.

Alger Hiss, spy and traitor, staunchly upheld by our Secretary of State Dean Acheson despite charges leveled against him, has been convicted by our courts and has gone to prison with a light sentence.

William F. Remington, former Commerce Department trusted government employe, has gone to prison for five years on conviction of perjury, perjury he committed when he testified that he had not been a member of the Communist Party and Soviet spy while serving on the War Production Board. ①

But General Douglas MacArthur, a military leader of the highest ability, a man of unquestioned integrity, and a statesman who, almost alone, has saved occupied Japan from becoming a Russian satellite state, is fired by President Truman for daring to disagree with the weak-kneed foreign policy of Russian appeasement advocated by Dean Acheson and General Marshall.

MacArthur is sacrificed for purely political reasons.

Traitors and spies are harbored within the government, are petted and pampered by our State Department, and when convicted get off with a tap on the wrist and a smiling reproof—but MacArthur is ordered out of the job he is better able to fill than any man in the world.

It doesn't make sense and the American people are up in arms over what is only too obvious—an impending "deal" with Communism.

The people know full well that when General MacArthur leaves his post, the cause of peace and American safety is in jeopardy.

The Washington Merry-Go-Round

MacArthur Events Disclosed

By Drew Pearson

It was not until about 11:30 Tuesday night that President Truman actually decided to issue his a. m. statement firing General MacArthur.

The decision to make this momentous step had already been taken, but the timing was set for Friday, not Tuesday midnight. And the reason for the sudden nocturnal press announcement was a telephone



Pearson

call from Secretary of the Army Pace in Tokyo tipping off Truman that MacArthur planned to jump the gun and get out his own statement first.

The President was still smarting from an incident around March 24 when MacArthur had jumped the gun on him, so naturally he was leery. He had sent MacArthur a policy statement for his perusal and personal reaction—a policy which the White House planned to announce as a peace feeler to China. But MacArthur, without notifying Washington, issued the statement himself.

So when Secretary Pace called from Tokyo Tuesday night intimating that MacArthur might rush into print again, the President called Secretary of State Acheson and Deputy Undersecretary Dean Rusk to the White House where they prepared the MacArthur press release.

Prior to that, late on Monday afternoon the Joint Chiefs of Staff held a highly secret session at which there was unanimous sentiment that MacArthur must go.

Gen. Omar Bradley, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and a most mild-mannered man, was hottest under the collar against MacArthur. He complained to colleagues that MacArthur's constant bawling-off about war with China was undercutting our whole defense plan in Europe, and making General Eisenhower's work three times as difficult.

Admiral Forrest Sherman, Chief of Naval Operations, and reported by some as favoring MacArthur's strategy against China, actually threw his weight behind the Navy. Though MacArthur's tactics included a naval operation against China, Admiral Sherman said that we can't afford to get involved in war with China, and if you go into China just in bombing bases.

Gen. Hoyt Vandenberg of the Air Force, and Gen. Joe Collins, Army Chief of Staff, concurred.

Only military man who dragged his feet on MacArthur's ouster was Secretary of Defense Marshall, who has known MacArthur a long time, is 70 years old against MacArthur's 71, and who was in France as a World War I captain when MacArthur was a brigadier general.

One highly significant exchange of information made between the Pentagon and Lieut. Gen. Matthew Ridgway in Tokyo was a cable from Ridgway stating that no matter what happened, his troops could hold out for 60 days. Regardless of what was thrown at him, Ridgway informed the Joint Chiefs of Staff, he could hold for two months.

This cable was in reply to White House fears that following MacArthur's removal, there might be a Chinese attack and a series of American defeats for which Truman, having removed the supreme commander, would get the blame.

Humble Harry

President Truman's usual peevish remarks have not been in evidence during the MacArthur controversy—not even to his personal advisers. The nearest he came to pepper was at last week's Cabinet meeting, just after former Speaker Joe Martin released the MacArthur letter.

"It's time to show the MacArthur, the Time-Life people and the Scripps-Howard newspapers who is running American foreign policy," he observed tartly.

Day after MacArthur was relieved, however, Truman received a call from former Congressman Maury Maverick of Texas, who congratulated him.

"What you have done will make sure that my grandchildren will be free and that civilian government will continue in the United States," Maverick said.

The President was neither cocky nor apologetic. He looked a little sad, as if he had made a terrifically hard decision and knew that a terrible storm was going to break over his head.

"Thank you, Maury," he replied. And he wept just a little. "I do my best. I have to follow the Constitution."

Truman went on to tell how hard he had tried to cooperate with MacArthur, how he had flown across the Pacific to meet him on Wake Island.

He will never know how hard

General MacArthur's grand strategy for China has never been spelled out in detail to the public but it has been argued back and forth repeatedly with Army Chief of Staff Gen. Joe Collins and Adm. Forrest Sherman during their trips to Tokyo. Here is what it boils down to:

1. A mighty United States air strike against Chinese bases in Manchuria where Chinese reserves do their regrouping; also against the Mukden arsenal which sends arms to Korea.

2. A United States air and bombardment of the China coast. This would include United States battleship bombardments of China's big coastal cities, such as Shanghai and Tientsin.

3. Chiang Kai-shek's troops be armed by the United States and landed on the Chinese mainland as a major invasion.

4. Simultaneously an all-N. attack in Korea, with additional troops sent from the United States.

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Ouster Hailed by Red Paper

At least one source was jubilant yesterday that General Douglas MacArthur had been stripped of his military duties—the People's World.

The daily paper, recognized as the official Communist outlet, headlined the dismissal as the "MacArthur Affair" and said "All Europe Hails the Ouster."

A photo showing General MacArthur touring battle lines in a jeep was captioned "They Called Him Emperor." Another reference termed him a "fallen idol."

Under an editorial headed, "The People Must Act," the People's World joyfully proclaimed "he was removed because the people of the world demanded it."

A story in the issue quoted MacArthur's aide as saying, "I think this has been his finest hour." It carried a heading which read: "Trouble Is the Hour's So Late."

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MacArthur Ouster Hit by Admiral

BY NORMA H. GOODHUE

In scorching terms President Truman was yesterday criticized for "his public dismissal and humiliation of a great U.S. general."

This was done by Rear Adm. Leslie E. Gehres, USN, ret., of San Diego, speaking before the North Hollywood Republican Woman's Club.

"That act has given the United States its most shameful hour," he said. "It has given Russia a great victory, a victory that belongs to us by the blood of our 60,000 casualties in Korea. And it has given a victory to British Socialists."

Tune Changes

"These Britons who have urged MacArthur's removal are the same people who called Gen. MacArthur their savior when he saved Australia for them, when he returned to the Philippines, when his military genius regained for Britain her islands in the Southwest Pacific—those islands whose destroyed palm trees cost us so much money."

"Through President Truman's act of dismissing and humiliating the general, who stands for all that is American, we have submitted our foreign policy in Asia to Downing St. in London, to appease Red China."

Surrender Seen

"Now we can expect to conform to Socialist Britain's demand that we seat Red China in the United Nations; that we

Surrender Formosa to Red

"President Truman's act has been Dean Acheson, the supporter of Alger Hiss, Remington, Lattimore and the rest of the scabby creatures who betrayed the land of their birth for one of the atheists whose temple is the Kremlin," Adm. Gehres declared.

Services Cited

He said "MacArthur is a great American who deserves better treatment than this. Through all his life he has served his country without stinting self or family. He has been humiliated by a little man dropped by fate into shoes not made for him."

Adm. Gehres does not believe that impeachment is either practical or possible, he said. He does believe that Gen. MacArthur should be called before Congress to make his report and to give his untrammelled opinions.

War Noted

"Red China is at war with the United States and makes no bones about it," he said. "By reason of their attacks upon our forces the Congress of the United States can exercise its Constitutional authority and declare an ipso facto state of war."

"As a result, President Truman would be prevented from giving a seat at the peace table to Red China. He would be prevented from giving aid and comfort to the enemy. He would be forced to protect Formosa and Korea. These are essential to our position in Japan and in the Philippines," he concluded.

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Alden	
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Laughlin	
Mr. Mohr	
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Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

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LOS ANGELES TIMES
DATED

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Let MacArthur Speak

AROUSED to deep indignation and concern over the abrupt dismissal of Gen. Douglas MacArthur, the American people are forcefully demanding that the general return home to address a joint session of Congress.

There should be no delay on the part of Congress to heed this universal demand.

The people have every right to be told the truth by General MacArthur himself.

They want the facts and are entitled to them.

They already know instinctively what lies behind the President's brusque removal of General MacArthur from command. They are not gulled by the President's absurd pretense that he was merely disciplining a disobedient officer.

THEY SEE CLEARLY THAT GENERAL MACARTHUR WAS DISMISSED AS THE FIRST ESSENTIAL STEP IN A PROGRAM OF SHAMEFUL AND TIMOROUS APPEASEMENT TOWARD DISLOYALTY AT HOME AND COMMUNISM ABROAD.

They understand that the President, willingly and ignominiously, yielded to the sinister influences led by Secretary Acheson and General Marshall, which betrayed China to the Communists and have piously shielded treachery at home.

It has long been no secret, of course, that the British, French and Italian Communists were determined to destroy or at least discredit General MacArthur.

But in acceding to their wishes the President cannot assure them that their ends are accomplished.

For nothing is so obvious today, than that the curt dismissal of General MacArthur has elevated him to new heights of affection, respect and admiration in the regard of his countrymen.

There are several sound reasons that underlie the overwhelming demand that General MacArthur return home and address the nation from the rostrum of Congress.

First is a natural desire to show great honor to a national hero.

Then there is the ingrained spirit of fair play, asking that General MacArthur tell his side of the story.

But greatest of all is the deep want of great leadership from a man whose courage and patriotism can match and master the crises that beset America today.

That is why Americans want General MacArthur to come home—**TO SUPPLY THE GUIDANCE AND STRENGTH THAT HAS SO LONG AND TRAGICALLY BEEN WANTING.**

And, in this critical instance, Americans are dead right.

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Story Is Out

MacArthur's Wake Island Role Told

The real story of what happened at Wake Island on October 15 is out. It is a story of how Gen. Douglas MacArthur apologized to President Truman for embarrassing him on the Formosa issue. Now MacArthur expressed confidence that Red China would not intervene in Korea, and how MacArthur offered to send some of his best troops in Korea to Europe before the end of 1950.

It came out in a scoop in yesterday's issue of the New York Times, written by Anthony Leviero, who until a month ago was the Times' White House reporter.

