

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1506433-000

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Date:

To: ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL
TOM C. CLARK

From: J. Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: EDWARD G. CARTER
INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS
REGISTRATION ACT

[redacted] according to a confidential informant of this Bureau. Inquiry was made in an effort to find out the reason for this payment. Miss Hilda Austern, Assistant Treasurer of the Institute of Pacific Relations, advised that the organization is an international, non-political, non-official and non-profit organization which was founded in Honolulu by a group of people from several countries bordering on the Pacific who decided that some unofficial body was needed wherein representative citizens of nations with interests in the Pacific could exchange opinions and conduct research on their common problems. When the war started, she said the offices of the Institute were moved to the United States, the present address being 1 East 54th Street, New York City; before Pearl Harbor there were eleven national councils as follows:

Australia - Australian Institute of International Affairs
Canada - Canadian Institute of International Affairs
China - China Council, Institute of Pacific Relations
France - Comite D'Etude des Problemes du Pacifique
Great Britain - Royal Institute of International Affairs
Japan - Japanese Council, Institute of Pacific Relations
Netherlands - Netherlands Indies - Netherlands - Netherlands Indies Council, Institute of Pacific Relations
New Zealand - New Zealand Institute of International Affairs
Philippines - Philippine Institute of International Affairs
U.S.S.R. - U.S.S.R. Council, Institute of Pacific Relations
U.S.A. - American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations

After Pearl Harbor there was, of course, no Japanese Council, according to Miss Austern.

She advised the Institute is supported by contributions from National Councils and from various foundations including Carnegie Foundation,

JAN 13 1944

W. H. R. D. G.

Blackberry

b7D

b3
b7E

Mr. Tom G. Clark

Columbia Foundation, Coolidge Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, various corporations and also by receipts from its publications. Miss Austern also advised each council of the Institute is an autonomous body and cooperates with the Institute although it is not connected therewith in an official capacity.

She said it does not express opinions or advocate policies; its researches are generally financed by an International Research Committee while the local work of the Institute is made possible by contributions from the above sources. The councils are privately financed by their own nationals, she added, and on their own part they aid in supporting the governing body which is called the Pacific Council which is composed of one representative from each of the above named councils.

In connection with the work of the Institute, research and survey are undertaken, the results of which are published in a fortnightly periodical known as the "Far Eastern Survey" according to Miss Austern. She also advised that another publication is "Pacific Affairs", a quarterly, presenting original research material from the ~~ten countries now~~ participating in the Institute of Pacific Relations.

A pamphlet of the Institute of Pacific Relations indicates its program combines research, discussion and public education. The pamphlet states: "Under its auspices important research projects have been undertaken: 'Growth of Japanese Industry', 'Foreign Investments in the Far East', 'Government and Nationalism in Southeast Asia' and 'Land Utilization in China'." According to Miss Austern, books are also published by the Institute, one of which is "Know Your Enemy: Japan" of which copies were taken by the Army and Navy alone numbering many thousands. She further advised special material is assembled for businessmen, teachers, publicists and other groups, and the Institute has become known as a primary source of information and study on the Pacific area.

In addition to the information set forth above secured from Miss Austern, (the files of this Bureau indicate that during 1940 the Institute received contributions totaling approximately \$69,000, an amount slightly exceeding its expenses. It has been reported by several sources of information that the organization, though not completely dominated by persons inclined to favor Communism, has served as a Communist propaganda agency. One confidential informant furnished a report

b7D

Mr. Edward G. Carter, Secretary General of the Institute of Pacific Relations, is connected with the Russian War Relief organization which has been reported on numerous occasions to be infiltrated with Communists, Communist leaders, fellow travelers and members of front organizations. Carter was born in Lawrence, Massachusetts on June 9, 1878, and was educated in the United

Mr. Tom C. Clark

States. In 1941 he was a member of the Executive Committee of the American Russian Institute.

Miss Austern advised

b7D

She advised that the Japanese Council made regular yearly contributions from \$500 to \$1,500 since they became a member of the Institute in 1925 or 1927; that there was no representation by the Institute of the Japanese Council but merely a membership. The contribution made in 1940 was \$1,404 and Miss Austern advised that she believed this payment was cleared through the Japanese Consul and that that was the last contribution which was made. All the contributions from the various councils and other sources were placed in one fund which was used to pay the salaries of the staff of the Institute and other bills of the organization. The councils had nothing to do whatsoever with hiring of any individual as a member of the staff of the Institute. Miss Austern also advised that the Institute had written to the State Department asking if it should register and that it was advised by the State Department that it was not necessary for that organization to register.

Will you please advise me what further action you consider appropriate with reference to this matter.

(Title) INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

(File No.)

b3
b7E

1. Photos and neg. of Chen Kan Seng, was.
2. Signed Statement of Jose Pl Zack Kamfeder.
3. Photos of Joseph F. Barnes, Edward C. Carter, Kate Mitchell, Frederick V. Fields
4. Photos of Harriet Lucy Moore
5. OHI rept. re: IPR.
6. Memos from OHI file re: Rosemita Conference, News clippings

Disposition:

Original sent of NY to be Ret. See WFO letter to Bureau 9/17/57.

*old block stamp
dated
May 31, 1950*



[Handwritten signatures and initials]

b3
b7E

Date Received 8/22/50

From Kornfeder
(Name of contributor)

(Address of contributor)

By Med G. Kobnetz
(Name of Special Agent)

To Be Returned Yes ()
No (X)

Description: *Signed statement*
of Joseph Zark Kornfeder

File No. []

b3
b7E

Washington, D. C.
August 22, 1950

I, [redacted] do hereby make the following statement to FRED G. ROBINETTE who has identified himself to me as being a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I furnish this statement of my own free will and Special Agent ROBINETTE has advised me that I do not have to make such a statement.

b7D

Near the end of the year 1931, I had just returned [redacted]
[redacted]
Upon my return at this time, I stayed [redacted]
[redacted] Since
I was part of [redacted]
[redacted] there were many confidences exchanged among us regarding Communist Party activity.

I had been in [redacted]
[redacted]

b7D

The Communist ~~Party~~ ^{International} found that it was "too hot" to operate from Shanghai so it was decided to establish a set up on the west coast at San Francisco. This involved several big problems, for upon transferring this Bureau to San Francisco, it would be necessary for the Communist Party in the United States to supply the personnel for the new headquarters. Some of the personnel was moved from Shanghai to San Francisco. [redacted]

b7D

[redacted]

[redacted]

b7D

[REDACTED]

b7D

I also recall that at that time, [REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED]

I recall that [REDACTED] was one of the persons in the Institute of Pacific Relations [REDACTED]

b7D

In subsequent years, from 1932 on, many things happened on the coast, papers were published by the Party, talented organizers were sent there and things began to concentrate on the west coast, which section had been neglected before. Previously, the main concentration of the Party had been in industrial states. [REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED]

The top officials of the Communist Party spoke of the Institute of Pacific Relations as an "umbrella" to cover the operations of the Pan-Pacific Bureau of the Comintern in all Pacific countries.

In later years, I heard the name of [REDACTED] used quite often in connection with the Institute of Pacific Relations in loose conversations with other Party officials and got the impression that he was one of the Communist Party's men in the Institute of Pacific Relations. [REDACTED]

b7D



b7D

In 1935, the Communist Party had pretty well infiltrated the Institute of Pacific Relations and the Party began to get interested in Hawaii. Hawaii began a sort of a ^{in between} relative set up between Frisco, Hawaii and Asia.

b7D

I cannot remember the names of any members of the secret Pan-Pacific Bureau who I am sure entered the Institute of Pacific Relations ranks at San Francisco.

I recall that the people in China almost immediately smelled a rat when the Institute of Pacific Relations operations began there and I recall that the main function of the Institute of Pacific Relations seemed to be propaganda against the "American and British imperialism".

It should be definitely borne in mind that the Pan-Pacific Bureau was a completely secret organization which was independent of the Institute of Pacific Relations but was the "boss" which decided the maneuvers which were ultimately carried out through the Communist Party members in the Institute of Pacific Relations.

I want to call to your attention that the Soviet Commissariat of Foreign Affairs in Moscow has a special set up to infiltrate agencies of governments dealing with foreign affairs. It appears to me the group operating within the IPR was under the direct supervision of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs rather than the Communist Party of the USA, and individuals of paramount importance who may have penetrated the State Department would have been under the direction of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs.

I have read the foregoing statement consisting of two pages and this last page, and it is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Witnessed:

John Cabrella
Special Agent FBI
Washington, D.C.

Joseph G. Kornfeder

Date Received _____

From Passport Files
(Name of contributor)

State Dept
(Address of contributor)

By M. A. G. Roberts
(Name of Special Agent)

To Be Returned Yes ()
No (X)

Description: 3 Photos + 1 neg
of Chen Han-Seng was

File No.

b3
b7E




DR. GEOFFREY CHU CHEN
NCV 1945




DR. GEOFFREY CHU CHEN
NCV 1945



DR. GEOFFREY CHU CHEN
NCV 1945



BORN - Feb 5, 1897
AT - WUSIH, CHINA
5'5"
Med. COMPLEXION
BLACK HAIR
BROWN EYES



b3
b7E

Date Received 9/8/50

From ONI
(Name of contributor)

Pentagon
(Address of contributor)

By Jed H. Roberts
(Name of Special Agent)

To Be Returned Yes (.)
No (X)

Descriptions 2 memos from ONI
file re: Yosemite Conference.
2 news clippings re: Shura Lewis

File No.

b3
b7E

assembly after a talk by Mrs. Lewis, 33, who was born and raised in Russia. The principal, Nathaniel A. Danowsky, said Mrs. Lewis spoke for 35 minutes on the Russian educational system, but "digressed into some political aspects" which he said he had asked her not to do.

Members to Study Report.

Representative Dirksen said when Dr. Corning's report had been received it would be presented to all members of the District Committee for study.

The letter Mr. Dirksen sent to Dr. Corning was terse. It stated merely:

"Will you kindly submit a full statement covering the happenings at Western High yesterday."

Mr. Dirksen let it be known he wanted to know why a lecture favorable to Communism was given to the students.

Board Asked About Text.

At the same time Chairman Dirksen revealed he had already called on the Board of Education to submit a report on the method used in the District in the selection of school textbooks.

An acknowledgement of this request was received today by the committee.

A further letter was transmitted to the School Board yesterday asking for a list of the books which had been approved during the past six years. This list, Mr. Dirksen said, would be examined by members of the District Committee.

Report Already Made.

Mr. Mundt said the lecture and "surrounding circumstances" already had been thoroughly covered in a report by a committee investigator. He made the announcement in the absence of Chairman Thomas.

"Numerous inquiries have been made to the Committee on Un-American Activities," Mr. Mundt said, "regarding the pro-Soviet talk by Mrs. Lewis, wife of a former code clerk in the American Embassy in Moscow."

"Certain phases of this incident are worthy of note. Some weeks ago our committee issued a report dealing with the activities of Communists in the Nation's schools and colleges through an organization known as the American Youth for Democracy."

Institute Called Pressure Group.

"This occurrence right in our Nation's Capital further emphasizes the danger of Communist propaganda in our school system and the necessity for alertness in guarding against it. The reaction of the students to this subversive effort is tribute to the loyalty and devotion of the overwhelming mass of our student body to the principles of American democracy."

"Interesting, too, is the fact that Mrs. Lewis' talks in this city and elsewhere were arranged through the Institute of Pacific Relations, a highly active pressure group in the field of foreign policy, led by such individuals as Frederick Vanderbilt Field, a prolific writer for the (Communist) Daily Worker and the New Masses."

"The full nature of Mrs. Lewis' activities in this country, at the present time, would also bear looking into. The boldness of this intrusion into our school system is truly astounding."

Rankin Praises Students.

Representative Rankin, Democrat of Mississippi, and a member of the committee, told the House:

"Those students at Western High School who revolted against the communistic lecture yesterday deserve the undying gratitude of patriotic Americans everywhere. They simply raised the little iron curtain and gave the American people a glimpse of the treacherous and insidious methods by which the Communists in this country are attempting to poison the minds of our children."

Dr. Corning stressed his belief that Mr. Danowsky was acting in "perfectly good faith" in asking Mrs. Lewis to address the students.

Loyalty Not Involved.

The schools superintendent emphasized also that "nobody's loyalty is involved." He added he be-



MRS. LEWIS.

lieved the students acted in a "very fine manner" and "kept their heads very well under a very trying situation."

The whole incident, Dr. Corning said, "is a very unfortunate thing." He said no disciplinary action will be taken against the students.

The four students are Virginia Lanham, 17, of 4522 Lowell street N.W.; Virginia Marackle, 17, of 3700 Huntington street N.W.; Ruthe Pigott, 18, of 2126 N street N.W., and Dick Smith, 18, of 2205 Russell road, Alexandria.

A House Un-American Activities Committee investigator, meanwhile, visited the school yesterday, it was learned.

Mr. Mundt said that if Mr. Danowsky has been "innocently taken in" by the speaker, he felt it would be an easy matter for him to demonstrate it by issuing a statement to that effect so that "his fellow educators would not be taken in."

Text of Speech Unavailable.

No text of Mrs. Lewis' speech was available, but Mr. Danowsky said Mrs. Lewis spoke favorably of the Russia system of planned economy, declared there was no insecurity there and stated a worker could retire at half pay after 25 years' service to the Government.

Mrs. Lewis was described as having said that in Russia right now people do not worry about "today or tomorrow" and never think they might lose their jobs suddenly.

The speaker was said to have told the students that the Russian government is blamed for "not believing in God," but that this is not true. The Russian people are religious and when they pray, "they really mean it," she was quoted as saying.

She also is said to have declared she never appreciated the life in Russia until she lived here, where one must work hard in order to live and use all his courage not to die.

Mr. Danowsky added that she told of having had a "baby" without charge for medical services in Russia, whereas her husband was obliged to pay for delivery of her second child in the United States.

Dr. Walter E. Hager, president of Wilson Teachers College, said Mrs. Lewis was one of several speakers furnished by the Institute on Pacific Relations for a symposium held at the college in January.