White House Press Secretary Joseph Short would only say "No comment" when asked about the story. There was no indication that the White House would make public the documents on which the story was based, but presumably they will come to light.

Red China Surprised

Everyone, Whitney Says

Maj. Gen. Courtney Whitney, an aide to General MacArthur, says so far as he knew nobody had any idea at the time of the Wake Island conference that Chinese Reds were preparing to enter war. Page 3.

through a congressional investigation.

When President Truman and General MacArthur met on Wake Island, the communique that was issued told little of what had really happened. Mr. Truman, in a speech at San Francisco, said there was "complete unanimity in the aims and conduct of our foreign policy in the Far East." Reporter Leviero, in the Times story, said he had gained access to "documented sources" on the Truman-MacArthur meeting, and gave this as a summary of their contents:

"1. General MacArthur said that he could make the Second Division available to General of the Army Omar N. Bradley, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to dispatch to Europe by last January. Page 3.

"2. Harmony and agreement was achieved at Wake, in that conference on October 15, at least the necessity of adhering to the policies made in Washington. Harmony might have continued to this day if the victory predicted by General MacArthur had materialized. The Chinese Communists intervened, however, though he said they would not.

"After the crisis of what he called an 'entirely new war,' on November 29 as a result of this intervention, the United Nations Commander pressed for a more aggressive policy in the Far East and became increasingly outspoken against the President. The harmony turned into disillusionment in the White House and the Pentagon.

"3. Victory after Korea should be followed up with a rehabilitation program costing about 500 million dollars, including physical and psychological rehabilitation, with free elections and the withdrawal of all troops. The victory would come by Thanksgiving Day, and General MacArthur hoped to return the Eighth Army to Japan by Christmas.

"4. A Japanese peace treaty should be concluded as rapidly as possible in fairness to that country, which had been so cooperative with the occupation authority, and until there was a treaty, the United States should bear part of the occupation costs.

General MacArthur suggested calling a peace conference and inviting Russia and Red China, then proceeding without them if they did not participate.

"5. President Truman should make a clarification of the Truman Doctrine of the Pacific, to be invoked on the outbreak of direct aggression as in Korea.

"6. The possibilities of intervention by Red China and Russia were discussed, and General MacArthur said that he did not believe either country would do this.

"7. Some sober criticism was made of the quality of the French army, and there was a discussion of how this might affect the defense of Europe.

"8. A determination to try to make France use her forces in Indo-China as effectively as the Dutch in Indonesia. (The French have improved their situation there since then.)

"9. General MacArthur apologized to the President for embarrassing him on the Formosa issue and told Mr. Truman he now reiterated his position on that.

Last August MacArthur sent a message to the Veterans of Foreign Wars convention, suggesting American occupation of Formosa where Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists took refuge when driven from continental China. The President asked MacArthur to withdraw the message, which he did, but it had by then already been published.

The President has favored neutralization of Formosa by naval force until its status could be settled by the United Nations. Apparently it was this position which MacArthur at Wake said he then understood.

Leviero said that MacArthur made his apology at a meeting at which only he and Mr. Truman

(Texas) said in Washington the Times' account was "no news to me."

But Whitney declared there were no stenographic notes taken at the conference and part of it was a secret meeting between only MacArthur and the President.

The implication seemed to be that any detailed report of the Wake Island meeting could come only from President Truman himself.

Some Republicans in Congress accused the Administration of leaking a "one-sided" account of the Wake Island conference in an effort to "discredit" MacArthur.

At the same time, Chairman Russell (D., Ga.) told reporters the Senate Armed Services Committee will demand "all available documents"—including those covering the Wake Island meeting—in its inquiry into Far Eastern military and foreign policies.

Senator Capehart (R., Ind.) told reporters he thinks President Truman himself is responsible for the leak in hitherto confidential documents.

Senator Long (D., La.), an Armed Services member, told a reporter it was "extremely unfortunate" that the Administration's version of the Wake Island meeting had been made public "under these circumstances."

"There already has been too much confidential information divulged by both sides in this controversy," he said. "The Wake Island conference information is material that should have been submitted to Congress for study in closed session."

Senator Cain (R., Wash.), another Armed Services member, said, "That's not the way I heard

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"No reason yet set forth indicates that such a course would stop the fighting in Korea. In fact, such a course might well have the opposite effect. It might and most probably would produce attacks by the Chinese Communists or by Russian units in areas outside Korea."

McGrath said that "we went into Korea with the overwhelming approval of the American people because we wanted to prevent World War III."
"We are fighting a little war be-

cause we want to prevent a big war," he added.
"Any policy—military or political—which ignores the United Nations and which would have us settle the complex issue of the world by force of our arms alone is doomed to failure," he said.

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Date: 2-15-52

Hill to Demand Full Publicity

By LAURENCE BURD

Congress moved yesterday to strip the secrecy from events preceding the peremptory Truman firing of Gen. MacArthur as MacArthur's chief aide challenged the Administration's line of defense.

On Capitol Hill leaders of both parties demanded "full story" be made public. This is imperative, they said, in view of an unofficial piecemeal version, published yesterday, of the Truman-MacArthur conference at Wake Island last October.

Joint Staff Statement

The Pentagon meanwhile sought to bolster the Administration's case. A statement issued late yesterday by the Defense department said the joint chiefs of staff approve of the present conduct of Far Eastern operations.

"Operations in the Far East are being carried out in accordance with the view of the joint chiefs of staff," the statement said. "These views will be fully explained to the appropriate congressional committees. An analysis of the basic differences which exist between the joint chiefs of staff and Gen. MacArthur will be presented at that time."

The statement issued by Clayton Fritchey, director of information, did not reply directly to MacArthur's statement to Congress Thursday that Truman military advisers, including the joint chiefs, shared his views from a military standpoint for stepping up the Korean offensive by carrying the fight to the Communists.

Leak on Parley Published

The Administration version of the Wake Island meeting, which was "leaked" to the New York Times by Administration sources, was based on "documented sources" of the island conference, the Times said. The story represented Gen. MacArthur as telling Mr. Truman he did not believe Red China would intervene in the Korean war. It also said MacArthur "apologized" to the President for embarrassing him on the Far East policy.

In New York, Maj. Gen. Courtney Whitney, MacArthur's military secretary, promptly challenged the published account as inaccurate on several major points.

"Political" Issue

As to the story's claim that it was "documented," Whitney said no stenographic record was taken of the "most vital" portion of the Wake Island session when the President and MacArthur conferred alone for more than one hour. Moreover, Whitney said, no one else was present besides the President and the general. Later, the two men met for two hours with advisers present.

Whitney told reporters that whether Red China would come into the war was recognized to be solely political and far beyond the reach and knowledge of Army

field intelligence." Red China, Whitney noted, did not enter the Korean war until more than a month after the island conference.

Whitney noted that Gen. MacArthur had warned publicly that the danger of Red China's intervening in Korea was "inherent" in the Korean war.

The White House, State department and Pentagon refused to comment on Whitney's statement or on the Times' story. President Truman himself was away from his office, cruising in the Chesapeake bay on the yacht Williamsburg. He is due back in Washington today.

At the White House, Truman aides were visibly concerned over the prompt rejoinder of Gen. Whitney. White House press secretary Short postponed his lunch until 2:30 p.m. to huddle with Clayton Fritchey, Pentagon press officer. When the session finally broke up Short said he had "no comment." It was presumed that Short also talked by telephone to the yachting President before deciding against making a statement.

MacArthur to Testify

In Congress, Chairman Russell of Georgia of the combined military-foreign relations investigating committee predicted Gen. MacArthur will be the first witness when his group opens its inquiry into the historic controversy on April 30.

Russell said that his committee will demand all the evidence bearing on MacArthur's dismissal and other Asiatic policy decisions, including a full account, with whatever documents are available of the Wake Island conference.

"I can assure the American people that as far as I am concerned there will be a fair and thorough hearing," Russell said. "Very naturally the committee will want to go into the Truman-MacArthur agreements on Wake Island."

Sen. Hill (D) of Alabama said information published so far seems to show that "Gen. MacArthur was in full harmony and agreement with the United States policy in Korea and the Far East."

"I think all the facts in this entire case should be made available to Congress," Hill said, "and as much as possible should be made public, within the confines of military security."

Any documents in the case should be turned over to the Senate committee now so there won't be this battle of something leaking out here and there. We don't want to resolve this thing through a battle of the headlines."

Congress Left in Dark

Sen. Aiken (R) of Vermont noted that the Administration version of the island meeting was leaked to a newspaper before it was even submitted to Congress.

"If a newspaper can gain access to such information, then I say it's time the Administration make it available to Congress," Aiken said. "It should do so promptly."

Sen. Kefauver (D) of Tennessee, famed for his crime investigation and a member of the armed services committee, said it is "imperative" that Congress get all the pertinent data bearing on the MacArthur case. Kefauver disclosed he had asked defense undersecretary Robert Lovett whether yesterday's published account of the Wake Island meeting was correct. The senator said Lovett refused to comment "until the whole matter could be presented together."

Meanwhile, Sen. Kem (R) of Missouri called on President Truman to tell his program for ending the Korean war, if he has one.

Kem said he has listened to recent speeches by State Secretary Acheson and Gen. Bradley, chairman of the joint chief of staff, attacking MacArthur. The Truman officials talked of peace, but not how to get it, Kem said in a statement.

Reject MacArthur Plan

"In his speech before the Congress, Gen. MacArthur presented a definite, specific, concrete plan," Kem said. "Mr. Truman and Mr. Acheson are not willing to accept Gen. MacArthur's plan. What have they to offer? Congress is no longer interested in statements from them about communism—protecting our form of government—and the blessings of peace."

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"What we wish to know is: How shall we end the Korean war?" "The President's hasty, emotional decision at 1 o'clock in the morning to fire Gen. MacArthur was a tragic error. Mr. Truman has deprived the republic of the services of one of our greatest military leaders at a time when he is sorely needed."

"Gen. MacArthur has demonstrated he knows more about America's problems in the Far East than any other man now alive. He is the chief architect of Allied victory in the Pacific. The terrible-tampered Mr. Truman should seek and welcome his advice instead of refusing to listen even over television or radio. The welfare and safety of our boys now in Korea and those to be sent there should rise above pride of personal opinion and petty partisan politics."