Dr. Hager said other speakers were obtained directly by the college.

He added that he recalled Mrs. Lewis contributed reminiscences of her life in Russia on that occasion but did not discuss political matters. He said she did not answer queries on Soviet political philosophy when they were asked during a question period, explaining she did not feel qualified to discuss them.

Dr. Hager said he thought it an interesting talk and considered it understandable that Mr. Danowsky felt Mrs. Lewis could make a worthwhile appearance at Western.

Mrs. Lewis is said to be in New York, where she went by plane shortly after her talk to attend a meeting of the East and West Association, headed by Pearl Buck, the novelist. Efforts to reach Mrs. Lewis in New York were unsuccessful.

C-242

Institute of Pacific Relations

7 May 1949

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83 ENTO

(September 3, 1936)

In Re; YOSEMITE CONFERENCE

I have obtained the following information in regards to the session of the Institute of Pacific Relations Conference held in Yosemite.::

1. A Russian, attached to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, appeared at Yosemite during the early days of the conference and remained until the last session. He had some difficulty getting accredited, but finally was admitted. He did not participate in the round table conferences.

* This man is named Umanski (the spelling may be incorrect but phonetically is pronounced You-man-skee) He was seen on several occasions with various Soviet delegates, and the general opinion of newspaper men at the conference is that the Soviet delegates were dictated to by him.

2. A very attractive Russian woman was seen several times in company with Umanski and also in company with Japanese delegates with whom she was very friendly. She attended one of the plenary sessions. (For more details see report entitled In Re: Mrs. FAVERMAN, Merriam, Sept. 3, 1936) (follows this)

3. The Japanese delegate Takayanagi made certain statements as regards Japanese policy which henceforth put him ~~XXX~~ in an unfavorable position with the rest of the Japanese delegation and especially Tsurumi, Yusuke. It is the opinion of newspaper men that what Takayanagi said was probably more nearly true than any other statements by Japanese delegates. (I suggest the statements of Takayanagi in press clippings be studied) / *missed them. C*

4. A white man at the conference, name as yet not known, fraternized with the Japanese and spoke Japanese fluently. After the opening speech by Wallace Alexander which censored Japan to some extent, this man was heard to say to some of the Japanese delegates that "the situation looks very bad"

A description of this man is as follows:

180 -90 pounds
5' 11"
round face
small moustache
glasses
very good looking

(I am attempting to obtain positive identification of this man from some photographs taken at the sessions.)

* Counselor of
Embassy is

OU MANSKY.

J.

/C

(September 4, 1936)

In RE: FAVERMAN, Mrs. Alex W. (Merriam)

I have confirmed from another source that a woman answering to the description of Mrs. Faverman was seen at the Yosemite Conference, attended a plenary session, and was admitted to that session on introduction of Japanese delegates.

Locally, all I have been able to find on her is that she lives at 1980 Washington Street and is married to Alex W. Faverman who owns the Faverman Drug. Company. ✓

J.

— Wash. Post 5/7/47 —

Turned Backs on 'Communist' Speech



STAGE WALK-OUT—Discussing their move after walking out of a Western High School student assembly yesterday are (from left) Virginia Lanham, 17, 4522 Lowell st. nw.; Ruthe Pigott, 18, of 2126 N st. nw.; Dick Smith, 18, of 2205 Russell rd., Alexandria, Va., and Virginia Marackle, 17, of 3700 Huntington st. They termed "communist" a talk made by Russian-born speaker

Post Staff Photo

Comparison to U. S. Resented

4 Western Students Walk Out On Talk Lauding Red System

(Pictures on Page 2.)

Four Western High School students yesterday walked out of an assembly in protest against what they believed to be an unfair comparison between Russia and the United States.

The students, three girls and a boy, are all seniors at the school. Their spokesman, 17-year-old Virginia Lanham of 4522 Lowell st. nw., said late yesterday that they believed they had "proved what they wanted to prove" by their demonstration, and would return to their classes today.

Miss Lanham explained that the protest of the four students was not directed against the school, but solely against what she termed a "communistic" speech made yesterday morning by Mrs. Aleksandra P. Lewis, Russian-born wife of a former diplomatic clerk, who is now a student at George Washington University.

Miss Lanham told reporters that the point at which she and the others students left the assembly came when Mrs. Lewis was saying that everything in Russia was free—schools, even having babies, while it costs money to go to schools or to have babies in the United States.

The four students who walked out were Miss Lanham, Virginia Marackle, 17, 3700 Huntington st. nw.; Ruth Pigott, 18, 2126 N st. nw., and Dick Smith, 18, 2205 Russell rd., Alexandria.

Nathaniel A. Danowsky, principal of Western High School, said that Mrs. Lewis had "contrasted the American system by implication unfavorably with the Russian system."

Danowsky told reporters yesterday that he had invited Mrs. Lewis to speak on the Soviet educational system after he had heard a similar address she made last January at Wilson Teachers College.

Mrs. Lewis' January address, entitled "I Lived in Russia," was part of an in-service institute arranged by the Institute of Pacific Relations. IPR officials said yesterday that Mrs. Lewis was not an affiliate of that group, but is a teacher of Russian in a local language school. Mrs. Lewis, who lives at 1678 Irving st. nw., could not be reached for comment on the walkout of the four pupils. She had left for New York by plane shortly after her address was delivered.

Danowsky said that Mrs. Lewis talked for about 35 minutes at yesterday morning's assembly, and that toward the end of her talk "she digressed into political aspects which I expressly asked her not to discuss."

A House Un-American Affairs Committee investigator visited the school yesterday afternoon. Representative Kari Mundt (R., S. D.), a committee member, said early this morning, however, that an official investigation by the committee had not been ordered.

C-242



MRS. ALEKSANDRA LEWIS
Her speech digressed

5/7/47 Wash. Post

2 Hour Groups Act On 'Pro-Communist'

Talk at Western High

Ev. Star - May 47
House District Unit Asks
Corning for Report; Mundt
Also Promises Probe

CP OK
Mrs. Shura Lewis' talk on "Life in Russia" at Western High School yesterday reverberated today on Capitol Hill with announcements of a two-way inquiry and a scoring of the lecture on the House floor. The developments were:

Representative Mundt, Republican, of South Dakota announced that the House Un-American Activities Committee, of which he is acting chairman, will go into the incident at its next full meeting.

Chairman Dirksen of the House District Committee began a formal inquiry, taking steps to obtain a report from Dr. Hobart M. Corning, superintendent of schools, covering the occurrence.

Rankin Approves Walkout.

Representative Rankin, Democrat, of Mississippi, member of the Un-American Activities Committee, took the House floor to commend the students at Western for their demonstration and denounce the lecture.

Mr. Dirksen directed the District Committee staff to send a letter at once to Dr. Hobart M. Corning, superintendent of schools, calling on him to submit "a full statement" covering the events at Western.

Meanwhile, Dr. Corning said he "probably" would make a statement at the Board of Education meeting this afternoon regarding the student demonstration yesterday after what the students termed a "too pro-Russian speech."

Four students walked out of an

(See WESTERN HIGH, Page A-4.

Date Received

9/1/50

From

NY Office

(Name of contributor)

(Address of contributor)

By

(Name of Special Agent)

To Be Returned

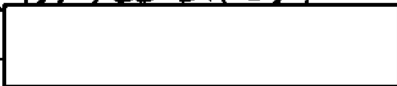
Yes ()

No (X)

Description:

Photos of Joseph F. Barnes,
Edus C. Carter; Kate Mitchell (2);
Frederick W. Field (2).

File No.



b3

b7E



EDWARD C. CARTER, *President*

b3

b7E

Taken from exhibit in
Russian War Relief file - photo
in 1947.



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284

KATE LOUISE MITCHELL

KATE LOUISE MITCHELL

b3
b7E



FREDERICK V. FIELD.

Joseph Fels Barnes

1948



100-14419-1A1



100-90777-1A3

b3
b7E

Frederick Vanderbilt
Field

NY File # 100-14419-
1A1



Date Received 9/7/58

From New Haven Off
(Name of contributor)

(Address of contributor)

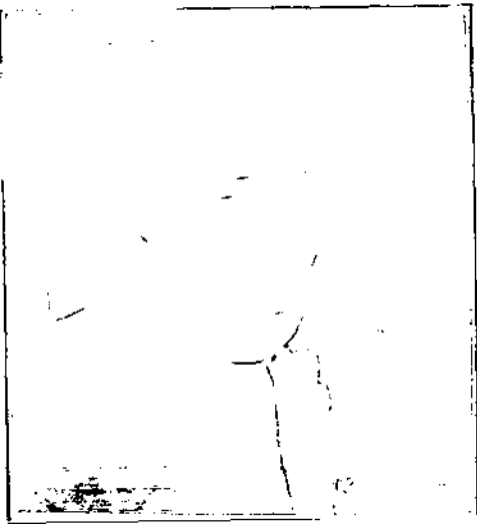
By _____
(Name of Special Agent)

To Be Returned Yes ()
No ()

Description: Photo of
Harriet Lucy Moore

File No

b3
b7E



Apr 2/13/12 - Ewanston, Ill
5' 10"

Slender
Fair

Dark Brown
Brown

Green - Heavy

Medium - Wide

Dark - Long

Dark - Soft

HARRIET LUCY MOORE

b3

b7E

BULKY EXHIBIT

Date received 4-19-50

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS
ESPIONAGE R
(Title of case)

Submitted by Special Agent ROBINETTE

Source from which obtained SEC. FILES

Address STATE DEPT.

Purpose for which acquired INVESTIGATIVE

Location of bulky exhibit FILE CABINET DRAWER, 600
~~600 FILE CABINETS~~

Ultimate disposition to be made of exhibit RETAIN INDEFINITELY

Jns

List of contents:

1. Cover letter from Philip C. Jessip to President and "Revised Who's Who" of Conference of I.P.R. on 1-6-45.
2. Cover letter from Eugene Staley of I.P.R. to State Dept and "Summary of Round Table Conference" of I.P.R. re: Atomic Survey.
3. Letter from Raymond Dennett of I.R. R. to Sec. of State Acheson re: 9th Conference of I.P.R.; list of persons invited and draft of Agenda for Conference.
4. Outline of tenth Annual Conference of I.P.R. at Seattle.
5. Letter to John Carter Vicent, Dept of State, from Edward C. Carter, I.P.R. re settlement of Kohlberg case.
6. Letter to Board of Trustees of I.P.R. from Office of I.P.R. re KOHLBERG CASE. Includes list of 1944 members, Board of Trustees.
7. RAPPORTEUR'S REPORT re 10th Annual conference of I.P.R. 10-10-47.

*Rechecked 8-8-57
SPT May
SPP*

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
AUG 17 1950	
FBI - WASH.	

mlm

b3
b7E

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

January 1, 1944

Tom C. Clark, Assistant Attorney General,
Criminal Division

TCC:JHM:gmf

146-7-5312

Edward C. Carter
Institute of Pacific Relations
Registration Act

Reference is made to your memorandum of December 20, 1943,
regarding the above mentioned subject.

Consideration has been given to this matter and it is
our opinion that the information set out in your memorandum does not
indicate a violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

You are no doubt familiar with the accusations of pro-
Japanese activities made against this organization by the Korean, Kilsoc
K. Haan and it may be that you would desire to ascertain if Mr. Haan
can substantiate any of his charges.

Edw. C. Carter
61-49-395 p. 15

100-4508-1706

[Redacted]

100-6841

[Redacted]

See

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
JAN 13 1944
F. B. I.
Washington, D. C.
EBB

b3
b7E

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, Washington

FROM : J. Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

SUBJECT: EDWARD C. CARTER
INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS - 61-139-1
REGISTRATION ACT 100-3668-10 p. 172 ✓
IF p. 539 ✓

DATE: January 10, 1944

b3
b7E

There are attached one copy of a memorandum addressed to the Criminal Division by the Bureau on December 20, 1943, with reference to this matter, and one copy of the Criminal Division's reply. You will note that the Criminal Division suggests it may be desirable to ascertain whether Kilsoo K. Haan can substantiate any of the charges he has made against the Institute of Pacific Relations. It is believed that these charges are the ones reported by Special Agent Benedict P. Cruise in his report dated January 9, 1943, at Washington, D. C. entitled "Kilsoo K. Haan, was, Sedition, Internal Security - & Espionage - J, Registration Act." mew

It is desired that Mr. Haan be interviewed to find out what substantiation he can provide to support his charges.

Attachments

100-3668-10
 W. J. D. G.
 Bla. Wesley EWB

b3
b7E



FEB 1 1971
WASHINGTON, D. C.

b3
b7E

James K. Fisk (Ch.)
American Legion

Paul Scharrenberg
State Fed. of Labor

John T. Regan
Native Sons G.W.

CALIFORNIA JOINT IMMIGRATION COMMITTEE
85 Second Street
San Francisco, California
Garfield 2697

Chas. M. Goethe
Imm. Study Com.

Hon. U. S. Webb
State Atty. Gen.

V. S. McClatchy
(Exec. Secy.)

(Copy)

Mr. Frederick V. Field, Secy.,
American Council,
Institute of Pacific Relations,
129 E. 52nd St.,
New York City.

Ediphoned Tahoe City, July 29,
Transcribed at San Francisco.
August 1, 1936.

Dear Mr. Field:

Your letter of June 30th contains the first intimation received that the executives of the American Council, I.P.R., regard with anything but stern disapproval our criticism of the text book on Japan sponsored by that organization and used in certain public schools of Hawaii in 1935. Your frank acknowledgement of the justice of that criticism merited prompt personal acknowledgement, if not answer, but since June 15th, while enjoying a prescribed rest here, I have not attended to office work.

Your letter concedes that the book does indeed, as charged, misrepresent or conceal the facts as to provisions and operation of the Gentlemen's Agreement and as to Japan's policy and activities during the present century; also that we were right in questioning the procedure under which material for the book was gathered under auspices of the Society for International Cultural Relations of Japan; and you advise that use of the book has been discontinued, and a new unit written with aid of American authors.

You are kind enough to say that we did a service in pointing out those and similar errors and that you are grateful therefor. You feel, however that this committee has taken unnecessary steps in giving the subject wide publicity before assuring itself as to whether the I.P.R. executives "are earnestly seeking accuracy". You feel too that we "on several occasions have engaged in a crusade against one or other of your projects and by implication against the entire organization." In justice to this committee and with a frankness inspired by your own permit me to call your attention to the facts, and to suggest that careful consideration will perhaps induce you to withdraw that criticism.

The California Joint Immigration Committee is maintained by its supporting organizations--California bodies of the American Legion, Federation of Labor, Native Sons--for the purpose of defending and promoting effective operation of the law excluding from permanent settlement aliens ineligible to American citizenship. That law is the only effective barrier against peaceful penetration by the unassimilable races of Asia; and the California Joint Committee is performing without compensation to its members a valuable service to state and nation. Like any other agency performing a similar service it must at times take steps or offer criticism which run counter to the views or interests of some individuals or groups.

Japan in recent years has sought, with aid of American friends, many of them acting innocently, to undermine that law and secure entrance for her immigrants by a system of propaganda designed to mislead public opinion. That program culminated in a bold plan to introduce into our public school system, under the guise of study of Pacific Relations and Japanese culture courses and text books which would convert American students to the Japanese point of view. The plan was frankly outlined in the Japan Times in December, 1934, and in the utterances of Japanese officials, as publicly charged and not denied. The text book introduced under auspices of the I.P.R. in Hawaii offers a striking illustration of the plan and the methods followed.

The book and the plan were subjects of protest before the Commissioners of Education of the Territory in December, 1934, and of petition to the Legislature in

March, 1935. The protest was suppressed and the petition was pigeonholed, the covered in reports of the news agencies. Use of the book in Honolulu continued and the co-author, a representative of the I.P.R., was sent to Columbia University at New York to secure endorsement for its use in the public schools of continental United States. On June 21, 1935, the Joint Committee filed with the State Superintendent of Public Instruction of California a statement of the case, and copies thereof were sent to the San Francisco headquarters of the I.P.R. and to the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Hawaii.

In July the representative of the I.P.R., still at Columbia University, defended the book in a published interview, the press in Hawaii abused the Joint Committee for calling attention to the facts, while the executives of the I.P.R. said nothing and, so far as this committee was advised at the time, did nothing. Finally a statement of the case was mailed to each of some 200 members of the American Council I.P.R., and thru them presumably, the executives were induced to act.

You will recall informing a Sub-Section of the Commonwealth Club of California in February, 1936, that the I.P.R. had arranged to introduce into 152 public schools of California courses on Pacific Relations and Japanese Culture. You did not, of course, know that Japan was improving that opportunity by securing recognition in Los Angeles of a guide book for teachers in such courses prepared by an official agent of Japan and recommending K.K.Kawakami, Japan's longtime propagandist in this country, as reliable authority on history and policies of Japan; and that the Society for International Cultural Relations was providing for some leading schools of Southern California books of reference and Japanese instructors to properly inform the students.

As you know, the I.P.R., at its biennial sessions has been steadily urged by its Japanese delegates, many of whom competently represent the Society for Cultural Relations, to give consideration to such matters as "racial equality", "Universal right of migration", and "international control of immigration". At the 1935 session at Banff a resolution was offered, calling for appointment of a special committee to report on "international control of immigration". Those matters do not appear in the published proceedings, but the effects thereof can be seen in the attitude of many members of the American Council who have no opportunity to hear the other side from sources well informed thereon.

The facts above presented and the connection between them are not generally known but with the fairness of mind so evident in your letter, you will concede that anyone knowing them and concerned in protecting our public school system against foreign propaganda designed to attack national policy and national law, would reach certain conclusions and act upon them. He would feel that an author who would, either deliberately or misled by others, so falsify or misrepresent available records as was done in the Hawaiian text book, should not be permitted to take part in any way in preparation of text or reference books for use in public schools.

He would feel that an organization which, regardless of the high character of individual members thereof, was responsible for preparation and introduction of the text book referred to under the auspices and in the manner indicated by the facts, could not, with propriety, be entrusted with the duty of providing courses on Pacific Relations for use in 152 public schools of California.

He would feel that an organization which sought even by extreme publicity to prevent consummation of the plan so clearly indicated was performing a public service and should be supported therein.

It is fair to assume that you did not know, or did not realize, what certain factors within the I.P.R. organization were doing; and your letter justifies the confidence with which this frank statement of the situation, as it must appear to others, is presented for consideration.

Permit me to express personally confidence in your sincerity and admiration for your courage and spirit.

Very sincerely,

V. S. McClatchy, Exec. Secy.
California Joint Immigration Committee

MAT:BGW

Washington Field Division, 1435 K Street, N.W.
Washington, 25, D. C.

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February 12, 1944

Director, FBI

RE: EDGARD C. CARTER
INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS
REGISTRATION ACT

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to Bureau letter of January 10, 1944 requesting that KILSOO K. HAAN, well known Korean, be interviewed to ascertain whether he could furnish any substantiation of the "charges" made by him as set forth in the report of Special Agent BENEDICT P. CRUISE, Washington, D.C., dated January 9, 1943 in the case entitled "KILSOO K. HAAN, with aliases - Sedition, Espionage - J, Internal Security - J, Registration Act," origin of which is Washington, which "charges" are particularly set forth at Pages 25 to 31.

On February 3, 1944 HAAN was interviewed by Special Agents GEORGE E. DAVIS and MAURICE A. TAYLOR. He advised that on the following day he planned to depart from Washington for a period of six weeks and indicated that thereafter he would gladly furnish any additional information which he possessed, and also permit further review of the correspondence and documents in his possession, which was not possible at this time. From the entire interview with HAAN, it is stated that it does not appear that he has any documentary evidence reflecting agency on behalf of the Japanese Government on the part of either the Institute of Pacific Relations or of the individual officers or members of that organization. He indicated that his correspondence may contain a letter or two which would confirm or tend to confirm the statements which he has made, and in this connection HAAN furnished agents with a mimeographed copy of a letter from V. S. McCLATCHY, Executive Secretary, California Joint Immigration Committee, dated August 1, 1936 and addressed to FREDERICK V. FIELD, Secretary of the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, which is self-explanatory. Photostatic copies of this letter are being furnished to the Bureau and the offices receiving copies of this letter.

HAAN admitted that he was prejudiced because he is a Korean, and further that because of the fact that he has "fought with the I.P.R. and EDWARD C. CARTER since 1934" over Japanese domination of the I.P.R. and the exclusion of Koreans from representation in the organization. HAAN stated that he is entirely justified in the statements he has made and that it is now

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obvious the manner in which the Japanese had operated through their use of well meaning individuals and groups in other countries under the guise of further relations in education, religion, culture, etc., whereas in fact they were collecting information and spreading propoganda for the expansion of its Government and the assistance of its military leaders.

HAAH stated that the purposes and objectives of I.P.R. were entirely worthy and that the membership as a whole was sincere, but un-informed and gullible in that the members had followed the leadership of EDWARD C. CARTER, without knowing the details of the activities of I.P.R. or the true significance of many of its projects and movements. HAAH stated that CARTER and a few other active officers had really controlled the work of I.P.R. and that most of the leading members, whose names were associated with I.P.R., could not even discuss its programs intelligently. HAAH admitted that he did not know many of the officers and had primarily dealt with CARTER. He mentioned several other dominating figures, including FRANK C. ATHELTON, and CHARLES F. LOOMIS, both of Honolulu.

HAAH advised that a brief study of the history of I.P.R. would show that Japan and Japanese interests were the prime cause of concern to I.P.R. and that the record of the organization was in the final analysis one of service and appeasement to Japan and the Japanese whatever the motives of its officers may have been. He stated its programs had all been designed to increase cooperation with the Japanese by depicting them as kindly, cultured and progressive, and to cause Americans generally, and particularly American Youth, to become indoctrinated with the Japanese viewpoint and the Japanese attitude in the successive conflicts in China. He stated that unfortunately the British members had too often assisted the Japanese in putting over I.P.R. programs beneficial to Japan. He further advised that apart from Japan and the United States, and to a lesser degree, Britain and Canada, the other Pacific nations forming I.P.R. had been relatively inactive.

To further support his contention HAAH stated that he was employed with the Japanese Consulate in 1936 and 1937 under Consul General OKADA, and knew first hand that in the Consulate the Japanese officials considered I.P.R. as a Japanese project of great importance. He stated that the Consulate always gave full cooperation to any activity of I.P.R. and recalled that they had sent automobiles for transportation purposes to the University at an annual conference given under I.P.R. auspices. He stated that whenever I.P.R.

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held any functions or programs that members of the Consulate were always invited and attended for purposes of prestige. He advised that in 1937 the Consul General had invited a number of the I.P.R. officials to the Consulate for dinner for the purpose of discussing "How Can We Prevent the Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawaii?" HAAN stated that he had brought this matter to the attention of RED CROWLEY, Editor of the Hawaiian "Sentinel," who had contacted the I.P.R. officials thereafter. Only one of the persons who attended the function by the name of LONG admitted the fact to Mr. CROWLEY, who, HAAN stated, is well acquainted with I.P.R. history and who fought a number of the programs sponsored by I.P.R.

HAAN further advised that in 1932 or 1933 the Institute of Pacific Relations had conducted a survey at the request of the Japanese Council of the organization, whose chairman was the late INOZO NITOBE, described by HAAN as one of the most brilliant Japanese leaders who was a member of the Diet, advisor to the Japanese Supreme War Council and advisor to the leading newspapers, Osaka Mainichi and the Tokyo Nichi Nichi, in addition to holding numerous other titles. HAAN stated that NITOBE came to the United States and conducted a survey through the offices of the I.P.R. and the Federal Council of Churches in America, through the use of a questionnaire circular which was submitted to universities, state and county officials and other groups. This questionnaire consists of approximately one dozen questions covering vital political topics of the day. HAAN could only recall three subjects, which sought American opinion on the Manchurian invasion, the Immigration Exclusion Act and the California Land Act, and advised he did not have a copy of the questionnaire.

He admitted that this was the only national poll conducted by I.P.R. for the benefit of the Japanese, but pointed out that this one was made directly at the request of the Japanese Council of I.P.R., which HAAN stated is identical with the Society for Cultural Relations of Japan. HAAN repeated his previous charge that subsequent to the completion of the survey, INOZO NITOBE returned to Japan and submitted a report to the Supreme War Council. He stated the only proof of this was the publication appearing in the Osaka Mainichi indicating Americans were friendly to Japan, desired peace at any price, and lacked the ability to be realistic in world affairs.

HAAN stated that CARTER had enthusiastically supported the propaganda program in the form of the poll and in reply to criticism raised at the time had argued that Dr. NITOBE was an internationalist, prominently associated with the League of Nations and a man of peace, although HAAN stated it appears now that he was working on behalf of the Japanese Government, which had a consistent record of war making.

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HAAN advised that the Institute of Pacific Relations had been an outgrowth of the old Pan Pacific Union, which was originally organized as an American organization by ALEXANDER HUME FORD. He stated that the old Pan Pacific Union had been supported by FRANK C. ATHERTON, an extremely wealthy Honolulu business man, who quarreled with FORD and withdrew his support, later organizing the I.P.R. HAAN mentioned that thereafter FORD went to Japan where he organized the Pan Pacific Union in Japan, which was subsidized by TOKAGAWA, member of one of Japan's leading families; and when last heard of by HAAN, FORD, now very aged, was still living in Japan. He stated that from the beginning of I.P.R., EDWARD C. CARTER was connected with it and has been a prime figure in controlling its policies and originating its programs.

HAAN advised that he first fought with CARTER about 1933 or 1934 although the Koreans had been in conflict since the beginning. He stated that when I.P.R. first came into existence about 1920 or 1921 the Koreans were invited and participated, but about 1924 following a protest of the Japanese Government, which CARTER openly admitted, the Korean representation was ended and the Koreans expelled.

HAAN stated that in about 1933 CARTER had been invited to Japan by the Secretary of the Promotion of the International Cultural Relations Society of Japan, being directly approached by the Consul General, OKABA, at Honolulu. HAAN pointed out that the Cultural Relations Society was an organ of the Japanese Foreign Office and in 1934 received a subsidy of two million yen. He stated that CARTER'S expenses on the above trip were paid by the Japanese, which fact CARTER admitted to HAAN in late 1933 at Honolulu. HAAN advised that when CARTER returned to Honolulu from Japan he brought with him a program which he succeeded in "selling" to the Department of Public Instruction.

This plan included the introduction into the schools in Hawaii of a book based upon material furnished by the International Cultural Relations Society of Japan, which material was translated by Professor ROYAMA, Professor of History, Tokyo Imperial University, and a member of I.P.R., who followed CARTER to Honolulu. HAAN advised that ROYAMA was assisted by Miss HELEN GAY PRATT, staff member of the school board. He also advised that at a subsequent date I.P.R. had sent Miss PRATT to New York City to introduce the program and the book at Lincoln High School, which is the teachers' training school of Columbia University.

HAAN stated that the book created from the Japanese material was extremely inaccurate, and in addition to being critical of American policies, portrayed the United States as a treaty violator, whereas Japan was made to

Director

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adhering to all agreements and treaties. HAAN stated that on December 11, 1934 the Sino-Korean People's League had vigorously protested to the Department of Education, with the result that publicity was given the cultural program, and the books which had been distributed were called in. He stated that AARON E. LONG, Superintendent of Education, advised that he had approved the plan but did not know that the Japanese were behind it and thought that it had emanated from I.P.R.

HAAN advised that as a result of a protest by the California Joint Immigration Committee the book had also been withdrawn by Columbia University. Prior to that, Miss PRATT had promised to revise the book and remove its errors. However, I.P.R. withdrew the book and discontinued collaboration with the Cultural Society of Japan.