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Date: APR 22 1951

MacArthur's Racist Policies Exposed--Fascist Ties Noted

By John Pittman

The staged welcomes for General Douglas MacArthur occurred too late for headlines of the majority of Negro newspapers dated April 21, 1951, but President Truman's dismissal of MacArthur occasioned some comment in several big weeklies. The Baltimore Afro-American scooped

the Negro press as a whole in recognition of the news value of MacArthur's return, and greeted the imperialist's Asian proconsul with a major page one spread. A story by James Hicks revealed the white supremacist policies of MacArthur in relation to Negro troops. Hicks, who was the Afro's chief correspondent in Korea, documented the record with details and incidents. Some Hicks' quotes:

"The 24th Regiment went into combat without adequate and modern equipment and the Army was so highhanded in its refusal to give them what was needed that some of the men actually spent their own money to get their equipment fixed by Japanese craftsmen . . .

"In the Tokyo Quartermaster Depot, right under the General's nose, a white officer was permitted to transfer some colored men from a white chemical unit despite the fact that this unit had been integrated in the states and sent to MacArthur as a mixed unit.

"Most of this racial discrimination and segregation against colored people was done with the usual subtlety but the General showed his true character most flagrantly in his treatment of the Japanese. Tokyo looks like Mississippi so far as racial signs are concerned. There's only one difference--instead of saying 'white' and 'colored' the signs read 'Japanese Only,' 'Al-

lied Personnel Only.' In MacArthur's own headquarters one finds such signs. Every drinking fountain, every toilet, every public facility bears a sign."

IN ADDITION to Hicks' expose, the Afro editorialized on MacArthur's dismissal, starting its editorial on page one. "We Shed No Tears," it declared. "We refuse to go along with the idolizing of a military man, who refused to concede that history has passed him by. General MacArthur unquestionably is one of the few remaining disciples of the white imperialist domination school glorified by Rudyard Kipling."

"Given the usual ration of colored troops by Washington," the Afro continued, "he made it a point to see that they, for the most part, were neatly segregated on a separate island of their own, far removed from General Headquarters at Tokyo. He was so openly prejudiced, we have yet to find a single colored soldier who served under him in the Pacific, who had a good word for him."

"Men of the 93rd Division, who were left forgotten and forsaken to swelter in the fever-ridden jungles of Bougainville, while he was yelling for more and more fighting men, certainly have no love in their hearts for MacArthur . . . Of recent date, MacArthur displayed his hostile attitude toward colored Amer-

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Page 10 of the
Daily Worker

Date 4-23-51

Clipped at the Seat of
Government.

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...by the large number of men hastily court-martialed and sentenced to serve terms in the Korean conflict . . . We applaud President Truman for his bold action in getting rid of an egoistic, prejudiced, white supremacist, who has long since outlived his time and usefulness."

Less forthright was the Pittsburgh Courier's view of MacArthur's dismissal. The Courier wanted to "wait before passing judgement until it could study the "chronology of events" and make a "careful perusal of the text of General MacArthur's pronouncements and the sequence of orders and suggestions from Washington."

"If it is right to remove General MacArthur for disobedience, as charged," asked the Courier, "how can it be right to permit other Army officers to disobey another Presidential directive even more flagrantly?" And the Courier urged the dismissal of officers who have not carried out President Truman's directive to end jimcrow.

Courier columnist Marjorie McKenzie believes "the dismissal of Gen. Douglas MacArthur is an act of leadership . . . To make a martyr of General MacArthur is not to act for freedom. Whatever strength he had was the strength of the American people." But Miss McKenzie injects more confusion into her own thinking by dragging into her comment the irrelevant observations of a couple of other first-rate confusionists—the writer Philip Wylie and Justice Jackson of the U. S. Supreme Court.

NEW YORK CITY Councilman Earl Brown, in his column in the midweek Amsterdam News recalls that "MacArthur has been defied by the native fascists and reactionaries since the beginning of World War II. He has been built into some kind of symbolical crowbar to pry loose from the American people their elementary democratic rights." And Brown predicted the attempt by "antidemocrats" to make MacArthur "a martyr and a hero." The General's supporters, Brown wrote, "are anti-Negro, anti-Jewish and anti labor. They are hypocrites. They are the real danger to world peace and to democracy. So is MacArthur."

National Urban League secretary Lester Granger, in his column in the Amsterdam News is partial not only to MacArthur but to MacArthur's policies. Granger, whose close ties to the banker-militarist cabal running the government were strengthened when he became the Negro protege of the late James Forrestal, says that "the tragedy of the matter was that MacArthur was, himself, in an impossible position." Then Granger lists the points subsequently made by MacArthur in his speech to the U. S. Congress.

How is it that this high official of a national organization purporting to help the Negro people should see eye-to-eye with a rabid, white supremacist imperialist and militarist?

Hero Doesn't Hold Truman Responsible

BY WALTER TROHAN

It can now be told on highest authority that Gen. MacArthur blames State Secretary Acheson for the White House decision which ended a military career spanning 52 years.

The five star general does not feel that President Truman or the military high command was responsible for his ouster. He conceded to intimates the belief that Acheson maneuvered the firing almost from the outbreak of the Korean war.

Harbors No Bitterness

Acheson, the son of British-born parents, has strong leanings toward Europe and has long neglected Asia. Acheson has been credited in Congress along with Defense Secretary Marshall for the policy which paved the way for communization of China.

Friends of MacArthur hold that Acheson, the man who would not turn his back on Alger Hiss, the Red spy-perjurer, would and did stab the Pacific hero in the back. MacArthur shares this view. It was learned from unimpeachable sources.

MacArthur harbors no bitterness or rancor against the President, Defense Secretary Marshall or even Acheson, but he feels strongly that continuance of Acheson's policies will spell disaster for the nation. Many members of Congress believe that the firing of MacArthur spells the end of Acheson, which has been predicted for months.

Wrote Bradley Speech

MacArthur is aware that Acheson's State department wrote the speech Gen. Bradley delivered at Chicago during the week, which was critical of MacArthur's Asia policies. The speech was written for the general weeks ago.

MacArthur sees the hand of Acheson behind the smear campaign the Administration is undertaking against him. It was reported during the week in Congress that military intelligence agencies had been ordered to dig up MacArthur's military career for material which might be used against him.

The first fruits of the campaign were revealed yesterday with the publication of a "leaked" story in the New York Times which detailed some of the historic conference between MacArthur and Mr. Truman at Wake Island last October 15. The story also intimated MacArthur's belief that Chinese Communists would not enter the war.

Apology Is Alleged

It was alleged MacArthur apologized to the President for embarrassing him on the Formosa issue. A spokesman for MacArthur hinted that the White House had leaked the story in an attempt to offset the mounting public support of the general.

Gen. MacArthur's attitude on Formosa was given to the world by the Chicago Tribune and the Washington Times-Herald with the first publication of the text of a speech the general sent for reading at the convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars in Chicago.

Efforts were made by the Administration to suppress and withdraw the speech. The Chicago Tribune and the Times-Herald first printed the text in full. Other papers followed. The State department began gunning for

MacArthur's scalp with renewed vigor.

This correspondent learned from a source of highest veracity that MacArthur's speech to the veterans' organization was sent to the White House three weeks before delivery and that the general tried several times to get clearance. When no word came, he assumed that there was no objection to his message.

MacArthur can produce records to prove he submitted the speech and called it to the attention of the White House several times.

The general is also prepared to refute the White House charge that he advised the President the Chinese Communists would not attack. The general was dependent upon the State department for estimates of Chinese intention because he was not allowed to make reconnaissance over China. Intelligence gathering in the area was in the control of the State department.

This correspondent was advised that MacArthur has documents to support his assertion before Congress that responsible military men, including the joint chiefs of staff, were in accord with his views in the Orient. He has a file of messages exchanged with Washington which he is ready to offer to the Senate armed services committee, which is to conduct an investigation into military policy.

MacArthur is opposed to State department domination of the military. He is reported to feel that military policy in Asia and in Europe has been dictated not by military men, whose life business is national security, but by state department men who make policy and direct the military to cut the cloth to fit their crazy quilt patterns.

Intimates of the general report he feels that Acheson and his State department colleagues have reduced military men to the status of messenger boys. The general feels that direction of national security should be returned to the trained military patriots.

At the moment MacArthur was defending his policies in his dramatic and historic speech before Congress, Mr. Truman was closeted at the White House with Acheson. It was assumed here that Acheson was offering the President suggestions on how to offset the impact of the general on the American people.

Acheson was identified as one of the pro-Soviet bloc in the State department during the Hiss investigation by Adolph A. Berle, former assistant secretary of state. He has long been regarded as the head of the pro-British bloc.

Acheson is credited with selling Mr. Truman on the European aid plan, which was named after Gen. Marshall, then Secretary of State. He is credited with a major role in the 3.75 billion dollar gift-loan to Britain.

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Mann Warns MacArthur Of Hatch Act

If Gen. Douglas MacArthur delivers the keynote address at the Republican National Convention Monday, a local attorney promises to lower the Hatch Act on him.



Mann

The attorney, C. Harrison Mann, former chairman of Arlington County's Democratic Executive Committee, wrote the general that members of

the armed forces are not exempt from an act provision barring partisan political activity by Government workers.

Mann declared he would exercise his prerogative "as any ordinary citizen may do when another assumes that he is above the law" if MacArthur keynoted the convention, and charge a Hatch Act violation.

The attorney told the general that "there cannot be two sets of rules; one for you, a Federal employe of high rank, and the other for all the rest of the Federal employes."

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M'ARTHUR DATA SEEN WITHHELD

Administration 'Mum On Ouster, Aide Says

New Bedford, Mass., Feb. 27 (AP)—The New Bedford Standard-Times quoted a former aide to Gen. MacArthur as saying Saturday the Eisenhower administration has not told the "real story" of the General's row with former President Truman because its policies to meet communist aggression are similar to those of the Truman administration.

Col. Laurence E. Bunker, a member of MacArthur's staff for nine years, told the Standard-Times in an interview at his home in Wellesley that the administration is avoiding the subject because anti-MacArthur personnel control the Pentagon.

"It is very conspicuous that officers holding MacArthur's views are being retired, Bunker said.

"Assurances" to Reds

He said Gen. James A. Van Fleet went "counter to the Pentagon by saying the Korean war was the right war at the right time at the right place and he was allowed to retire at 60."

Bunker said Gen. Mark Clark repeated MacArthur's views that there is no substitute for victory and "he went out at 57."

MacArthur was removed as Far East commander in 1951 by President Truman in a dispute over conduct of the Korean war.

Bunker said "the complete record would show that the Chinese Communists were given assurances beforehand that there would be no punitive action against their Manchurian communications and supply facilities if the Chinese entered the war."

Bombing Overruled

"Also untold," Bunker said, "is the full record of the tremendous handicaps placed between MacArthur and military victory. Three hours after the general issued the directive for bombing of the Yalu river supply lines it was overruled from Washington, directly to the air force."