HAAN advised that in 1937 a German history professor by the name of KLAUS MEHNERT came to Hawaii and was sponsored by I.P.R., who aided him in obtaining a position in the University of Hawaii. HAAN stated that CARTER personally introduced MEHNERT to CHARLES F. LOOMIS, Secretary of the Hawaiian Branch of I.P.R., who took up the appointment with the University. HAAN stated that at that time he was employed with the Japanese Consulate and heard MEHNERT openly state that he was from the German Ministry of Propaganda, which later HAAN reported to the Office of Military Intelligence. MEHNERT stated that he had met CARTER in the United States and that CARTER had asked him to come to Hawaii.

HAAN stated that public opinion was somewhat aroused on the "occasion of an M Day" and that it was suggested to MEHNERT that he take out citizenship papers. MEHNERT declined to do so and stated he would rather be a German, after which he submitted his resignation. HAAN stated that in late 1940 MEHNERT left Honolulu and went to Shanghai and today he is head of the German Propaganda Bureau at Shanghai.

HAAN further stated that as late as 1939 CARTER had a plan for the expansion of Japanese culture in the form of bringing Japanese students to visit and study in the various countries of South America. He had nothing of a derogatory character in this connection. He advised, however, that by 1939 the opinion of the American Government and popularity was such that when the I.P.R. held its bi-annual conference at Virginia Beach, Virginia, the Japanese declined to send representatives. HAAN stated that in early 1939 CARTER had insisted to him that the Japanese would be represented and that Viscount ICHII would be present. HAAN stated that he had information that the Japs would not appear and at that time endeavored to have the Koreans represented. He stated that CARTER was adamant in preventing Korean

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representation, saying that he could not aggravate the Japanese.

HAAN advised that in 1940 Rear Admiral HARRY YARNELL, retired, was proposed for the presidency of I.P.R. and that CARTER had opposed this suggestion. He stated that purely from hearsay he understood that CARTER was so anxious to preserve Japanese good will that he wrote to the Japanese Council about YARNELL and was informed by the Japanese that they strongly opposed election of YARNELL. HAAN further advised that on the occasion of the I.P.R. conference in Quebec in 1942 he had made every effort to have Koreans admitted to membership and had proposed this despite the fact that we were at war with Japan, and CARTER had turned him down although Miss INEZ KONG was finally admitted to the conference as an observer for the Koreans. HAAN commented that in view of the subsequent decisions of the Cairo Conference, it was significant that Korea was not represented in I.P.R.

HAAN spoke briefly of the individuals with whom he had come in contact either connected with or interested in the Institute of Pacific Relations. He stated that he first met EDWARD C. CARTER in connection with I.P.R. matters. He considers him to be an opportunist and a man more interested in his position and the expansion of his organization than almost any other consideration. He stated CARTER is the type who is always interested in promoting some group which will give him an opportunity to make money and attain position, and that he approves any plan or subject matter if he can possibly organize something.

HAAN advised that the power behind I.P.R. is FRANK C. ATHERTON, an extremely wealthy man in Honolulu, who is a director in vast sugar interests, the Matson Shipping Interests, and numerous other business ventures, who has always financed I.P.R., giving as high as \$100,000 at a time. HAAN stated that it has always been to ATHERTON'S interests to cooperate with the Japs and has found it advantageous to maintain friendship with the Japanese. He again pointed to the instance when ATHERTON had written to HAAN indicating that he would not aid HAAN in any way in fighting the Japanese.

HAAN advised that he had had trouble with ATHERTON, and more immediately with his son-in-law, FRANK MIDKIFF, who caused HAAN'S arrest. HAAN stated that he was arrested on two occasions without cause and was prosecuted so bitterly that he hardly dared walk on the streets in Honolulu as the Japanese would curse him and spit on him. HAAN furnished some interesting opinions as to Japanese character, stating that when slightly aroused they are entirely vicious and mean in an unreasoning manner. He also stated they are entirely unpredictable and within a brief interval might be gay and

Director

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free hearted and then go to the lowest depths. He stated that much of their ferocity could be attributed to the fact that they have a definite inferiority complex and this coupled with their Spartan training cause them to be extremely cruel when they have an opportunity to dominate other people. He stated that he recalled seeing small children punished by their fathers by placing a piece of cotton on their wrists and setting it on fire. He pointed out that after years of this type of restraint, the Japanese when given the opportunity would be unbelievably cruel to persons under their control.

HAAN advised that he was acquainted with CHARLES F. LOOMIS, Secretary of the Hawaiian Branch, American Council of I.P.R., who, he said, had the same attitude as CARTER toward job. He pointed out that LOOMIS had formerly been a Y.M.C.A. official, but had left his job abruptly without notice when the opportunity to go with I.P.R. presented itself. He stated that LOOMIS had changed in his views recently and he understood that he now states that the Koreans should be admitted to I.P.R. as the organization is not a governmental one.

HAAN also mentioned FREDERICK V. FIELD, Secretary of the American Council, whom he stated was more sincere than the other persons mentioned. He stated that he thought FIELD felt there was a chance for permanent peace with Japan, and that he had been so motivated in his support of the various programs and activities of I.P.R. He stated, however, that later FIELD became discouraged and had admitted that the Japanese had used I.P.R. for its own ends.

HAAN also advised that he thought he should mention Attorney WARREN THAYER, who for eighteen years was counsel for the Japanese Consulate in Honolulu. He stated that THAYER was a very prominent individual, who had been a prosecuting attorney, secretary to the governor, boy scout leader, commissioner, leading churchman, and a member of I.P.R. He stated that THAYER had been in charge of the National Finance and Mortgage Company, which was an ATHERTON project, and his principal interests were with the Japanese in real estate and financial matters. HAAN made no charges against THAYER but indicated that THAYER had been associated with other persons mentioned in pro-Japanese activities.

Copies of this letter are being designated for New York in view of the fact that I.P.R. has its headquarters in New York City. Copies are furnished to the Honolulu Office for the reason that most of the activity mentioned took place in Honolulu.

Serial 4 to NY

Director
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It is planned to re-interview HAAN upon his return to Washington for the purpose of reviewing any letters or documents he may have concerning I.P.R., or any of its officials, particularly EDWARD G. CARTER.

Very truly yours,

GUY HOTTEL
SAC

Enclosure *sent*

cc - New York (Enclosure) *sent*

cc - Honolulu (Enclosure) *sent*

DIRECTOR, FBI

May 5, 1944

SAC, WASHINGTON FIELD

EDWARD C. CARTER
INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS
REGISTRATION ACT

Reference is made to my letter dated February 12, 1944, reflecting an interview with KILSOO K. HAAN in the above-entitled matter, and indicating that further interview was planned with HAAN for the purpose of reviewing any documentary data he may have concerning CARTER or the Institute of Pacific Relations.

In connection with the investigation of KILSOO K. HAAN, REGISTRATION ACT, ESPIONAGE - J, Washington Field Office file 100-7446, it has been ascertained through confidential sources and general investigation that HAAN has taken advantage of the fact that he has furnished information to Government investigative agencies, and has boasted of this assistance in public addresses.

It is further understood at this time that the Department of Justice is giving consideration to instituting prosecutive action against HAAN under the Registration Act.

In view of this, and the further fact that it is not believed HAAN possesses any additional data or real value in the captioned case, no further interview will be made with HAAN in this matter, unless the Bureau instructs otherwise, and this case is being considered closed.

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cc-New York
cc-Honolulu

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DATE

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FROM

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FEB 17 1947

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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The AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF TEACHERS OF SLAVONIC AND
EAST EUROPEAN LANGUAGES (AATSEEL)

is now collecting material toward a Who's Who in Slavic and East European Studies, including history and the social sciences, comparative literature, pure science and any field which uses material from or concerning the area. Please answer fully, using separate sheets where required.

(Please print or type)

NAME (in full with title): Mortimer GRAVES Administrative Secretary

ADDRESS: 1219 Sixteenth Street NW Washington DC POSTAL UNIT: 6

DATE OF BIRTH: January 26, 1893 PLACE OF BIRTH: Philadelphia, Pa.

CITIZENSHIP NOW: USA NATIVE LANGUAGE: English

EDUCATION: Harvard College, Harvard Grad Sch Arts and Sci.
University of Pennsylvania Grad. Sch. 1916-1917, 1919-1922

DEGREES (when and where): A. B. Harvard 1920

LANGUAGES, Reading facility: French, Italian, Spanish, German, Latin, Russian, Chinese

LANGUAGES, Speaking facility: same Greek

LANGUAGES, Writing facility: same

LANGUAGES, ~~Teaching competence~~: Presented in order of competence but all usable.

SOURCE OF TRAINING (institutions & teachers):

PERIOD SPENT IN TRAINING: _____

TEACHING EXPERIENCE (institutions, private classes, etc.; give places and dates, and include courses in any field which touch on the area).

TRAVEL IN THE AREA (with dates): Europe 1918, 1922, 1924, 1931, 1932, 1934, 1935, 1936
Russia and Far East 1936-1937

MEMBERSHIP IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, LEARNED SOCIETIES, etc.:

American Oriental Society, Linguistic Society of America, Institute of Pacific Relations, Southeastern Asia Institute, AATSEEL.

PUBLICATIONS (books, articles, translations, etc., with all the usual bibliographical details):

Numerous articles, no books.

(If interested in employment in the field add a separate sheet describing fully position desired, salary required, and area preferred).

Date: January 6, 1947 (Written signature Mortimer Graves)

Please return this data to: Dr. A. P. Coleman, Secretary of AATSEEL,
505 Philosophy Hall, Columbia University, New York 27, N. Y.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, WASHINGTON FIELD

DATE: February 15, 1947

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK

[Redacted]

100-0-1616 b3
100-17493-1169 b7E

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

100-3591-724 100-585-725-35
100-4508-1-108 Inst. Ref -

For the information of your office there is enclosed a photostatic copy of an application filled out by MORTIMER GRAVES, who is affiliated with the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS.

This application, obtained by Confidential Informant [Redacted] indicates [Redacted]

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CAR:RMR
100-17808

[Redacted]

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FEB 17 1947

WASHINGTON D.C.

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(1-1-45)

DATE 3-30-50

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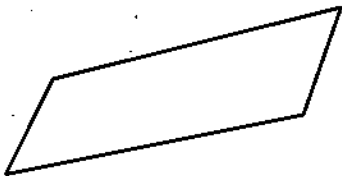
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Far Eastern Survey

AMERICAN COUNCIL, INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

CHINA'S FORBIDDEN CRISIS

BY GUNTHER STEIN

GENERALISSIMO CHIANG KAI-SHEK has outwaded China's economic crisis by decree, virtually turning over the direction of the national economy to the police. This is the meaning of the Generalissimo's program of economic emergency measures adopted by the Supreme National Defense Council on February 18.

Most of the measures adhere to the familiar pattern of action brought forward approximately once a year during the war, whenever the economic crisis reached a new pitch. In Chungking, as now in Nanking, the steady rise in prices periodically assumed alarming proportions. Food, clothing, fuel, and building materials all but disappeared from the markets. Food for soldiers and government officials grew dangerously short. Disaffection rose; hoarding became rampant; speculation ran wild. Tax revenues fell off; expenditures mounted; new note issues piled up more quickly than had come to be considered normal. Chinese dollars went begging for gold and foreign exchange. The clamor for government action grew with political unrest.

Fundamentally it was always, as it is today, clamor for basic economic, through basic political, reform. The needs were as clear before and during the war as they are now and as well known to General Joseph W. Stilwell as they now are to Secretary of State George C. Marshall. The needs were, and are, for grassroot reforms along four main lines.

First of all, there is needed a nationwide land tenancy reform, coupled with encouragement of improved methods of cultivation and village-wide cooperation, to stimulate and enable the farmers to attain greater production. Such a program would function both in Mr. Stein, formerly correspondent in China for the *Christian Science Monitor*, is the author of several books, including *Made in Japan* and *The Challenge of Red China*.

the increase of raising rural standards of living and of increasing the flow of agricultural supplies to the cities.

Secondly, the masses of the Chinese people should be permitted to practice self-administration from the village and small-town level upward. Freed from age-old political, monetary, and ideological bondage to the landed gentry, the people would cooperate with the government against tax evaders, hoarders, speculators, and corrupt local, provincial, and national bureaucracies.

There must be, in the third place, a thorough overhaul of the lower bureaucracy, strengthening it by inclusion of new elements elected by the people. This should be accompanied by a complete withdrawal from the people's political and economic life of the secret police and the eclipse of them among the gentry and its secret societies who act unthinkingly as agents of the Kuomintang. This would give farmers and town-folk fresh confidence in themselves, in their government and in its laws and currency.

MARCH 12, 1947 VOL. XVI NO. 5

CHINA'S FORBIDDEN CRISIS

By Gunther Stein

Significance of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's new program of economic emergency measures.

EDUCATION IN MANCHURIA

By Everett D. Hawkins

Need for reconstruction of school buildings, for school equipment, and for teacher education.

NARCOTICS CONTROL UNDER THE UN

By Helen Howell Moorhead

Narcotics control today and plans of the UN Narcotics Commission.

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ACB 3
WASHINGTON D.C.
215 B STREET N.W.
MARCH 12 1947

FAR EASTERN SURVEY
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Fourthly, to make all this possible, drastic changes among the National Government's top personnel are necessary to pave the way for a nationwide coalition of all political camps. The fountainheads of corrupt government practices, administrative ineptitude, and anti-democratic attitudes must be removed. These include those "dominant groups of reactionaries" who were described by General Marshall as interested only in "the preservation of their own feudal control over China" and "opposed to almost every effort [he] made to influence the formation of a genuine coalition government," while they were "counting on substantial American support, regardless of their actions."⁽¹⁾

Hollow Promises of Reform

Each acute economic crisis has brought forward demands for democratic reforms. The war emergency — later, the civil war emergency — was made the pretext for postponing change or for presenting hollow promises and deceptive measures of reform. Nothing would have helped the war effort more than the introduction of basic reforms, the sacrifice of feudalism to patriotism. Similarly, nothing would help more today to stop the civil war, to bring about a true coalition government, and to lay the foundations for economic revival.