He added that intensified bombing would not have brought full scale retaliation from the Communists because "they just didn't have—and, in fact, do not have now—the petroleum resources for such an operation."

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Today in Washington

Truman Remark Puzzling On Firing of MacArthur

By DAVID LAWRENCE

WASHINGTON, Sept. 13.—Many people here who have a respect for the facts of contemporaneous history are still puzzled over the remark made by former President Truman the other day that his only regret about the MacArthur episode is that he didn't fire the General "two years sooner."



This would have been April, 1949. That date was more than a year before the Korean war began. Gen. MacArthur at the time was being applauded widely—in Washington, too—for the success he was making as the commander of the American occupation forces engaged in the reconstruction of Japan.

Also, after April, 1949, Mr. Truman on more than one occasion publicly and privately showed his confidence in Gen. MacArthur. Thus, early in July, 1950, Gen. MacArthur was appointed commander-in-chief of the United Nations forces in Korea and he wired President Truman:

"I can only repeat the pledge of my complete personal loyalty to you as well as an absolute devotion to your monumental struggle for peace and goodwill throughout the world. I hope I will not fail you."

To this, Mr. Truman replied: "Your words confirm me . . . in my full belief in the wisdom of your selection."

Again, on December 25, 1950, Mr. Truman congratulated

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Gen. MacArthur on the successful maneuver of his troops out of the pocket into which the intervention of Red Chinese armies had placed them in Korea. The message read:

"I wish to express by personal thanks . . . for the effective operation. It is the best Christmas present I have had."

Agreed About Formosa

There was an incident in August, 1950, when a misunderstanding arose about a message which Gen. MacArthur had sent to a convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars in Chicago. It was in this telegram that the General had outlined the importance of holding on to Formosa and supporting the Nationalist government. But, two months later—Oct. 15—Mr. Truman and the General were holding their famous conference at Wake Island, after which the President told the press:

"Gen. MacArthur and I have talked fully about Formosa. There is no need to cover that subject again. The General and I are in complete agreement."

It was only six months later when Gen. MacArthur, answering what he thought was a routine inquiry from a member of Congress, wrote to Rep. Martin of Massachusetts expressing the same views that he had expressed before on Formosa and the importance of winning the war in Korea. Yet it was this letter which aroused the ire of Mr. Truman and caused him to dismiss the General without so much as the courtesy of a hearing.

No outcry over this failure of "due process" and obvious disregard of "constitutional rights" came from the "Left wingers." Maybe if the General had shown some sympathy with the Communist cause or had had an uncle or an aunt in the Communist party, there would have been a wave of protest from the "Left wingers." But he was only an American General who had gallantly fought his way back to the Philippines from island to island in the Western Pacific and who had served his country under fire not only in two world wars but also in the Korean "police action" in which 33,600

Americans were killed and 103,500 wounded.

Speaking also of constitutional rights, the "Left Wing" has always raised a furor over legislation to authorize "wire tapping," which the Department of Justice thinks under certain safeguards should be allowed so as to help catch criminals. But not protest came from the "Left Wingers" in a flagrant case of eavesdropping which is in the records in connection with the Wake Island conference. A stenographer was allowed to listen at a keyhole and when, in later months, it suited the Administration politically to slip the notes to a newspaper, this was done in an effort to injure MacArthur.

Describing the incident in a recent issue of "Life" magazine, Gen. Courtney Whitney, MacArthur's "Man Friday," writes: "Without our knowledge the private secretary of Philip Jessup, a member of the Presidential party, had evidently been secreted behind a partially opened door to the conference room. Lurking behind the door, she could record only what she could hear through the small opening and what she could see by peeping through the keyhole, with the result that her account of the conference could at best be sadly inadequate."

Remark Still a Puzzle

There was, Gen. Whitney declares, a political purpose behind the Wake Island conference. He writes:

"But what Truman personally—and the Democratic party—gained by the trip was tremendous in terms of political advantage. By this one stroke, only three weeks before the 1950 Congressional elections, the President was able to establish a connection between his administration and the military strategy against which most of his military advisers had argued but which had just won the great victory at Inchon."

So it is still a puzzle as to why Truman now says he should have fired MacArthur "two years sooner."

MacArthur Denies Any Hand in Yalta

MACARTHUR—Fr. P. 1

against Japan have been the center of an angry controversy between Democrats and Republicans. The Defense De-

partment report did little to quiet it.

Last spring MacArthur said he would have opposed Russia's entry "at that late date"—the time of Yalta—had he been asked.

Democrats have countered that pressure from MacArthur and other United States military leaders to get Russia into the war led Mr. Roosevelt to agree to territorial concessions. Sen. Herbert H. Lehman (D-

N. Y.), who touched off the MacArthur controversy last spring, said the Defense Department document "clearly supports" his statement that the General was among military leaders who advised Mr. Roosevelt to bring Russia into the Japanese war.

"General MacArthur denied that he had at any time entertained any such views," Lehman said in a statement. "I am satisfied with the Defense Department disclosures."

The Defense Department showed that MacArthur in June, 1945, about five months after Yalta, messaged Gen. George C. Marshall, then Army Chief of Staff, that the "hazard and loss will be greatly lessened" if Russia attacked Japanese forces on the Asiatic mainland before United States forces invaded Japan.

At the same time, the Defense Department document showed that other United States military leaders were leaning away from the belief that Russian entry into the war was essential to the proposed United States invasion of Japan's home islands.

About two months before MacArthur messaged Marshall, a Joint Chiefs of Staff report said "early Russian entry into the war against Japan" to pin down Japanese forces in Manchuria "is no longer necessary to make invasion feasible."

MacArthur's Statement

The text of MacArthur's statement:

"The report of the Department of Defense fully confirms that I was never consulted concerning the Yalta conference, that I exercised no influence whatsoever thereon and knew nothing about its secret agreements until after they had been

consummated and communicated to me.

"The report furthermore clearly demonstrates that the basis of such agreements lay in decisions taken by the State Department on political policy and the Joint Chiefs of Staff on military policy long before Yalta.

"Of these I was not informed. However, once such decisions had been taken and communicated to me following Yalta, they became binding upon me as upon any other theater commander. All future discussions thereon with War Department representatives necessarily became limited to consideration of their ultimate application to the conduct of the war. The attempt to interpret any statements I may have made in the course of such post-Yalta discussions as reflecting my pre-Yalta views and convictions is wholly unwarranted.

Urged Russian Attack

"The issue involved at the origin of this controversy was not whether Russia should have been brought into the Pacific war—this should have clearly been done at the very beginning—but whether we should have made vital territorial concessions at the expense of Chinese sovereignty to induce Russia to come in at the end. On Dec. 13, 1941, I urged that Russia attack immediately from the north. This would have saved countless lives, billions of dollars and spared the Philippines, Malaya, the Dutch East

Indies, New Guinea and many Pacific islands.

"There is not the slightest hint of documentation over my signature in the entire Defense Department report which even remotely suggests my support of these territorial concessions which so adversely altered the course of future events in Asia; or that after my initial recommendation in 1941 I advocated prior to Yalta that Russia enter the Pacific war. To hold the contrary is to prevaricate the truth and the record.

"I repeat had my views been requested concerning the secret agreements bearing upon Russia's entry into the Pacific war I would have opposed them as fantastic."

These Days

By George Sokolsky

MacArthur's Birthday

AS ONE LIES here and thinks of men and events and the courses and tides of history, it comes to me that on Thursday, Gen. Douglas MacArthur will celebrate his 76th birthday. I hope I have the date right but here I may not look anything up or telephone.



Sokolsky

MacArthur's birthday ought to be marked in some manner, for this is an extraordinarily truthful man in an era of mediocre time-servers. His is a philosophic outlook on the history and future of his country rather than an over-specialized emphasis on personal self-preservation. He is acknowledged in his own occupation to be our greatest general, perhaps the most competent military mind we have produced since Robert E. Lee; so he was kicked out by military lackies, most of whose names we have already forgotten. They may have gotten rid of MacArthur from the Army but not from his place in history.

AND AS HE remains alive, we must ask him about Gen. Matthew Ridgway's disclosure that a report to the Nation was faked and who was responsible for faking it. For MacArthur suffered much from the moral irresponsibility of the Pentagon, where men become so engrossed in detail that they never think of the consequences of what they do. Gen. Douglas MacArthur, as a military man, could not understand why he was instructed to go into a war to achieve a defeat. There was never a question of insubordination because he led his Army to defeat as he had been

instructed to do. But how to understand these orders? How to interpret them? How to make them fit a philosophy of war? That he could not do. And so he spoke out and got fired after serving his country from West Point to a commander of a theater.

WHEN MEN speak of morale in the Army or clergy, or in schools or anywhere, they really speak of that quality of pride that men have in their work and their associations. The "old tie" may be a phrase for service that held better than all the rules books ever devised. When Gen. MacArthur was dismissed summarily, without even a face-saving device, a blow was struck not at him but at the morale of our Armed Services. A noble overtone of service disappeared. It all became

nothing but a job for those who learn how to stand in right, who know just what to say at the right moment, the apple-polishers.

Efficient and competent as they may be, and nobody doubts that, they lack a moral elan, and their lack is conveyed all down the line to the men. A hero's breed must be heroic and these men who knifed MacArthur to please politicians were not heroes.

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THESE DAYS:**A Noble Figure of This Confused Era**By **GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY**

AS ONE lies here and thinks of men and events and the courses and tides of history, it comes to me that tomorrow, General Douglas MacArthur will celebrate his 76th birthday. I hope I have the date right but here I may not look anything up or telephone. For only one hour each day I am excused from being a vegetable and thus far, there have been no untoward results. During that one free hour, I write these little essays just as I am sure a fiddler would want to run over the strings of a violin. We are all creatures of habit and for nearly 40 years now, I have informed the world on this and that and the habit is too strong to break.

To return to Douglas MacArthur, his birthday ought to be marked in some manner for this is an extraordinarily truthful man in an era of mediocre time-servers. His is a philosophic outlook on the history and future of his country rather than an over-specialized emphasis on personal self-preservation.

He is acknowledged in his own occupation to be our greatest general, perhaps the most competent military mind we have produced since Robert E. Lee; so he was kicked out by military lackies, most of whose names we have already forgotten. They may have gotten rid of MacArthur from the Army but not from his place in history.

Ridgway's Charge

And as he remains alive, we must ask him about General Matthew Ridgway's disclosure that a report to the nation was faked and who was responsible for faking it. For MacArthur suffered much from the moral irresponsibility of the Pentagon where men become so engrossed in detail that they never think of the consequences of what they do.

I met General Ridgway at a dinner shortly after he returned from Korea and his conversation was all in one direction, that MacArthur had been right and the politicians in Washington all wrong and he spoke privately of how the lives of our sons were endangered because of arms shortages.

Many crimes have been committed in the name of politics, or loyalty to the "commander-in-chief," whatever that may be in American life. But now the honest men are talking it up and it is not going to be easy to answer. Nobody can answer Ridgway's charge of lying to the American people.

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General Douglas MacArthur, as a military man, could not understand why he was instructed to go into a war to achieve a defeat. There was never a question of insubordination because he led his army to defeat as he had been instructed to do. But how to understand these orders? How to interpret them? How to make them fit a philosophy of war? That he could not do. And so he spoke out and got fired after serving his country from West Point to a commander of a theater. He was fired like a little boy chased off the block. It was a cheap, an uncouth dismissal. It was like sticking one's tongue out at a great historic monument.

Blow at Morale

When men speak of morale in the army or clergy, or in schools or anywhere, they really speak of that quality of pride that men have in their work and their associations. The "old tie" may be a phrase for amusement but it represented just this high quality of loyalty to a service that held better than all the rules books ever devised. When General Douglas MacArthur was dismissed summarily, without even a face-saving device, a blow was struck not at him but at the morale of our armed services. A noble overtone of service disappeared. It all became nothing but a job for those who learn how to stand in right, who know just what to say at the right moment, the apple-polishers.

Efficient and competent as they may be, and nobody doubts that, they lack a moral elan and their lack is conveyed all down the line to the men. A hero's breed must be heroic and these men who knifed MacArthur to please politicians were not heroes. And where are they today?

And so there he stands, as noble as ever, Douglas MacArthur, from whom has even been withheld a nominal honor, the title, "General of the Armies." On his birthday, I congratulate him that time has proved him a noble figure in a confused era.

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MacA Ousted By 'Red Plot,' Says Martin

Washington, Jan. 26.—House
GOP Leader Joseph W. Martin
Jr. (Mass.) today said Gen.



Joseph W.
Martin Jr.

Douglas MacArthur's retire-
ment five years
ago was
"forced" by the
"world conspir-
acy of interna-
tional com-
munism."

Martin also
said, in a pre-
pared speech,
that MacArthur,
who is 76 today,
has never "be-
trayed freedom

for the plaudits of traitors, spies,
saboteurs and degenerate fellow
travelers."

Martin took a dig at the Demo-
cratic-controlled House Armed
Services Committee for pigeon-
holing his resolution to make
MacArthur a general of the
armies—the highest possible mili-
tary rank. Such an honor would
be a "fitting climax to a great
career," said Martin, but the
resolution "sleeps in the Commi-
tee on Armed Services."

Deletes Some Remarks

In delivering his speech to the
House, Martin deleted all tex-
tual references to MacArthur's
"forced" retirement, and mention
of "traitors, spies, saboteurs"
and "treachery."

None of the Democrats present
took exception to it as revised.
MacArthur was removed from
command by President Truman.

On the Senate side, MacArthur
was hailed by several Republican
Senators, including William F.
Knowland (Calif.), H. Alexander
Smith (N.J.), Alexander Wiley
(Wis.) and Herman ~~Walker~~

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CAPITOL STUFF

By JOHN O'DONNELL

Washington, Feb. 8.—Former President Harry Truman's personal story of how he came to fire Gen. MacArthur from his Far Eastern command on April 11, 1951, and the general's stunning reply to Truman's statements make great American history. Here is the dramatic climax—charge and refutation come face to face. That's for the alltime story of our republic.

Immediately, in this Presidential year, the printed record has its direct political consequence. Politically, the one who suffers the deepest wound in this battle is a Democratic Presidential aspirant, Gov. Harriman of New York. Truman is out of the political picture as an active candidate. MacArthur has just celebrated his 76th birthday. But Harriman is in the picture—and he figures importantly in these new revelations of the Truman charge and the MacArthur retort as printed in the current issue of Life magazine.

Truman, after telling of what he calls MacArthur's "insubordination" in the winter of 1951, writes that in April he decided that "the time had come for me to draw the line."

And he continues:

"I asked Acheson (his Secretary of State who swore he would never turn his back on Alger Hiss) Marshall and Bradley (two generals who had deep-seated personal jealousy of MacArthur) and Harriman to meet Friday morning to discuss MacArthur's actions. We discussed the question for an hour. Harriman was of the opinion I should have fired MacArthur two years ago. Secretary of Defense Marshall advised caution. . . . Gen. Bradley wished to consult with the chiefs of staff. Acheson . . . counseled that the most careful consideration be given to the matter because it was of the utmost seriousness."

At 1 A. M. on the morning of April 11, Truman's White House press secretary, the late Joe Short, called an extraordinary press conference and the formal news of MacArthur's firing was made public. Interesting to note from Truman's report is that at the beginning it was Harriman who was all out to get MacArthur's scalp.

Didn't Trust Bradley, Says MacArthur

Gen. MacArthur, in his observations on the Truman biography, points out that Gen. Marshall and Bradley, officers of "high distinction and notable service, were both personally hostile to me. Gen. Marshall's enmity was an old one, but Gen. Bradley's was more recent. It undoubtedly had its origin in my refusal to accept him as my senior ground commander for the invasion of Japan when he was recommended by Gen. Marshall. I frankly preferred my own commanders, Kruger and Eichelberger. I was doubtful of Gen. Bradley because of his decisions and actions connected with the Battle of the Bulge, where he was the ground commander and which resulted in approximately as many American casualties as were sustained in the entire Southwest Pacific area campaigns."

Then the general pays his respects to White House aspirant Harriman.

"Averell Harriman, a distinguished diplomat, had called on me in Tokyo shortly after my visit to Formosa and just before Inchon," writes MacArthur. "He pointedly cautioned me of the extreme disapproval with which President Truman regarded Chiang Kai-shek. He said that the mere mention of the generalissimo's name aroused in this President a paroxysm of anger."



Gen. Douglas MacArthur
Found 2 generals hostile

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"To illustrate his point, Harriman told me that the then Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson, despite his long and proven devotion, was on his way out because the President suspected him of being on too friendly terms with the generalissimo. In effect, it was a warning to be a conformist or risk following Louis Johnson. The interview was distasteful to me and Harriman probably recognized my distrust. His prejudice could have resulted."

Points Out Acheson Never Saw Asia

Acheson gets a quick brushoff from the general—other than observing that Truman's Secretary of State was frequently petulant and impatient because the occupation authorities in Japan did not "follow certain socialistic concepts" which the Fair Deal State Department wanted to impose on the Japanese people and noting that Acheson, like Truman, "had never visited Asia and had no personal knowledge of its special problems and was a complete stranger to Oriental psychology."

MacArthur adds tartly:

"These were the four men with whom the President conferred, although he himself states with cynical inconsistency that he had definitely decided to relieve me."

It is to Truman's charge that he as President "could no longer tolerate his (MacArthur's) insubordination" that the old general comes back with his most devastating answer. Writes MacArthur:

"Over the years many conflicting reasons have been given by Mr. Truman or his supporters for my abrupt relief when victory was within our grasp. Now, for the first time, he bases his action on what he terms 'insubordination'—one of the most serious of all military offenses and one which throughout our military annals has never been made without the officer concerned being given a hearing and the opportunity to defend himself."

"Indeed, the code which the Congress enacted to govern the military establishment specifically makes such a hearing mandatory. Had Mr. Truman made such a charge against me at the time of my relief or even later during his tenure of office, I would have had the right and privilege to ask that a court of inquiry sit in judicial judgment upon his allegations. But he made no such charge."

"This belated claim of insubordination is made by him, not as a public citizen but as a private citizen. In making it, he conveniently ignores the fact that the members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, my military superiors in the conduct of the Korean war, unanimously denied under oath that I had ever been guilty of insubordination."

Truman and MacArthur

Trade New Blasts

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Associated Press
 The Truman-MacArthur controversy exploded with new fury yesterday.

Former President Truman asserted he fired Gen. Douglas MacArthur as Far Eastern commander because MacArthur was guilty of "insubordination" that threatened—in Truman's view—to embroil the Nation in an atomic World War III.

MacArthur charged the former President with spiteful distortion of the truth. The General linked his ouster with a spy ring reaching into the British Foreign Office and said his "savage and brutal" dismissal disastrously undercut this country's struggle against world communism.

Mr. Truman and MacArthur slugged it out in parallel articles in the current Life Magazine. Mr. Truman's memoirs are being serialized by Life. The magazine gave MacArthur an opportunity to answer the former President's charge in this issue that MacArthur was "in open defiance" of orders from the White House and the United Nations.

MacArthur leaped at the chance. "Violence to the truth . . . fancy and fiction . . . distortion and misrepresentation . . . spite and vindictiveness" are a sample of the accusations he hurled in contending his onetime Commander in Chief was falsifying for money the true story of the Korean war.

Mr. Truman, on the other



MacArthur Truman
 . . . a disagreement

hand, professed "the greatest respect for Gen. MacArthur, the soldier." But he said MacArthur's Far Eastern policies in 1950 "might well mean all-out general world war—atomic weapons and all." And he declared:

"I could no longer tolerate his insubordination."

The two agreed on one thing:

The immediate cause of MacArthur's dismissal was a message the General sent to Rep. Joseph Martin (R-Mass.) endorsing the idea of using Chinese Nationalist troops against the Communists in Korea. The message contained the famous sentence:

"In war there is no substitute for victory."

But MacArthur said the real reason for his ouster may well have been a recommendation he made "that a treason trial be initiated to break up a spy ring responsible for the purloining of my top secret reports to Washington."

MacArthur asserted there was a series of leaks and that one of his dispatches was published in a Washington newspaper "within a few hours of its receipt" in the capital.

(The General did not identify the source.)

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Text of MacArthur Data On Russia's War Role

Following are the texts of material on the position of Gen. Douglas MacArthur regarding Russia's entry into the war against Japan as contained in a newly released Defense Department report on that subject.

1. A December 10, 1941, message from Gen. MacArthur to Gen. George C. Marshall, Army Chief of Staff:

The mass of enemy air and naval strength committed in the theater from Singapore to the Philippines and eastward established his weakness in Japan proper and definite information available here shows that entry of Russia is enemy's greatest fear. Most favorable opportunity now exists and immediate attack on Japan from north would not only inflict heavy punishment but would at once relieve pressure from objectives of Jap drive to southward. Information being secured by Knight, who is known to Miles, establishes that heavy air attack on Jap objectives would not only pull in much of present widely dispersed air strength but would destroy much of their exposed oil supply. Golden opportunity exists for a master stroke while the enemy is engaged in over-extended initial air efforts.