Each time, however, Chiang Kai-shek responded as he did on February 16. Instead of granting basic reforms, he summarily fixed maximum prices for all essential goods, forbidding hoarding and speculation. He decreed the reduction of whatever non-military expenditure was still provided for in the budget, and stricter enforcement of the collection of taxes, both in kind (rice and wheat) and in money, from the peasantry. Stipulating a new and higher legal rate for the American dollar (CN\$12,000 to US\$1),⁽²⁾ he restricted or banned transactions in gold and foreign exchange. He put restraints on wages, commanded bankers and merchants to be on their utmost unselfish behavior, and exhorted corrupt and incompetent government officials to honesty and efficiency, promising them instead of fair and stable salaries delivery in kind, at least, of basic rations of food and clothing.⁽³⁾

Apparently realizing that he lacked the administrative machinery to enforce a super-OPA in a vast and

backward economy consisting of inextricably interlocked feudal fiefs, the Generalissimo set his regular and secret police to work against those who were too weak to evade his police power or turn it to their own corrupt advantage. In the past some small violators were apprehended each time, some punished. A few were shot — preferably men who also happened to be political opponents of the regime.

Even during the war, there was always the great hope of the Generalissimo and his advisers for large-scale American help to effect miracles of economic stabilization and to obviate the need for unpalatable reforms. Time and again the same cycle recurred. For a short time the crisis would subside. The commodity, money, gold, and foreign exchange markets would catch their breath, adjust their positions, and go quietly underground. Hoarders, bankers, and government officials would tread warily, anxious not to offend rather than to help overcome the crisis by positive action. They knew from experience that the storm of wrath from above would soon blow over. Eventually the Generalissimo would have to admit defeat by the laws of supply and demand and of ever-continuing inflation which would reassert themselves against his naive dicta — impersonally, but none the less decisively.

The economic laws asserted themselves each time. On some occasions a few weeks would elapse, on others a few months, before the sorry merry-go-round of inflation and economic crisis, never at a standstill, would again spin even faster. The Generalissimo's attempts to outlaw the crisis, as such, without seriously touching the men and the system that caused it, would prove futile. His decrees would fall into obscurity and the new control organizations which had been set up, into disuse and ridicule. The "market" once more would rule supreme — until the old program of final-sounding bans, somewhat rearranged and reworded, would be again brought forth to meet a freshly dangerous pitch in the crisis.

Effect of American Aid

At the present time the great postwar breathing spell, due to large scale American help, has come and largely gone. American aid, although unable to change the picture substantially, has nevertheless had an important morale function in bolstering the present regime and in disheartening the liberals who might have taken more positive action if not confronted by American assistance to Chiang Kai-shek.⁽⁴⁾ Even if

⁽⁴⁾ Benjamin Welles, reporting to the *New York Times* from Peiping on February 20, stated the view of the American community in Peiping, numbering some 3,000 persons: "... should any sizable amounts be turned over to the present Kuomintang Government, it would be spent, either directly or indirectly, primarily on military expenditures for prosecuting the civil war and not for the economic and social relief of the masses. . . ."

⁽¹⁾ *New York Times*, January 8, 1947.

⁽²⁾ According to a report in the *New York Herald Tribune* of the day following announcement of the program, "black market operators went underground, but still were offering to deal in American currency" with one dealer buying American dollars at CN\$12,500 and another at CN\$13,000. The *Herald Tribune* of February 23 contained a report that "the Central Bank of China was paying 11,640 Chinese dollars for one American dollar instead of the 12,000 to one fixed by decree."

⁽³⁾ This program has appeared in this country as yet only through press dispatches of American correspondents in China. The details of the provisions are not yet available.

another \$500,000,000 were to follow the American bounty which Chiang Kai-shek has already invested in the civil war, he could not be expected to use it any more beneficently for China's economy; for that would be predicated on the fundamental domestic reforms now, as hitherto, avoided.

The problems of China's economy in the rural sector, where the people are eighty to eighty-five percent of China's total, are not touched in the Generalissimo's emergency program. Instead, the recent decree demands stricter enforcement of exorbitant taxes, mounting in some areas to twenty percent and more of the farmers' crops. It requires that rural China deliver its goods to the cities at arbitrarily fixed maximum prices without giving the farmers any price protection for the manufactured goods needed from the cities. The vague promise that "the government will relieve the pressure of usurious interest on agricultural and industrial production through loans and other means" is too time-worn to impress anyone, especially as sufficient funds for this purpose are not, nor can be, made available under the present circumstances.

Provisions for Urban Economy

For the city sector of the economy, the familiar program contains two clauses which are phrased more categorically than formerly and one clause which constitutes a new departure.

The latter provides that "all industries owned by the Government except those for national defense and public utilities should be speedily disposed of and returned to private interests." This is to convince domestic and foreign capital that the Kuomintang government, in spite of Chiang Kai-shek's professions in *China's Destiny* favoring state-capitalism, "is not in business competition with private interests." To Chinese and foreigners in Shanghai, however, it means two different things. First, it is a confession of failure to make the industrial enterprises of the National Resources Commission and of other government agencies work efficiently and profitably. Second, it provides a chance for those within the upper Kuomintang government and party ranks to acquire at a low price whatever properties might be attractive, thus affording a timely opportunity for consolidating their already great economic power before political events rob them of sources of income and influence more directly connected with the administrative offices they hold at present. Nobody who has followed Chiang Kai-shek's vacillation with regard to industrial control will take this as a guarantee that the Kuomintang's state-capitalistic tendencies may not come to the fore again if it survives its economic crisis; and nobody who realizes the real causes of that crisis expects a change in ownership of some industrial enterprises to lead to an in-

crease in production that might count in the overall situation.

A provision that is new in the strength of its emphasis demands that all Chinese citizens and corporations having foreign exchange deposited abroad must report and surrender their holdings to the government. The American press hopefully interpreted it as the liquidation of the vast American fortunes of leading and lesser families of the Kuomintang hierarchy, amounting to hundreds of millions of United States dollars, for the benefit of the Chinese economy. But this reiteration is probably no more than lip service to rising popular demand, as unlikely of enforcement in peace as it was in the life-and-death struggle with Japan.⁽⁵⁾ It may be symptomatic of its purely decorative purpose that Chiang Kai-shek, in his personal summary of the long economic program of February 16 (as reported in the *Chinese News Service*), does not even mention it among the ten most important emergency measures. The war experience was such that decrees were usually followed by a fresh exodus of government officials' inflation-made money and some more of their family members.

A clause Chiang Kai-shek does mention prominently in his summary sets "a ceiling on labor wage advances" in the leading cities. It provides for a ban against the rise of wages beyond the cost-of-living index parity of January 1947 and for the prohibition of strikes. Far from foreshadowing economic stability in the industrial sphere, the restrictions on labor are likely under the continuing inflationary circumstances to force labor into political action.⁽⁶⁾

Need for Basic Reform Continues

The real issue of Chinese economics and politics, completely untouched by the emergency program, remains that of basic economic reform. The masses of non-partisans throughout Kuomintang China are demanding better conditions and are becoming increasingly articulate as the crisis deepens. In this demand, the masses are strongly supported by the honest liberals within and without the Democratic League—men and women who are too clear-minded and too impecunious to be tempted into compromise with feudalism, as some of the bewildered landlord-liberals in the Kuomintang continue to be.

(5) According to press reports, dummy companies are being established to effect the transfer of Chinese assets in this country.

(6) The runaway rise since last summer in the cost of living is indicated by the commodity prices in Shanghai, published in *Monthly Report*, Millard Publishing Company, Shanghai: from August 24, 1946 to January 27, 1947 the price of rice per picul rose from CN\$58,000 to \$88,000; coal per picul, \$470,000 to \$960,000; matches per carton, \$600,000 to \$960,000; soap per box, \$47,500 to \$120,000; and twenty counts yarn per bale, \$1,700,000 to \$2,550,000.

The more the non-partisan masses and liberals are disappointed by Chiang Kai-shek's unfulfilled promises of political and economic reform and by his futile police action against the economic crisis the more they will look toward the Chinese Communists for decisive help. In numerous specific instances the Communists have carried out successfully vital reforms in the territories under their control. Their program included reform of the tenancy system and a practical cooperative stimulus to agriculture, manufacture, and trade. From among the people they created a cheaper, more adequate, efficient and honest administrative machinery than any large section of China has had. Simultaneous educational and general social reforms further broadened the foundations from which the healthy economic development of the nation could proceed in time of peace.

Such reforms are suitable to any part of China, being fully reconcilable with those elementary forms of democracy and capitalism which China will have to develop at the bottom of her political and economic structures if she is ever to proceed to higher forms of both at the top. It is with this tested reform program that the Communist-spearheaded but to a large extent non-Communist opposition faces Chiang Kai-shek to test his emergency program in the present struggle. The outcome will decide the course of China's economic crisis by deciding its political future.

This struggle proceeds on two fronts.

On the military civil war front Chiang Kai-shek's chances of winning the economic battle are even slimmer than the likelihood of political victory. He may take more towns and stretches of railways and motor highways. But even American military support on a scale at present unimaginable would not enable him to conquer the roadless, guerrilla-dominated hinterland. To continue fighting would take food and raw materials, to say nothing of the cost in terms of intensified

inflation and deteriorating economy that every additional month of fighting involves.⁽⁷⁾

On the political front in the Kuomintang's rear, Chiang Kai-shek's failure to introduce basic reforms and his fresh recourse to police measures against economic misery are making his prospects equally dark. There is much pent-up unrest in the cities. In the rural areas, popular riots are spreading. So far, they are spontaneous, but the atmosphere of dissatisfaction and protest lends itself to organization by the Communists and other political opposition groups. The riots are directed against military conscription, bureaucratic corruption, secret police rule, and a landlordism made even more obnoxious through the increasing pressure from above which the landlords pass on to the peasantry by means of ruthless and often corrupt enforcement of high taxation. (Chiang Kai-shek himself refers in his February statement to the existing tax enforcement as "rough and ready . . . since we have not yet developed a modern accounting system;" and while he demands "utmost vigor" for the intensified collection campaign, he reminds those who may suffer injustice of a need few of them may still feel, that is, "that this government must be supported at all costs.")

To survive the economic crisis, the Kuomintang government would have to win at both fronts within a short time. American loans, like police measures, will be of little avail. Nothing can help but the grant of genuine reforms to the people. Without them, there will be that long-dreaded "economic collapse"—not of the country's rural sector whose self-sufficiency in innumerable thousands of small economic units makes it safe from complete paralysis, but of the cities. For Chiang Kai-shek's attitude strangles their normal trade with the hinterland on which their existence depends. That economic collapse would seem the final downfall of the Kuomintang government, caused by its inability to make the villagers supply its cities and its armies.

EDUCATION IN MANCHURIA

BY EVERETT D. HAWKINS

THE DEPARTURE OF THE RUSSIANS from Manchuria, the repatriation of the Japanese, and the struggle there between Chinese Nationalists and Chinese Communists have diverted attention from the real needs of the local people.

Mr. Hawkins, who is at present Associate Professor of Economics at Mount Holyoke College, served for two years in China with the Office of War Information. At the time of his departure from China in 1946 he was Director of the Mukden Office of the United States Information Service. This is the last of a series of three articles by Mr. Hawkins on current Manchurian problems.

One of the most urgent problems in the Northeastern Provinces is education and re-education. Dr. W. H. Gow, President of the Mukden Medical Col-

(7) In a dispatch from Nanking of February 15 to the *New York Times*, Tillman Durbin reported that "it is estimated that last year revenues made up only one-quarter to one-third of the Central Government's outlay . . . the note issue, at present estimated at three trillion Chinese dollars, is reportedly increasing at the rate of ten percent a month . . . military expenditures today of sixty percent or more of Government disbursements represent just about the difference between a balanced and a radically unbalanced budget."

lege, explained the situation vividly in a letter dated May 29, 1946. He said:

Manchuria is today an intellectual vacuum. For fourteen years under Japanese rule the people in Manchuria had been prohibitively cut off from the rest of the world, while today, as a result of the chaotic conditions prevailing immediately after the defeat of Japan, all the educational institutions are still in no position to resume normal operation due to lack of textbooks, libraries, laboratory equipment, and even furniture in the classrooms.

But the people are craving for knowledge. They want to know what has happened during the war, and they want to have an intelligent understanding of the world situation at present and proper perspective of the immediate future.

Damage to School Buildings

Educational plants suffered from the various waves of soldiers who were quartered in the school buildings. Some have been occupied successively by Japanese, Soviet, Chinese Communist, and Chinese Nationalist troops. In Mukden most of the primary schools and many of the middle schools have at one time or another suffered extensive damage or looting. Many teachers have no desks and only small blackboards, and most primary students have either to bring their own little stools to school daily or sit on the brick floor. Frequently less than half the windows have glass. Many of the middle schools are in equally bad condition.

The former campus of Northeastern University is almost completely gutted of window frames, doors and floors; many of what used to be faculty homes no longer have roofs. The whole campus is so completely wrecked that it probably would be preferable to start rebuilding at some new site. The Japanese technical higher school and college and the Japanese girls' higher school which General Tu Li-ming took over for the new Chiang Kai-shek University are in fairly good shape, but one million Northeastern dollars had to be set aside to hire Japanese laborers at forty to fifty dollars a day for a total of twenty to twenty-five thousand man days of cleaning and repairing. The Mukden Medical College and Theological Seminary are in relatively good condition. Probably the best of all is the South Manchuria Medical College which lost only one building out of many. On the whole, however, the job of reconstruction is tremendous.

With the repatriation of the Japanese completed in Nationalist-occupied Manchuria, all school buildings formerly used by the Japanese in their separate educational system became available for Chinese students. The school buildings, therefore, if repaired and devoted to education instead of the quartering of troops, are probably adequate in most localities to start the educational program.

An eloquent plea was made to the Generalissimo when he visited Mukden at the end of May by Dr. T. L. Leo of the Mukden Medical College for funds to rehabilitate the primary and secondary schools. UNRRA-CNRRA funds are not available for general education rehabilitation, but an attempt was being made to obtain an allocation from them to help with the agricultural and industrial schools and colleges as part of the overall program to revive Manchurian agriculture and industry.