Lincoln's Report

2. A report to Gen. Marshall by Brig. Gen. George A. Lincoln, a member of a group of Wash-

ington planning officers who talked with Gen. MacArthur on February 25, 1945:

Concerning over-all plan General MacArthur considers it essential that maximum number of Jap divisions be engaged and pinned down on Asiatic mainland, before United States forces strike Japan proper.

3. A paragraph from a March 8, 1945, memorandum Gen. Lincoln wrote for Gen. Marshall on the same convention after his return to Washington:

As to Russia, Gen. MacArthur pointed out that politically they want a warm water port which would be Port Arthur. He considered that it would be impracticable to deny them such a port because of their great military power. Therefore, it was only right they should share the cost in blood in defeating Japan. From the military standpoint we should make every effort to get Russia into the Japanese war before we go into Japan, otherwise we will take the impact of the Jap divisions and reap the losses, while the Russians in due time advance into an area free of major resistance. Gen. MacArthur stated he considered the President should start putting pressure on the Russians now.

Summary by Freeman

4. An informal memorandum written by Col. Paul L. Freeman, Jr., on February 23, 1945, and labeled "summary of an hour and

a half conversation with Gen. MacArthur."

Gen. MacArthur then elaborated on his concept of operations for the ultimate defeat of Japan. He was in thorough agreement that the only means of defeating Japan was by the invasion of the industrial heart of Japan. He stressed the potency of the Japanese army in far greater strength than is now there. He was apprehensive as to the possibility of the movement of the bulk of the Manchurian army and other Japanese forces from China to the defense of the homeland. He emphatically stated that we must not invade Japan proper unless the Russian army is previously committed to action in Manchuria. He said that this was essential, and that it should be done without the three month's delay upon the conclusion of the defeat of Germany as intimated by Marshal Stalin to the President. He said that it was only necessary for action to commence in Manchuria to contain that force of Japanese in order to make possible our invasion of Japan and the rapid conclusion of the war. He understands Russia's aims; that they would want all of Manchuria, Korea and possibly part of North China. This seizure of territory was inevitable; but the United States must insist that Russia pay her way by invading Manchuria at the earliest possible date after the defeat of Germany.

Still Favored Plan

A.—He understood that the Navy still favored a plan whereby they would ring Japan proper with air bases and naval bases and eventually blockade and bombard them into submission. He said that this never would be effective. (I informed him that that was the opinion of the JCS and was agreed upon at Sextant Code name for Cairo Conference, November-December 1943.)

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Mr. Nichols ☒
Mr. Belmont ☒
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Mr. Mohr ☐
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Mr. Rosen ☐
Mr. Tamm ☐
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Mr. Winterrowd ☐
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Mr. Holloman ☐
Miss Gandy ☐

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HISTORIC MOMENT—Gen. Douglas MacArthur is seen as he signed the Japanese surrender papers aboard the USS Missouri September 2, 1945.—AP Photo

B.—Gen. MacArthur agreed that the Tokyo Plain was the proper place to invade Japan and he was fully conversant with the restrictions of seasons. He believed it would be a mistake to make a prior landing in Japan, either in Kyushu or Hokkaido. He felt that proper timing, in conjunction with a move by the Russians and the strategic surprise to be gained, would be a far greater advantage in landing initially in the heart of Japan whereby the enemy force could be split, rather than to tip our hand by first landing at some other part of the Japanese islands.

Wire from MacArthur

5. A telegram from Gen. MacArthur read by Gen. Marshall at a June 18, 1945, meeting of military leaders with the President:

I believe the operation presents less hazards of excessive loss than any other that has been suggested and that its decisive effect will eventually save lives by eliminating wasteful operations of nondecisive character. I regard the operation as the most economical one in effort and lives that is possible. In this respect it must be remembered that the several preceding months will involve practically no losses in ground troops and that sooner or later a decisive ground attack must be made. The hazard and loss will be greatly lessened if an attack is launched from Siberia sufficiently ahead of our target date to commit the enemy to major combat. I most earnestly recommend no change in OLYMPIC. Additional subsidiary attacks will simply build up our final total casualties.

6-19 (7-8-55)

'Never Consulted' on Yalta

MacArthur Concedes Urging Russian Aid

By Charles Corddry
United Press

Gen. Douglas MacArthur conceded yesterday he urged Russia's entry into the war against Japan but leveled a bitter new attack on concessions granted the Soviets at the Yalta Conference.

The former Far East commander also declared that if his views had been sought in advance by the late President Roosevelt and others, he would have opposed as "fantastic" the secret agreements made at Yalta to get Russia into the war.

MacArthur made the statements in a sizzling reply to a report made public Wednesday by the Defense Department on long-secret documents which stated that MacArthur strongly

favored Russia as an ally in the fight against Japan.

In a 350-word statement issued from his Waldorf Astoria headquarters in New York, MacArthur asserted that any attempt to associate him with concessions made at Yalta would be "wholly unwarranted" and "prevaricate the truth and the record."

But he declared that the newly-released Defense Department documents show he "was never consulted about the Yalta Conference" and its concessions to the Soviets and that he "knew nothing about its secret agreements."

For years MacArthur's views on Russia's entry into the war

See MacARTHUR, Pg. 20, Col. 1

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by the newspaper, nor did he give the date of his reference.

He went on to say:

"I insisted that those responsible be prosecuted in order that such subversive activity be stopped but the case was never processed and I was shortly (early in 1951) relieved of my command.

"It was not until the recent exposure of the British spies, Burgess and MacLean, that the true facts began to unfold. These men with access to secret files were undoubtedly links in the chain to our enemy in Korea through Peiping by way of Moscow. I believe my demand that this situation be exposed, coming after the Alger Hiss and Harry Dexter White scandals, caused the deepest resentment and that it prob-

ably was branded a political move to embarrass the Administration . . .

"I do not intend to impugn in any way the loyalty or patriotism of President Truman . . . but the obstinacy which dictated the failure of President Truman to recognize the damage that could be done by Red infiltrators and his 'Red Herring' characterization of

all efforts to unmask them are among the astounding features of an astounding epoch."

MacArthur's reference was to two British Foreign Office officials, Guy Burgess and Donald MacLean, whose disappearance behind the Iron Curtain touched off sharp repercussions throughout the Western World.

Asserting MacArthur "left

me no choice" but to fire him when the General publicly proposed expanding the Korean war, Mr. Truman said he

"leaned over backward" to protect the General's military reputation—until the April 5, 1951, message to Martin.

THESE DAYS:**Gen. MacArthur's
Views on Taxes**By **GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY**

GENERAL DOUGLAS MacARTHUR in his role of Chairman of the Board of the Sperry Rand Corporation delivered an address which because of its limited purpose and locale passed unnoticed. MacArthur's address was more like that of a British board chairman who often uses such an occasion to speak on subjects which interest him and which may be of public moment. On this occasion, General MacArthur commented on taxes and what he said seems to be of value in the record:

"...In the lexicon of government there is no more grim and pertinent aphorism than Chief Justice John Marshall's warning as early as 1819 that the power to tax includes the power to destroy. Indeed, this is the weapon that Karl Marx declared was the vital one to displace the system of free enterprise—the system on which our nation was founded—the system which has made us the most prosperous people of all history. Reasonable taxation is of course an essential of government, but when taxation is used as a social regulator it becomes a menace to freedom. When its rate is so excessive that men work month after month with all that they earn going to government, it amounts almost to forced labor. It practically reduces them for protracted periods to something akin to involuntary servitude. It is an unwarranted arbitration that a handful of men, centered in government, largely bureaucratic not elected, can spend the proceeds of toll and labor to greater advantages than he who creates the money. Its excessive application can reduce free men to serfdom, can destroy initiative, absorb the capitalistic system and level representative government to sovietism."

Similar Platforms

The two "open" conventions at Chicago and San Francisco which adopted platforms that are so much like each other in essence that there is little quarrel in the country over fundamentals offer little more hope to the American citizen who would like to save a few dollars, honestly earned and honestly set aside, for his own later years or for his progeny to inherit. We are living in the era of Keynesian economics and the two parties of moderation plan to do nothing to help restore morality to a nation which is suffering from the psychotic ingratitude of bearing the income tax return. Where is the man who can find tax sanctuaries abroad, the ordinary citizen can only hope that the deductions will help him over a bad year and that he will not run up against a "field man" who enjoys making miserable anyone who earns more than he does. One once told me, when I complained of his general attitude, that I ought to follow his example: earn little and have no problems.

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Not only is tax punitive but in recent years it is being collected punitively, the object, of course, being to operate a government agency efficiently even if it drives the nation to Poujadism in the United States. It is significant that the man who is most ardently and diligently attacking the income tax system is T. Coleman Andrews who was the collector of the tax during most of the Eisenhower Administration and who resigned after he became convinced that his was a foul institution, a weapon for the destruction of American traditional life. MacArthur says of it:

Symbol of Revolts

"It has been the cause of more bloody revolutions in the history of government than any other one provocation. It precipitated our own Revolution which resulted in the founding of the United States of America. The Boston Tea Party is still symbolic. The Biblical story of Christ's repudiation and expulsion of the tax tyrants from the temple is still a warning..."

It is possible that some day Americans will have another Boston Tea Party, but that can only happen when the dollar has sunk so low in purchasing power as really to pinch most of the people. It used to be that the High Cost of Living stirred anger, but enough of our citizens are narcotized by subsidies and escalator clauses to satisfy them for the moment. Increasing government subsidies for all organized pressure groups will not help those who receive fixed salaries, such as school teachers, policemen and firemen. In such an inflation as we have now, the white collar class suffers most and those who have the means and know how to speculate benefit most. It is not a sound situation.

These Days

By George Sokolsky

MacArthur on Taxes

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THE TWO "OPEN" conventions at Chicago and San Francisco, which adopted platforms that are so much like each other in essence that there is little quarrel in the country over fundamentals, offer little hope to the American citizen who would like to have a few dollars, honestly earned and honestly set aside, for his own later years or for his progeny to inherit. We are living in the era of Keynesian economics and the two parties



Sokolsky

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other Boston Tea Party but that can only happen when the dollar has sunk so low in purchasing power as really to pinch most of the people. It used to be that the high cost of living stirred anger, but enough of our citizens are narcotized by subsidies and escalator clauses to satisfy them for the moment. Increasing Government subsidies for all organized pressure groups will not help those who receive fixed salaries, such as school teachers, policemen and firemen. In such an inflation as we have now, the white collar class suffers most and those who have the means and know how to speculate benefit most. It is not a sound situation.

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These Days By George E. Sokolsky

The New Era

GENERAL Douglas MacArthur speaks to the American people too seldom. His knowledge is universal; his wisdom is a product of vast experience with great affairs. He does not become a prey to the slogans of the moment, nor does he seek applause and empty promise with truth.



Once a year, Sokolsky he might be expected to speak out and that is at his annual stockholders' meeting of the Sperry Rand Corporation. It is unfortunate that such an occasion should be limited to the few listeners who attend stockholders' meetings; such an address as General MacArthur delivered this year should have been broadcast. I quote a paragraph.

"The world is entering an age of evolution greater than it has ever before known. Never in the two billion year history of human life, in the five billion years in which the earth has spun through the black vacuum of space from the sun, has man's faculty for learning assumed such immense new scope and power. We are acquiring an ever greater degree of control and mastery over the processes of nature. We are now exploiting, not only scientifically but practically, the cosmic energy. We are graduating from earthly to universal dimensions. This evolution has happened so quietly and naturally—with

out ceremony or undue emphasis, without great debate or acid controversy—that we hardly know the exact instant that the change occurred. The tick of the clock sometimes sounds so softly we do not hear it; yet we know the hour has struck. Vast panoramas will unfold before us, wave following wave, of a magnitude and diversity not as yet fully comprehended. Machines and mechanical devices will more and more operate other machines in an endless growing cycle, defined as automation, of labor-saving and multiple production systems."

TRULY, this is a description of the fundamental revolution of our time, a technical revolution which is changing not only our habits, but our thoughts. This technical revolution has now reached the phase when it must be related to economics and politics and international relations.

Before the technical revolution fully influences us, its consequences will be absorbed by religion and philosophy and we shall have a broader and better understanding of our world.

General MacArthur has a philosophic cast to his mind and delves deeply and profoundly into the inner meaning of life. Thus, he says:

"Nuclear energy and electronic advances cannot fail to bring an age of relative plenty. For the first time there will be provided the tools which promise to mankind the satisfaction of his basic economic and material needs. Some of you may well

live to see the day when we will be drawing energy not only from the sun but from the tides and the winds; will be creating unheard-of synthetic materials; will be purifying sea; will be mining ocean floors for basic minerals; will be celebrating a life span of a hundred and more years; will be launching space ships to reach the moon; will see poverty for the first time faced with possible extinction. Living standards will be the highest, scientific advances will be the most revolutionary, world affairs will be the most exciting in all history."

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These Days

A Page of History

By George E. Sokolsky

HISTORY is often made by what is not done. The entire course of a nation can be changed by acts of omission, by failure to function, by the avoidance of a specific step.

On Dec. 10, 1941, General Douglas MacArthur addressed a message from Manila to General



Sokolsky

George C. Marshall who was then the boss of the Army in Washington. This message was sent three days after Pearl Harbor. It was sent by secret radio and was marked "Extra Priority." General Marshall sent it to "War Projects." "War Projects" favored MacArthur's idea. The message was pigeonholed and is not cited in the literature concerning this period. Until Sept. 27, 1958, it was a secret, hidden document. But now it is history and must change the perspective on the war and its results. So here is the document:

"RADIOGRAM

December 10, 1941
1:30 a. m. (2:25 a. m.)
12:04 p. m.

Extra Priority

Manila P. I.

General George C. Marshall
December Tenth

The mass of enemy air and naval strength committed in the theatre from Singapore to the Philippines and eastward established his weakness in Japan proper and definite information available here shows that entry of Russia is enemy greatest fear. Stop. Most favorable opportunity now exists and im-

mediate attack on Japan from north would not only inflict heavy punishment but would at once relieve pressure from objectives of Jap drive to southward. Stop. Information being secured by Knight who is known to Miles establishes that heavy air attack on Jap objectives would not only pull in much of present widely dispersed air strength but would destroy much of their exposed oil supply. Stop. Golden opportunity exists for a master stroke while the enemy is engaged in overextended initial air efforts.

MACARTHUR."

CERTAIN facts need to be recalled in connection with this document. Soviet Russia did not enter the Far Eastern War until within a week before its termination. Soviet Russia entered the war after the United States hurled the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki (Russia entered one day before Nagasaki), laying Japan low and breaking the spirit of the Japanese people.

Had General MacArthur's proposal, three days after Pearl Harbor, been given consideration, the Japanese could not have continued their long course of victories which included the Philippines, Malaya, the Dutch East Indies and the approaches to Australia. Had Soviet Russia entered the Far Eastern War in 1941, Chiang Kabshek's forces would not have become exhausted and the Chinese Communists would not have taken control of China.

This is all speculative but those who pigeonholed General MacArthur's message speculated on the possibility

of winning a war without the aid of Russia, actually with Russia neutral and, in effect, giving aid to our enemy in the Far East while allied to us in the German side of the war, and conducting an agitation within the United States for a "second front"—a campaign which diverted the United States from its principal target which was then Japan.

THERE IS a note on this message, written in long-hand. It is initialled L. S. K.—which stands for Major L. S. Kuter, then Assistant Secretary of the General Staff. The note reads:

"Gen. Marshall is taking this up with HW. WPD recommended that every effort be made to bring Russia into war."

Little by little the documents of history come out of hidden files to add another page to the long story of human stupidity and ineptitude, of frailness and jealousy, of projects that cannot be carried through. Each of these small episodes costs thousands of lives and millions in wealth. Thus do empires rise and fall, the weak grow strong and the strong become weak. It is the story of mankind.

Small men in high positions can destroy what they seek to protect. This is the danger that all nations face. Kingdoms have been built by strong men only to be dissipated by their stupid grandsons. Republics are only strong as long as the people can check their officials; when an elite class develops which functions in secrecy, a republic dies.

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The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
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 Gandy ✓

The Washington Merry-Go-Round

MacArthur No Fire-Eater on Cuba

By Drew Pearson

Gen. Douglas MacArthur, sometimes considered a military fire-eater, was not that way at all when he conferred with President Kennedy regarding Cuba. He advised a cautious wait-and-see course — that which former Vice President Nixon has privately described as inspired by fuzzy-minded liberals.



Pearson

Purely by accident, President Kennedy had received some advance intimation as to how the retired 81-year-old General of the Armies felt about Cuba. After Mr. Kennedy's appointment with Gen. MacArthur was already set, but before he left for New York, some old friends of the General had dropped in to see him. They frankly favored military intervention, but not MacArthur.

"The United States is like the bamboo tree," said the military sage of the Waldorf Tower. "When the floods come and the winds blow, the tree bends. But when the waters subside the bamboo straightens out again."

"The almond tree, which stands straight up, is torn up, roots and all, by the storm. But not the bamboo tree."

MacArthur went on to say that Cuba was no mortal danger to the United States,

and like the bamboo tree we could bend with the storm and wait until the people of Cuba worked out their own salvation.

General Mills in Alaska

All news is local—especially as far as Senators and their better halves are concerned. This Charles H. Bell, president of General Mills, discovered during his company's recent dinner in honor of its bake-off winners from the 50 states.

He was introduced to the charming wife of Sen. Gruening (D., Alaska), who apparently caught only the end of the introduction.

"General Mills," she said sweetly, "have you ever been stationed in Alaska?"

Former Vice President Nixon held a secret breakfast meeting last week at the home of Wiley Buchanan, former chief of protocol who handled visiting bigwigs during the Eisenhower regime. What Nixon said at this breakfast regarding President Kennedy and Cuba was certainly not as complimentary as his public statements of support.

The former Vice President said that Mr. Kennedy had bungled by not throwing United States armed forces into battle when it was obvious that the rebel invasion would fail.

Had the Republicans and Mr. Eisenhower been running the show, Nixon said, they would have been all ready

with United States troops to follow up the freedom fighters and wipe out Castro in toto.

Nixon said that Mr. Kennedy seemed to be under the influence of "fuzzy-minded liberals."

If Mr. Kennedy takes a strong position in regard to Cuba, he'll have the wholehearted support of the Republican Party, Nixon said.

Some of those at the breakfast recalled that it was the Eisenhower Administration which originated the plan for the undercover invasion of Cuba and had located the camps in Guatemala and Nicaragua where the freedom fighters were trained. Nixon did not deny all this. But he made it plain that if Ike had been in the White House running the show, things would have been entirely different.

Note—It was originally proposed by the Eisenhower Administration to launch the undercover invasion of Cuba last November. But because it was an election year, and because Mr. Eisenhower didn't want to start something he might not be able to finish, he decided to postpone the showdown and let Mr. Kennedy handle it. There was no disagreement between the President-elect and the retiring President on this point.

De Gaulle Warms Up

President Charles de Gaulle's opinion of President John F. Kennedy has shot up considerably as the result of Mr. Kennedy's transatlantic

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calls offering American military aid to smash the French army revolt.

De Gaulle, who considers himself a man of destiny, had certainly not previously considered the young new President of the United States a man of destiny. He had resented Sen. Kennedy's speech some years ago proposing independence for Algeria. And even though de Gaulle got around to Mr. Kennedy's ideas some time later, he had remained aloof when the President recently proposed a meeting between the two.

But when Mr. Kennedy telephoned to de Gaulle to offer the United States Sixth Fleet to help crush the revolt of the Algerian generals, de Gaulle reversed himself completely.

He has now told friends he will never forget how, in France's darkest hour, the young new President of the United States stood up and was counted as a real friend of France.

What impressed de Gaulle was that Mr. Kennedy took this stand even after the French generals had sent secret messages to the White House pledging to give the United States complete cooperation which de Gaulle had withheld — if Mr. Kennedy helped them defeat de Gaulle.

However, the President not only scornfully rejected the generals' deal but ordered Ambassador Gavin in Paris to inform de Gaulle what had happened.

These Days Endorsements

By George E. Sokolsky

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THE MAIL brings all sorts of things, including a very well printed brochure about endorsements. The brochure

fills a great hole in my sum of knowledge. I have often wondered how a soap, a face powder, a cigarette and even a beer manages to get itself endorsed by all sorts of



Sokolsky

great men and women. For instance, sometimes I see a man endorsing cigarettes when I know that he only smokes cigars. One day, I shall see an endorsement of a soap by a Beatnik!