Not only are the buildings in bad shape, but modern textbooks and laboratory equipment are in most cases almost entirely lacking except in the South Manchuria Medical College. The Chinese do not want to use the old texts that still exist because they are full of Japanese ideas, emphasizing only agriculture and written in a peculiar style of Chinese which in some cases resembles the Japanese word order. Some of the slogans formerly used in the schools at the insistence of the Japanese were not easily understood by the Chinese from free China because of this peculiarity of style. In the absence of texts, primary school teachers are using chiefly mimeographed sheets. They write the lessons on the blackboard and the students copy the characters in their own notebooks. The teachers have no pictures, maps, diagrams or models to aid in their teaching.

The Chinese Government is faced, therefore, with the job of bringing in paper mats from China proper or of setting type in Mukden or one of the other centers where the Government has taken over the printing plants from the Japanese. This presupposes that good texts are available in China proper. Apparently the Soviets did not remove printing equipment when they left and the bottleneck is probably not printing plants but paper, which was running very short even in the summer of 1946. A big school book program would undoubtedly necessitate the importation of paper which would not be much easier than bringing in the texts in view of the world paper shortage and the difficulties of bulk shipments into that region. The middle schools, colleges and technical schools will have to import their laboratory equipment and supplies since most industries are not running in southern Manchuria now. Again the problem of transporting them to the region is critical.

Teachers and Teacher Education

Much can be done in poor buildings with poor equipment if the teachers are well-trained. Unfortunately Manchuria is confronted by the problems concerning teachers which exist in all other countries plus a few peculiar to those countries which have been dominated by a fascistic regime. It was reliably reported that in Manchuria there was a scarcity of

teachers, that many still teaching were of low quality, and that the salaries for primary and secondary school teachers were considerably below the starvation level and below the wage scale of ordinary day laborers. Some cost of living adjustment would eventually be granted but, by the time it was given, it would be hopelessly inadequate to meet the rising costs and the teachers, as well as other public employees, would then have to agitate for more.

A more basic problem involves most of the teachers who had taught since 1931 under the guidance and dominance of the puppet Manchukuo regime. The Japanese had encouraged and fostered the idea of separation from China proper and referred to the natives as Manchukuoans. Such propaganda was facilitated by the fact that the area had not been regarded even before the Japanese invasion as a part of China proper. Probably ninety percent of the population, however, stems from China and has old "home roots" for the Nationalists to cultivate.

The Commissioner of Education of Liaoning Province planned to have during the summer of 1946 a number of training courses for the teachers and to recruit some who had been trained in free China, but even at best this would affect but a small number. Actually the task may not be so difficult if the Ministry of Education can send leaders and material from Nanking for its program of reeducation of the teachers. All of them seem most eager to prove that they never had any intellectual truck with the Japanese and that they had really been loyal to China throughout the long occupation.

Need for New Materials, Methods

Both primary and secondary leaders ask for books on new educational methods in China and allied countries. They are particularly anxious to know about American educational methods and policies. They want to establish science exhibits, libraries and teacher re-training centers. Undoubtedly the teachers are in the main willing to adopt new methods and to teach new ideas, but if they do not receive these new ideas and facts, they will of necessity continue to teach the old. This is the intellectual vacuum which needs to be filled. For this reason the United States Information Service in Mukden has been attempting to supply Chinese teachers with the limited quantity of picture materials, periodicals and booklets in Chinese and English which can be brought in by air. Some of its staff were interested in a Sino-American review (*Chung Mei Ping Lung*) which tried to reprint the best articles in Chinese and American periodicals, but this publication was stopped because the Chinese authorities thought that the material selected was unfavorable to the regime in power.

The United States Information Service, in cooperation with the Chinese Liaison Office, also supplied to the Japanese schools while they were still open pictures and even Japanese newspapers and periodicals from Tokyo. The program developed after a conference with leading Japanese educators in Mukden who explained that they had always taught in Manchuria what had been taught in Japan. They were, therefore, anxious to receive all possible material from Japan so that they could learn what was being taught under the MacArthur regime in order to teach the same to their Japanese students. The old pattern of conformity was still present: militarism had been removed from their texts and material on democracy added because the educators had heard that that was being done in Japan.

Problem of Adult Education

The educational task in Manchuria is much greater than that of training the boys and girls in schools and their teachers. All the people of the region—both literate and illiterate—must be reached. The Kuomintang rushed its newspaper, radio and propaganda staffs into all the cities and towns that the Nationalist Army holds. Nationalist slogans are seen everywhere, many of them covering those issued earlier by the Chinese Communists or the Soviets. The public, however, seems as indifferent to the slogans as the ordinary American is to commercial radio announcements. By comparison, pictures posted by the United States Information Service at various points throughout the cities regularly draw large crowds of both educated and uneducated Chinese. The Nationalist radio men are frustrated by the lack of power because of the removal of generators by the Soviets. The various New Armies, especially the 202nd Educated Youth Army, brought along their own propaganda shops and put on plays and moving pictures not only for their own troops but for the local people. Few newspapers, magazines and books can be brought in from the rest of China because of the disruption of transportation. Nothing unfavorable to the Nationalist regime is printed in the local papers. In fact, the various mass media used by the Kuomintang are apparently not concentrating in reeducating the population and consolidating the Northeast with the rest of China, but are primarily concerned with attacking the Communists in the Northeast who are always referred to as "bandits."

Education depends to a large extent on a relatively stable economic and political situation, neither of which exists in Manchuria. Until transportation, production and inflation problems are solved and civil war is stopped the important task of re-education in Manchuria cannot go forward rapidly.

NARCOTICS CONTROL UNDER THE UN

BY HELEN HOWELL MOORHEAD

THE COMMISSION ON NARCOTICS of the United Nations,⁽¹⁾ which held its first session from November 27 to December 13, 1946, faced a world situation which had fundamentally changed. The world-wide network of national controls reporting to international bodies had been largely destroyed by war; plans begun in 1933 by the League of Nations for the limitation of raw materials were now out of date, due to new methods of extracting morphine from the poppy and the suppression of government opium smoking monopolies. A new approach to the whole opium question was needed.

The most important substantive questions considered by the Commission were the limitation of raw materials, the illicit traffic, and re-establishment of prewar controls.

The technique of processing morphine direct from poppy heads, as well as from the straw of the whole plant, had been perfected during the war. Germany supplied all her military and civilian medical needs during the last two years of the war by this method. Any country whose climate permits the ripening of wheat can now grow its own raw material, thus reducing the export market for raw opium which in the past had been in the hands of a few countries whose dry climate at harvest time and cheap hand labor had made profitable the old method of collecting the gum from poppy seed heads incised by hand. New synthetic drugs such as demerol have been developed, replacing in medicine to an increasing degree the use of morphine and its derivatives.

Policy Change on Smoking Monopolies

Of prime importance in estimating proposals for the amount of opium to be grown for the legitimate market was the change in policy on government opium-smoking monopolies. Certain students of the opium problem had long been convinced that the smoking monopolies

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(1) Canada, Poland, China, Egypt, France, India, Iran, Mexico, Netherlands, Peru, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States, U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia, with Colonel C. H. L. Sherman, of Canada, as Chairman, Dr. S. Tubiasz, of Poland, Vice-chairman, Dr. Szeming Sze, of China, Rapporteur and Mr. Herbert L. May, representing the Permanent Central Opium Board and the Drug Supervisory Body.

of the western colonial powers in the Far East must cease before the amount of raw opium necessary for the legitimate market could be estimated and the limitation of raw materials could be effectively accomplished. This point had caused violent cleavages in policy in the past, at times exploding into major political crises. Japanese occupation of Far Eastern colonial areas presented the opportunity for a change in policy which the United States Government promptly initiated. Holland, Great Britain, and France announced that the Government monopolies for opium-smoking would not be re-established when the territories in question were returned to their control. This again reduced the postwar market for raw opium.

During the discussion at the UN Commission meetings, the delegate for India made a statement of policy of far-reaching importance. Opium smoking in India is now prohibited and the Central Government of India has invited local governments to establish a Narcotics Board to insure control of the cultivation and manufacture of opium. The Indian states are being approached with a view to adoption of similar measures. The production of opium in India has already declined and is expected to be further reduced. The British delegate stated that the Executive Council in Burma has approved legislation forbidding opium smoking and making the possession and eating of opium illegal except for religious and ceremonial purposes. In making this statement he stressed the time necessary to bring these policies into effect administratively, due not only to the terrain but also to war devastation.

The Chinese delegate expressed the hope, which was not realized; that a report on the Chinese situation would reach the Commission before its adjournment. Legislation forbids the growth of poppy and the smoking of opium under very heavy penalties, although in areas under Japanese occupation these restrictions were not enforced.

The Iranian delegate caused much confusion at the sessions when he stated that the decree of Premier Ghavam of April 10, 1946, forbidding all cultivation and use of opium, read into the record by the United States delegate, was valid only for one year, as such a policy had to be ratified by the Iranian Parliament. The Dutch delegate asked him a direct question based on the Premier's statement, — "Did this mean that Iran would no longer produce any opium, and consequently would not be a source in future world

markets for the supply of opium for legitimate medical use?" The Iranian delegate promptly answered that he reserved the right to ask a production quota for his government when the Limitation Conference met to assign shares in the legitimate market for medical needs. The delegates of Holland, Canada, and the United States declared that their interpretation of statements at various times by the Prime Minister of Iran meant complete prohibition for the future, not only for one year. Excerpts from the Prime Minister's statements were read which supported this viewpoint.

The attempt of the Iranian delegate to extricate himself from this dilemma was reminiscent of the comment uttered yearly in Geneva when the question of Persian opium arose: long on noble protestations, short on accomplishments. He finally stated that the intention of the Iranian Government was to prohibit the use of opium forever. Prohibition of cultivation of the poppy should apply permanently. But such a measure was beyond its power and required Parliamentary approval. In case this approval was not given, Iran wanted a share in the export trade. The question as to the length of time the Prime Minister's decree prohibited the smoking of opium seemed, to the observer, entirely indefinite. After this discussion the attendance of the Iranian delegate at further sessions of the Narcotics Commission was markedly infrequent.

The changed policy on smoking opium monopolies was necessarily injected into the discussion on raw material limitation. It had also a place of its own on the agenda. Tribute was paid to the government of the United States for its initiative in instructing its armies in the Far East to suppress all opium-smoking monopolies when occupying territories previously under Japanese control. The announcements of the United Kingdom and the Netherlands in 1943, France in 1944, and Portugal regarding Macao in May 1946 were noted. The delegate for China, whose father, Ambassador Alfred Sze, had long fought against government monopolies for smoking opium, expressed the hope that the bitter recriminations of the past be forgotten and expressed generous appreciation of the action taken by the governments concerned. The delegate of France, in a scholarly speech quoting Confucius' dream of a "Great Union," remarked upon the serene atmosphere, in contrast to the past, in which this subject was discussed.

The "Model Commission"

This "serene atmosphere" gave rise to the name "Model Commission." Undoubtedly, it was due to the elimination of the smoking opium monopoly problem, but other factors also contributed. Another significant improvement was in the personal approach

of the new Indian delegate as well as the very satisfactory report he gave of developments in Indian policy. Voting on the Indian position had been mainly on political lines in the League Advisory Committee, and equally so on smoking opium monopolies. With the latter issue removed, and the former on the way to a progressively satisfactory conclusion, political tensions relaxed. It was noteworthy that the discussions were based on technical considerations. One or two early attempts to inject regional politics were promptly discouraged and the "climate" of the Commission became definitely and professionally technical.

This brought to light the question of the competence of the new members. An effort had been made in London, at the Preparatory Commission in December 1945, to include a phrase in the resolution to the Assembly setting up the new Narcotics Commission, asking that governments appoint, as members, officials having actual administrative responsibility for narcotics enforcement. This was eliminated on the ground that many present governments had no such trained officials. The new members included five purely political appointments. Certain of these men soon realized the need for technically competent representatives and privately assured other members that they would make strong representations on these lines to their respective governments. It was hoped that the next meeting of the Commission would be strengthened in this direction. Four of the new members were medical men, who added professional information of varying degrees of value to the discussions. However, the question arose in the minds of the experienced personnel as to whether certain of the new members would be competent to handle other questions, such as illicit traffic, which would assume greater importance in future meetings. It is also useful that delegates should hold positions of such importance in their home governments in order that their approval would give weight to the recommendations taken by the Commission. As this is a technical Commission, the representatives should be technically and administratively adequate. Improvement in documentation over League material contributed markedly to the efficiency of the Commission. The technique of collecting all relevant material on a subject into one document, with excellent analyses of various points, aided all members and was especially helpful to the new members. This was acknowledged in an unprecedented statement by the Commission praising the work of this section of the Secretariat included in the report to the Economic and Social Council.

Discussion of the illicit traffic was necessarily incomplete due to the absence of reports. The United States delegate stated that smuggling into the United States from Mexico of raw opium and low grade

morphine and heroin was the most important present factor in contraband involving this country. Traffic in marihuana had reached unmanageable proportions. Although the Mexican Government has announced its desire to cooperate in suppressing illicit traffic, much more drastic action is necessary, including a unified and effective internal administration. Turkey has had for many years an excellent record in controlling production and sale of raw opium. The entire process is in the hands of a Government monopoly. Yet reports were presented to this session of the Narcotics Commission showing that many tons of opium had escaped the Turkish Government monopoly control and were reported in transit toward Egypt, final destination unknown. Seventeen tons of opium were seized crossing Syria and Lebanon, and Egypt reported seizure of twelve tons of smuggled opium. The former League estimate (never officially accepted) of the relation of seizures to total contraband was one to ten. This means that such large quantities of material have not appeared in the illicit traffic around the Mediterranean Basin since Turkey signed and ratified the 1925 convention and established a government monopoly and joint sales agreement with Yugoslavia. The discussion on this was very unsatisfactory, due to lack of information on the part of the Turkish delegate, and much confusion on the part of the Egyptian delegate as to what had happened to this mass of potential destruction, since he claimed that addiction to white drugs in Egypt had markedly decreased. The general conclusion on the illicit traffic, however, was on the whole encouraging. Pre-war sources and routes for smuggling had been disrupted by the war, and the great increase in illicit material noted all over Europe after the first World War had not, to date, recurred.

Control in Germany, Japan and Korea

Consideration of the re-establishment of international control at pre-war levels was hampered by the fact that seventeen countries in Europe and five in Asia had not submitted annual reports during all or part of the period 1939-45. The discussion, based on documentation presented by the United States delegate,⁽²⁾ was limited to measures taken in Germany and in Japan and the American zone in Korea. Tribute was paid to the Military Authorities of Pacific Headquarters, to the United States Department of State, and to the Commissioner of Narcotics in bringing about a strict centralized supervision of narcotics in these last two countries.

The German situation was discouragingly different. A detailed statement by the United States representa-

(2) For details see Department of State Bulletin Vol. XVI No. 394, January 19, 1947, page 91, George A. Morlock.

tive discussed the problems arising from the division of Germany into four zones, and the partition of Berlin. Shortages in some areas and surpluses in others, with lack of transport and communications, have made information inadequate and effective control impossible. On the initiative of the United States, a Narcotics Working Party was set up in September, 1946 by the Allied Health Committee in Berlin. All four governments have accepted membership. A resolution by the United States delegate asking for "an effective centralized narcotics administration for all Germany" was amended on the suggestion of the delegate of the U.S.S.R. to read "to recommend to the Allied Control Authorities to take the necessary measures at the earliest possible moment, for the establishment of an effective control of narcotics for all Germany." This was unanimously accepted by the Commission, thus avoiding any suggestion of political implications, while stressing at the same time the technical necessities of the situation.

The final point of importance on the agenda at the meetings was future narcotics control in Japan and Korea. A proposal by the Chinese delegate had been privately circulated at the beginning of the session to accomplish this aim. When the discussion formally opened, all members were in accord with this objective. The United States delegate announced that proof had been found in Japan that the government had knowingly submitted to the Permanent Central Opium Board false and fraudulent reports, grossly understating and thereby concealing their actual production of narcotic drugs, particularly heroin. Two sets of records were maintained by the Japanese Government, one false which was furnished to the Board, and another containing the true production figures.⁽³⁾ As the French delegate wisely remarked, drugs were used by Japan as a weapon of war, and Japan is now to be disarmed. It was the unanimous verdict of the Commission that Japan should never again be trusted to produce this particular weapon. Yet when concrete details were discussed it was agreed that a generous recognition of the need for reserve supplies for emergencies should be allowed this country, because of her unhappy history of earthquakes. An Ad Hoc Committee of seven (China, France, India, the Netherlands, United Kingdom, the United States, and the U.S.S.R.) met to consider the Chinese proposal. The core of his method was to establish a stockpile of narcotic drugs at the proposed Far Eastern Regional Office of the United Nations, this stockpile to be set up by "an international authority."

(3) Report of the Economic and Social Council of the First Session of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs—November-December, 1946. E/C.S. 7

Agreement was unanimous on many sections of the Chinese proposal. Production of raw materials destined for the manufacture of narcotics, as well as the manufacture of these drugs, was prohibited. Imports for the medical needs of Japan should not exceed the estimate of the Supervisory Body, irrespective of any estimates furnished by the Japanese Government. A reserve stock to the extent authorized by the Supervisory Body was allowed, but not for export. All export of narcotic substances was forbidden.

Division of opinion arose as to the practical working of the stockpile proposal. This would necessitate a warehouse with many hundred items of goods. It would be difficult to know in advance the quantity of each item to have on hand, and the detailed administration would necessitate a combination of wholesale drug businesses from practically all the drug manufacturing countries.

Out of this discussion developed another suggestion, with the same aim, that of preventing Japan from again becoming a center of illicit traffic. Certain members of this special committee did not agree with the stockpile plan and proposed that a United Nations Inspectorate should be established in Japan, to which the Japanese Government must apply for permission to import drugs. No government order would be valid without the signature of the United Nations Inspectorate. A manufacturing country would not permit an order from Japan to be exported from its territory without first ascertaining that the order had been validated by the Inspectorate. Thus there would be a double check, first by the Inspectorate before the order left Japan, second, by the government of the country whose manufacturer received the order.

Results of Vote

The full Commission on receiving this report containing both Proposals A and B decided to vote by roll call on which proposal they would recommend as a guide to the Economic and Social Council. The result was six votes for the Inspectorate double check plan, three votes for the stockpile plan, with six abstentions. Both Proposals are to be submitted for decision to the Economic and Social Council, whose decision should be sent to the Far Eastern Commission with copies to all governments on the Commission, and to the Allied Military authorities now in Japan. Similar recommendations on Korea are to be sent to all governments and authorities concerned. The aim is to have these control measures included in the Japanese and Korean peace treaties.

At the close of this first session of the Narcotics Commission of the United Nations a balance sheet on narcotics control might be drawn up. On the credit side it would show the elimination of govern-

ment monopolies for smoking opium in all European colonial areas in the Far East; a new approach in India to the control of the internal use and production of the drug; the removal of Japan as a destructive factor through the use of drugs as a weapon of war; and last but not least, the greatly improved machinery of the new Narcotics Commission.

On the debit side must be placed the difficulties of re-establishment of the former national controls in countries disorganized by the war; the absence of a great number of reports and statistics to the international control organs; the increase of difficulties faced by any attempt to limit raw material production because of new methods in processing morphine from poppy plants; and the uncertainties of the present situation in China.

Unchanged and unchanging remains the position of Iran, outside the network of international obligations, continuing her age-old policy of selling opium to all and sundry, no questions asked.

BOOKS ON THE PACIFIC AREA

THUNDER OUT OF CHINA. By Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby. New York City: William Sloane, 1946. 325 pp. \$3.00.

Competent observers will agree that this is a brilliant and important book. Its publication was indeed an "event." Over a half million copies were distributed by the Book-of-the-Month Club at its first printing, and it has become a best-seller almost overnight. Politicians and statesmen have been obliged to take account of its impact on public opinion in this country and in China. It is reported to be already banned in China. A review of this book involves political considerations of the first order. It is concerned with the explosive situation in China.

Since its publication on October 15th events have followed events in rapid succession, both in Chinese-American relations and in China itself — and not all of these events can be regarded as coincidental. On November 23 President Chiang Kai-shek suddenly announced a stand favorable to a "liberal" constitution for China; on December 18 President Truman took pains to issue a 3,500-word "clarification" of American policy *vis-à-vis* China; on January 7 General George C. Marshall issued an important "supplementary" statement on the Chinese situation; and, as this review is being written on January 30, Secretary of State Marshall has announced the termination of the latest chapter in America's efforts at mediation in China. This rapid series of events, whether coincidental or not, has substantiated the basic contentions of the book under consideration relative specifically to the reactionary tendencies within the Kuomintang and the grotesque ineptitudes of past American policy.

Thunder Out of China is an angry and prescient book; its very title suggests the theme — rumblings that presage the storm, warnings that all is not well. Was it not William Blake who said that "the tigers of wrath are wiser than the horses of instruction"? For a number of years our presses have turned out a plethora of books on China aimed at the "instruction" of the American people, but leaving them actually more confused; it

remained for the "tigers of wrath" to be loosed to make them perchance somewhat wiser. Honest critics, Chinese and American alike, will be obliged to admit that this book sheds much light as well as considerable heat.

Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby have written an extremely readable book,—absorbing, even for those who have not yet been initiated into the complexities of the Chinese situation. It is a masterpiece of reporting, a *tour de force* in fact. It rises at times to literary heights. The chapters on "Chungking, A Point in Time," "The Peasant," "Doomed Men—The Chinese Army," and the "Honan Famine" are unforgettable pictures etched in lines of genuine literary merit. There are many quotable passages; only a few minor errors of fact; some almost unforgivable caricatures and not a few subtle delineations; many brilliant analyses and penetrating observations; a few bits of unnecessary gossip; and some extreme characterizations, in particular, that of the Generalissimo. Would it not have been possible to draw a more balanced and understandable picture of President Chiang Kai-shek, instead of making him merely the *vilain de la pièce*? The authors could have placed him in better historical perspective by recognizing that he has been a great nationalist leader of a China set in the midst of a world of unequal nations who served basically as the embodiment of a projected mercantilist revolution and a personification of certain distinctive elements in authentic Chinese culture. It will be recognized that Chiang Kai-shek was for long the "living symbol" of a new nationalist China. His place in history is assured, although his qualifications for leadership in the "century of the common man" remain a matter of dispute. The world has moved a long way since the days of Sun Yat Sen, and the requirements for leadership in China today are truly impressive.

Although the book deals mainly with the Kuomintang side of the picture, the authors give credit to the Chinese Communists for their practical concern for the common people and their significant contributions to the third of Sun Yat Sen's "Three Principles,"—namely, that of the "people's livelihood." Unlike certain other recent books, there is no attempt in this book to whitewash the Yen-an regime. A spade is called a spade, whether it be in Kuomintang or Communist China. The Chinese Communists are recognized as Marxians. Certain fundamental questions are frankly posed regarding the ultimate aims of the Communist leaders. Consequently, such party organs as the *Daily Worker* and the *New Masses* have given the book only qualified approval. On the other hand, the authors' merciless indictment of the right wing of the Kuomintang has aroused the indignation of American all-out supporters of the present Chinese government.

The important facts in regard to the deterioration of the party from within cannot be denied, and are not denied, even by friends of the Kuomintang in China and in America. Serious criticism can be directed, however, to the failure of the book to give credit where credit is due, that is, to the positive contributions of the Kuomintang in years past to the building and preservation of the Chinese Republic, and in particular to the implementation of the first of Sun Yat Sen's "Three Principles,"—namely, that of nationalism. These are the facts of history and cannot be neglected even in a brief history. The authors conclude their analysis of the present situation by saying that "China must change or die." As a universal dictum, this statement cannot be controverted. It applies to all nations alike. At the same time one must keep in mind that China has demonstrated in the past great resources for adaptation and survival. The authors would agree that the forces of indigenous liberalism are far more potent in China today than most Westerners realize. China can and will solve her own problems, if given an opportunity and

cooperation, and the solution of her problems must be a Chinese solution.

The authors are careful to state that "this book is a partial story of the China war; only a Chinese can write the true history of his people." Chinese critics will, however, point out that these young and very talented authors have failed, quite understandably perhaps, to place their story and its personalities sufficiently in the context of Chinese culture and psychology. The basic sympathy of the authors for the Chinese people cannot, however, be gainsaid. Certain American critics, including this reviewer, would argue that certain of the authors' proposals for a change in American policy are more deeply in conflict with certain trends in American life than is revealed in the book. Do the authors seriously expect the American government to follow their advice that "we ourselves must become the sponsors of revolution" in Asia? Can it be that the authors have not considered the fundamental theoretical presuppositions and practical implications of such a proposal? The cogency of their specific proposals has, however, been attested by recent changes in American policy. There yet remains, however, the necessity, as emphasized by the authors, of working out a *modus vivendi* between the United States and the Soviet Union. The Chinese people, as close neighbors of the Soviet Union, are vitally concerned with this problem, as is, indeed, the rest of the world. We are here face to face with the crux of the broader situation.

In the final analysis this book must be evaluated on the basis of its major contention that "the Chinese people are seeking a government which will give them change." In a moving passage the authors state that "in Asia there are over a billion people who are tired of the world as it is; they live literally in such terrible bondage that they have nothing to lose but their chains." The leaders of China and of the rest of the world will be judged to the degree that they are able to meet this challenge. *Thunder Out of China* is a forceful and poignant plea for justice for the Chinese people. The pent-up liberal forces in China within and without the various parties are aware that it was Mencius who said that "the people are the foundation of a nation, and when that foundation is established there is peace." Our leaders and the leaders of China may well test themselves by the words recorded in the well-known Chinese classic, the *Tao Teh Ching*, "the wise leader . . . makes the people's heart his own." It is here that this book rests on unassailable ground.

DONALD C. TEWKSBURY

Dr. Tewksbury is Professor of Comparative Education at Teachers College, Columbia University, and a Specialist on Far Eastern Education, having had extensive experience in university work in China.

JAPAN, PAST AND PRESENT. By Edwin O. Reischauer. New York: Knopf, 1946. 192 pp. \$2.00.

THE CONQUEROR COMES TO TEA: *Japan Under MacArthur.* By John Lacerda. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1946. 224 pp. \$2.75.

The first of the two books listed is an historical summary and an interpretation of the development of Japan. The second is a journalistic account of the Occupation. *The Conqueror Comes to Tea* makes little pretense of putting the Occupation activities in their historical perspective or in their cultural setting. Thus it tells little about Japan and sheds little light on the nature of the problem confronting the Occupation authorities. It is a reporting job, based partly upon the personal observations of the author and partly upon what he has been told about the changes which are being made, either by directive, or in fact in implementation of directives. While critical in spots, especially where the authorities interfere with reporting activities, it leaves one with

the impression that the author, on balance, thinks that a necessary job is being well done.

Dr. Reischauer supplies the background for an understanding of the problem of change in Japan. He has done a skillful job in compressing a large subject into a comparatively few pages, while making what might very well have been dull reading into the reverse.

Japan, Past and Present represents a reversion to the method of writing about Japan of the pre-war period in that the author, in making the selection of materials which such compression requires, selects that which presents Japanese evolution and the Japanese people in the most favorable light possible. There is, however, criticism of militarism and a relatively undefined group of militarists, as well as indication of the reasons why militarism had such a firm grip on modern Japan. To the reviewer, Dr. Reischauer over-emphasizes the "revolutionary" aspects of the work of the post-Restoration leadership of Japan. He also seems to over-emphasize, in his interpretation, the importance of liberal democracy in such statements as: "The carefully controlled revolution of the Meiji period was developing into a runaway liberal movement of the urban middle classes" and in his reference to "... the democratic political concepts, the broad intellectual life, and the liberal social trends which flowered spontaneously from the state" which the Meiji leaders created (p. 155). Nevertheless, Dr. Reischauer has presented a generally balanced account of the development of Japan, the reading of which should serve as a corrective to some of the war-bred accounts of Japanese culture and development.