So it seems that this is an organized business like everything else in these parts. On Madison ave. is an agency which finds endorsers. They list all sorts of people as endorsers—the Duchess of Windsor, Eddie Rickenbacker, Bettys Palmer, Sherman Billingsley, Gen. Douglas MacArthur. The agency boasts that it has found 10,000 famous persons to endorse 7500 different products.

Nothing is said in the brochure as to how much an endorser is paid. One may assume that some distinguished persons endorse a product free of charge, but that lesser persons are less

modest and demand a goodly fee. The brochure says:

"I represented . . . Company that gave a \$1000 watch each year to the American who distinguished himself most in service to this country. When MacArthur returned from Japan I phoned him, had to hold the telephone for 46 minutes, and finally an aide agreed to give me five minutes. General MacArthur agreed to accept it. This was the first and only time that this great American general ever let his name be used in an ad."

Naturally, General MacArthur never did it again, for he is not likely to support any more lost causes.

ON ONE PAGE it is said that celebrities fear the collector of endorsers more than gossip columnists. Is that good or bad? Gossip columnists are only to be feared by the guilty and by restaurant-owners who lose customers who prefer to eat their food in peace without a rubber-neck coming up to the table, to make a fifth wheel. Most of their material, however, comes from those who wish to be better known, for good or evil, than they should be. If it makes them happy, let them have their day in paradise!

But why should one fear a collector of endorsers? Of his work, he says:

"He has teams of capable and smart young interviewers who contact celebrities to

find out what soaps, toothpaste, automobiles, hair tonic, they actually use; their favorite smokes and drinks."

I FOUND this brochure on endorsements particularly interesting because it gave the show away. I often wondered, as many must do, how these arrangements were made, bringing together the maker of a soap and a good-looking girl whose beauty is a gift from heaven. The politician cannot endorse soap, but he can endorse a cigar or a baby carriage. The latter would be particularly popular for politicians if they were also made in America.

The mail brings its quota each day of the serious things in life—how men and women earn their livelihoods, how they think up gimmicks and devices and how they arrange to take in those who are unwary or are gentle and believe everything that comes their way. The mail brings circulars from hormone sellers and from members of Congress who have discovered how to save the world; the mail brings fat volumes to which learned men have devoted many years and it will all come to nothing. But rarely does the mail bring anything quite as humorous as this advertisement on how endorsers are recruited. It proves that private enterprise is for the ingenious who produce a scheme a day.

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 Re MacArthur Charges:

Did 3 British Defectors Betray Our Korea Plans?

By JACK STEELE

Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

The late Gen. Douglas MacArthur's charges that the British betrayed Korean War strategy and battle plans to the Chinese Reds have since been buttressed by the exposure of three top British diplomats who had access to these war secrets as Soviet spies.

The three Donald Maclean, Guy Burgess and Harold Philby—all subsequently defected and fled behind the Iron Curtain.

LUCAS INTERVIEWED

Gen. MacArthur's bitter charges were made in a 1954 interview with Scripps-Howard reporter Jim G. Lucas and were published yesterday by Scripps-Howard newspapers.

Gen. MacArthur told Mr. Lucas every message he sent to Washington during the Korean War was turned over by the State Department to the British who in turn leaked it to the Chinese communists "within 48 hours."

A British Embassy spokesman's assertion yesterday that there was "no foundation" to the MacArthur charges echoed similar claims made by the British Foreign Office and other officials even as the Burgess, Maclean and Philby spy cases were unfolding.

1956 ARTICLE

Gen. MacArthur himself, in a 1956 article in Life magazine about his dismissal by President Truman as UN Commander in Korea, briefly cited the Burgess-Maclean case (Philby had not yet been exposed as a member of the team.)

Noting that the defection and exposure of Burgess and Maclean had started to unfold the "true facts" about leaks of Korean War secrets to the communists, he wrote:

"These men with access to secret files were undoubtedly links in the chain to our enemy in Korea thru Peking by way of Moscow."

Gen. MacArthur added that President Truman and other U. S. officials presumably had refused to investigate his warnings about such leaks since they came "after the Alger Hiss and Harry Dexter White scandals" and therefore "the deepest resentment."

As a curious coincidence, Philby once referred to himself to friends as "the British Hiss."

Burgess, Maclean and Philby all became friends and dedi-

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noted communists when they were fellow students at Cambridge University. Burgess and Maclean were homosexuals and heavy drinkers. Philby was a Burgess protege. All three came from distinguished families.

KEY POSTS

Altho it was later disclosed that all three often voiced strong anti-American and pro-communist views, they rose fast in the British foreign service and occupied key posts in U.S.-British relations during the Korean War.

Donald Duart Maclean, who served in the British Embassy here from 1944 until 1948, headed the American section of the British foreign office from October, 1950, until he secretly fled to Moscow on May 25, 1951.

Guy Francis de Moncy Burgess was Second Secretary of the British Embassy from August, 1950, until May, 1951, when he hurriedly returned to England and defected with Maclean. He died in Moscow on Aug. 30, 1963.

Harold A. R. Philby was First Secretary of the British Embassy and a top British Intelligence officer in Washington from October, 1949, until June 1, 1951, when he was recalled to London and dismissed. He later went to the Middle East as a journalist and fled to Moscow in January, 1963.

AT LONG LAST

Only after Philby defected last year, did the British Government finally admit he was the "third man" who had warned Burgess and Maclean that British and U. S. intelligence agencies were about to expose their spy activities.

The Saturday Evening Post, in a recent article on the case, reported that Philby received an FBI report that Maclean and Burgess were being investigated as communist agents and called in his friend Burgess to tip him off.

Burgess, according to this report, immediately fled to England, where he warned Maclean. They then arranged with Soviet Intelligence to spirit them out of England and behind the Iron Curtain.

A labor member of Parliament charged in 1955 that Philby was the "third man" in the case, but Harold Macmillan, then Foreign Secretary, vigorously denied it, insisting the British Government had no evidence he had warned Burgess and Maclean.

Later, British officials said Philby had been "cleared" and



HAROLD PHILBY



DONALD MACLEAN



GUY BURGESS

permitted to go to the Middle East in hopes he would lead them to other Soviet spies.

U. S. THREAT

The Saturday Evening Post article, however, charged that the Foreign Office had fired Philby in 1951 only because the FBI and Central Intelligence Agency had threatened otherwise to break off all Intelligence liaison between the two governments.

A British "white paper" on the Burgess-Maclean case made public in 1955 sought to minimize both the significance of their defection and their access to military and diplomatic secrets during the Korean War.

Scripps-Howard reporter R. H. Shackford wrote at the time, however, that the admission they were Soviet spies "revived the strong presumption that both men not only betrayed their own country but also the United States."

"At various critical times at the end of the war and afterwards, both men had access to top British-American secrets, including atomic information and Korean War military decisions," Mr. Shackford reported.

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The Washington Merry-Go-Round

MacArthur Had Faulty Memory

By Drew Pearson

It's too bad that the Old Soldier who was laid to rest last week authorized those two bitter interviews regarding the Korean War. Both President Truman, who had some reason to dislike Gen. Douglas MacArthur, and President Eisenhower, who didn't speak to him during the war years, had forgotten the past and paid him personal tribute.



Pearson

But the posthumous interviews, in which MacArthur tried to write history the way he thought it should be—not the way it was—have now opened old wounds. They also have opened some hitherto confidential files in the Pentagon.

These files, plus other conversations with the Old Soldier, show that in his latter years sitting high in the Waldorf Towers, he was a bitter, brooding man—brooding over the last battle he fought, which ended in his summary retirement.

He continued so bitter that in the summer of 1960 he told one distinguished diplomat: "Eisenhower was always weak, even as a young officer."

And, regarding the young Senator who was later to become President, he said: "I remember Kennedy when he

was PT boat commander in the Pacific. He should have been court-martialed. Those PT boats carried only one torpedo. They were under orders to fire and then get out. They were defenseless. Kennedy hung around, however, and let a Japanese destroyer mow him down.

Secret Bombing Deal

When you're sitting all alone in a hotel room, with a long vista of years to look back on, it's only natural that memory becomes dim and history is mentally rewritten. However, the real history of the Korean War, as shown in the files of the Pentagon, proves the contrary of Gen. MacArthur's memory.

And since the reputations of other military men, along with a former President of the United States, are at stake; and since many people have blamed Truman for refusing to permit bombing north of the Yalu River, this column will undertake to report from the Pentagon files.

They show three points which Gen. MacArthur either ignored or forgot:

1. There was a secret agreement with the Chinese Communists that we would not bomb north of the Yalu River and they in turn would not bomb south of the 38th Parallel.

2. The Chinese Air Force alone had 2000 planes, twice the force we had committed

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to Korea and the Russians had an even bigger air armada massed in the Far East. This made the bombing agreement attractive to the United States.

3. American troops and supplies were confined to a concentrated area in Korea. This was a much easier target to hit than the vast plains of Chinese Manchuria or Siberia. If we had bombed Siberia, furthermore, it would have touched off World War III.

Here is a confidential statement from Pentagon files, made by the late Gen. Hoyt Vandenberg, then Chief of Staff of the Air Force.

"We of the Air Force," he said, at a secret briefing not previously declassified, "have been concerned about the rising number of Russian twin-jet light bombers known as IL-28s. These jet light bombers have already been introduced into the Chinese Air Force, and the number is growing rapidly.

If committed in quantity against U. S. airfields, ports and supply lines in South Korea, these high-performance bombers could quickly jeopardize our whole position there.

"The situation in Korea is a special one such as never has occurred before and is not likely to occur again. Because of the peculiar circumstances of the Korean War, which are familiar to all of us, neither side has made full use of its airpower. . . .

"They have made no effort whatever against our bases in

Korea and Japan, despite their superior strength in aircraft. Their ability to damage us grows every day as they introduce more and more jet light bombers into the Chinese Air Force."

Supply Lines Vulnerable

Other data inside the Pentagon shows that American and U. N. forces in Korea were dependent on the single port of Pusan, which was choked with shipping and very vulnerable to bombing attack. Our supply lines—one rail line and three highways—were equally vulnerable.

This fact could not be published to refute MacArthur's criticism and still has not been declassified.

On the other hand, a target survey of Manchuria made by our Air Force during the Korean War showed only a dozen targets worth hitting. Most of these were in the staging areas, neither as strategic nor as vulnerable as our centers in South Korea.

Yet Gen. MacArthur, brooding in the Waldorf Towers to Jim Lucas and Bob Considine 10 years ago, claimed he could have won the Korean War in 10 days if given a free hand.

Much of the secret story of the Korean War remains to be told. How the bombing agreement was made with the Chinese and how MacArthur's intelligence proved faulty will be reported in an early column.

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Foreign