University of Cincinnati

HAROLD M. WINACKE

THE EVOLUTION OF THE NETHERLANDS INDIES ECONOMY. By J. H. Boeke. New York: Netherlands and Netherlands Indies Council—Institute of Pacific Relations, 1946. 180 pp. \$2.50.

No one, after having read the first part of Boeke's study on the Netherlands Indies Economy,⁽¹⁾ need fear finding anything but a thorough analysis of that country's economic problems during the decade preceding the second world war. The earlier portrayal of a Western economy superimposed upon an indigenous one is brought more up to date and, because it covers the turbulent thirties with its world economic dislocations, the pattern seems to be etched all the more clearly.

The book deals systematically—and in considerable detail—with the measures taken by the Department of Economic Affairs in the Netherlands Indies to switch from a laissez faire policy to one of government regulations and controls. The account of this gradual transformation is told lucidly, backed up by typical examples and compact statistics which strike the reader by their perfect integration with the text.

While not always mentioned in so many words one senses throughout the struggle which took place between private interests and the government. The earlier capitalist policy of exploitation held out until the effects of a sustained world economic depression became too much and forced it to enlist the support of the government. Also, but this time more or less between the lines, one can detect differences between factions in the government in dealing with these problems. On the one hand there were those who looked upon government controls as only a temporary measure—to be released as soon as an "expected" world economic balance had once more been restored. On the other, those who believed that government participation—interference, as some would call it—in a country's economic development could no longer be avoided, with these the author sides.

(1) *The Structure of Netherlands Indian Economy*, by J. H. Boeke, New York, 1942.

There were many complexities confronting this evolution from a free economic society to one that was almost completely controlled by the government, such as the development of an involved mechanism required to keep the structure on an even keel, necessarily complicated because of the "dual economy" which governed it. The underlying motive was to strike a balance between the interests of Western capital and those of the indigenous population. The question arises whether these interests could be wedded, considering the distance which separates them. In the Netherlands Indies this gulf is greater and more clearly defined than in any other country.

One might wonder why the author does not attempt to answer this question until it is realized that this book is in a way a casualty of the war. It was ready in draft before the Indies were occupied by Japan but the manuscript could not be published because of the war in Europe. Had the book been printed close on the heels of the first part of the study it would have brought this account of Dutch stewardship over the economy of the Indies to a logical and timely conclusion. But six years have passed and many things have happened—particularly in the Netherlands Indies itself.

For this reason one is struck with a sense of unreality. Essentially this book is an historical chapter in Dutch colonial administration; a period of ten years during which a change was effected from the policy of laissez faire to one in which "paternalism" became the dominant factor. This "paternalism" was the attitude of most of the forward looking Dutch officials prior to the war; they were quite unanimous in the belief that they would "guide and protect" the Indonesians for years to come. One is forced to conclude that Professor Boeke is in complete agreement with this policy of paternalism in colonial administration. Throughout this book the Indonesians, as a people, remain a vague, indefinite mass, obscured as it were by some tropical haze. To be sure, attempts were made to help the native, but they were mostly corrective measures, giving him at best only a minute amount over a subsistence level of income. At no time do the Indonesians emerge as a dynamic force.

Recent events have shown that the Indonesians no longer appreciate this attitude. For right or for wrong the natives are asserting themselves. They have cut themselves loose from the apron strings of their "mother country"—they want to stand on their own feet. Although this phase is not covered in the book under discussion, a recent article by the author reiterates his belief that they cannot do so.⁽²⁾ It must be left to the future to prove him right or wrong.

GEORGE MASSELMAN

(2) Boeke, J. H., "Conditions for Indonesian Independence," *Pacific Affairs*, December, 1946.

FAR EASTERN SURVEY

Editor: LAURENCE E. SALISBURY

Associate Editor: SHIRLEY JENKINS

Editorial Assistant: ELIZABETH CONVERSE

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7 THOUSANDS of American service men and women were welcomed at New Zealand ports when that country was southern headquarters for the Allied campaign in the Pacific, so they know something of this "long, bright land." But many of us think of New Zealand as almost part of Australia — which actually is 1400 miles away. Numerous other misconceptions will be removed by this book which happily supplies detailed information on New Zealand's people, resources, history, social and political system, as well as its geography.

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FROM

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : GUY HOTTEL, SAC, Washington Field

FROM : ROBERT H. HOAR, SA

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: July 22, 1948

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent CHESTER A. REILLY dated May 18, 1948, at New York City, in the matter entitled "PATRICIA GLOVER BARNETT, nee Patricia Glover, aka, Pat, Research Analyst, Department of State, Washington, D.C., LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES (WFO 121-1553)" which sets out pertinent information concerning the Institute of Pacific Relations as follows:

"Mr. LOUIS BUDENZ, former managing editor of the 'Daily Worker', a daily east coast Communist newspaper, stated, 'Edward C. Carter was certainly under Communist Party discipline. I recall JACK STACHEL, a member of the National Board of the Communist Party, saying that 'Because the Russian War Relief program is not going right, we will have to order CARTER to realize his responsibility and to do his job. He is not running a community fund. He will have to live up to his Party responsibility.'

"Mr. BUDENZ also said that he had numerous dealings with EDWARD C. CARTER while on the 'Daily Worker' staff and that 'these were on a plane based on the fact that he was a member of the Communist Party.' Mr. BUDENZ stated, 'The Institute of Pacific Relations was originally non-Communist, but Communists infiltrated it. The Institute of Pacific Relations was discussed at political committee meetings of the Communist Party. The Professional Staff of the Institute of Pacific Relations contained many non-Communists who were friendly to the Communists because of the myth that the Chinese Reds were merely agrarian reformers. The Communist Party did have very great influence in the Institute of Pacific Relations and at times controlled its policy. FREDERICK V. FIELD by his contributions to the Institute of Pacific Relations had a strong influence. FIELD is a Communist Party member.'"

Further pertinent information concerning a prominent leader in the Institute of Pacific Relations, Mr. EDWARD C. CARTER, is set out in this report.

RHH:EL



JUL 22 1948	
WASHINGTON, D. C.	
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Director, FBI

3-27-50

SAC, Boston

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS
INTERNAL SECURITY (C)

JUNE

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Through a period beginning on March 23, 1950 and ending at 7 A. on March 26, 1950, [redacted] made available to agents of this division the files and records of the Institute of Pacific Relations maintained in the custody of HIRSH C. CARTER, former International Secretary General of the organization. These records completely filled 76 file cabinet drawers. It is noted that it was possible to thoroughly review some 48 of the 76 drawers and to review in a more cursory fashion the remainder. It is further noted that in this second group it was determined that there were a number of receipts for subscriptions to the organ of the organization, "Pacific Affairs," bookkeeping records, expense vouchers and similar administrative matters, which did not appear at this time to be of interest to the Bureau's security work. It is further noted that some of the folders within the file drawers, particularly those having reference to WEN LATIMORE and WILLIAM JESSUP, had had their contents removed.

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The files, located at Lee, Massachusetts, and reviewed through the informant, covered a period of the organization's history beginning in 1931 and ending in mid 1944. For the information of the offices receiving a copy of this letter, and at the direction of Mr. BELMONT, of the Bureau, the following summary of pertinent information is being set forth below. It is noted that approximately 4,000 pictures were taken of documents and these are now in the hands of the New York Division for development and printing.

The Institute of Pacific Relations, according to the files reviewed, is an educational-cultural institution recognized by the Bureau of Internal Revenue as that type of charitable trust to which contributions are recognized as income tax deductions. The organization is international in character, its component parts are councils raised for, and representing, each country, with the exception of the Latin American countries, which borders on the Pacific Ocean. Two governments gave official recognition to the IPR and donated consistently, and comparatively sparingly, to its work. These were the governments of Japan and the U.S.A. The bulk of the organization's funds, however, were received from the charitable foundations such as the Rockefeller Foundation (approximately \$75,000 per year) and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (approximately \$25,000 per year). In addition, American firms having extensive business operations in the Orient, most notably the Socony Vacuum Oil Company, the United States Steel Corporation and various importers and exporters, also contributed substantially to the organization.

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100-27475
cc Washington, New York, Baltimore.

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MAR 28 1950
[Signature]

In some years the budget ran to as high as a quarter of a million dollars.

The IPR gathered information from Government figures, at home and abroad, from scholars in universities and from news correspondents such as THE HUNT and AGNES SMADLEY, concerning the social, political and economic situations in the countries which were members of the IPR. This information was in turn disseminated to other members. Sometimes the dissemination, according to the files, was on a very confidential basis, while at other times it was done openly. No items of direct military importance were discovered, excepting a single item which reflected that someone prepared a map reflecting the military, naval and air establishments in China in 1938. The latter map was furnished to the Japanese.

The following notes are made with reference to the particular subjects who were involved in the work of the organization during the period reflected in the files:

EDWARD C. CARTER, the Secretary General, operated out of New York City. He was closely associated with all of the persons named hereinafter. He showed outstanding ability as a "con man" and made it a point to travel yearly abroad. From the files it appears he made eight trips to the Soviet Union in a period of twelve years. He also traveled to other countries. A TEE had ready access to LAURENCE GURKIN in the White House, to ALLEN DULLES, in OSS; and to persons in Military and Naval Intelligence. He had reached that point of familiarity where he addressed the Honorable CONNELL HILL as "Dear Hill" and SURONK WELLS as "Dear Wells."

Through these contacts he assisted friends and some of those persons named below in obtaining commissions in the Army, Navy, O-S and in obtaining State Department employment.

The file review would reflect that CARTER would do anything for anybody for a price, said price being furnished him as a contribution to his organization. It is further noted that he seems to have been the last authority in accounting for the funds of the IPR.

It can also be further noted that the files will reveal that he was adequately and well acquainted with what he termed "the pro-Communist bias" of such persons as PIERCE, WORNS, JAFRE and MITCHELL, who will be referred to below and that he was not disturbed by this "bias."

FREDERICK VAN ARBHELT FALLIS was the secretary of the "American Council of the IPR" up to his resignation to assume the directorship of the American Peace Mobilization. He had contacts with all of the persons named herein.

He at no time made any effort to conceal his sympathy for Communism and the USSR.

As director of the American division of the organization, he was in an excellent position to receive and disseminate information.

JOHN BARNES was a consultant to the IIR and a close personal friend of Fields and CARTER. He was used principally to obtain favorable editorials and reviews in the New York Herald Tribune on matters of interest to the I.R.

OSWEN LATTIMORE was first employed by CARTER in 1933 and was the international organization's primary ^{authority} on matters concerned with the Orient. He was also employed as the editor-in-chief of "Pacific Affairs." He was given the task of seeing that some material was published in "Amerasia" and of maintaining liaison in this regard with PHILIP JAFFE.

CARTER takes credit for securing for LATTIMORE the latter's position as Director of Far Eastern Operations for the OWI during World War II. LATTIMORE, in turn, furnished information received from his Government position to CARTER. There is no evidence in the files reflecting that LATTIMORE was engaged in espionage. There is evidence that he was frequently accused, over a period of years, of possessing a Communist attitude.

PHILIP JAFFE, as editor of Amerasia, associated with FIELDS, LATTIMORE and CARTER. He furnished them information and articles for publication in "Pacific Affairs" and received information for them for the same purpose in his own magazine. He was intimately acquainted with these people and fully trusted by all of them.

KATY BARNES, apparently the wife of JOSEPH BARNES, above, was employed for many years as research worker in the IIR and was a further liaison between CARTER, JAFFE and LATTIMORE.

KATE MITCHELL was employed for many years as a personal secretary and later as research assistant to CARTER. She was closely associated with all persons named herein with the exception of BISHOP. [redacted] has also advised that

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ANDREW RATH was associated with nearly all of the persons mentioned herein. He was introduced and recommended to LATTIMORE as a brilliant young scholar by CARTER. He obtained his position in the Navy through CARTER's intervention with OWI. It appears, from the files, that CARTER hoped to develop him to that point where he could ultimately replace LATTIMORE, who, in 1941, was beginning to find that his duties at Johns Hopkins University were too great to permit him to spend all the time he wished to on IIR affairs.

THOMAS ADAMSON HINSON was referred to by CARTER as one of the two or three greatest living authorities on the Orient. He was frequently utilized in the analyzing of material for publication in "Pacific Affairs" and for dissemination privately to other Governments.

ALGER HISS was the recipient of several letters from CARTER and directed several to CARTER. He participated in conferences of the IPR in company with FIELDS, BARBES, LATTIMORE, JAFFE and other persons who are not known to be of interest to the Bureau. It is noted, however, that there is no correspondence between HISS and BISSON, or MOORE or JAFFE or KATE MITCHELL in the files.

AGNES SIEDLEY was also used as a source of information concerning matters in China by LATTIMORE and CARTER. There is no evidence that she was contacted by any other persons named herein.

HELEN PRICE was also an associate of CARTER and CARTER only. She was used as a provider and disseminator of information.

WILLIAM LOCKWOOD was, for a time, exceedingly active in the affairs of the IPR and together with WILLIAM HOLLAND frequently acted as an executive in CARTER's behalf. LOCKWOOD and HOLLAND were particularly associated with FIELDS, BISSON and LATTIMORE.

BEA KILMER has been named in the press by GEORGE KOROLSKI as an Amerasia espionage conspirator. The files do not reflect any connection between KILMER and Amerasia. They do not reflect any subversive activity on the part of KILMER or any knowledge of pro-Communist attitudes of others named herein. They do reflect he headed the Spokane, Washington, division of the IPR.

MARRIOTT MOORE was used by the IPR as an authority on the USSR and CARTER considered her the outstanding one in the United States. She frequently assisted the IPR, Pacific Affairs and Amerasia in reviewing articles and books of an anti-Communist nature. On a number of occasions she was accused by oriental scholars in various universities of the United States of possessing a strong Communist philosophy. On each occasion CARTER would advise the complainant that the matters concerning which MOORE wrote were in controversy; that until the controversy was settled it would be impossible to say whether or not the Russian attitude was correct; that in the United States not little attention was paid to Soviet claims. Continuing, CARTER would relate that the IPR, in an effort to provide a scholarly approach to so controversial an item, welcomed the opportunity to present the Soviet viewpoint in an impartial and scholarly manner. He would conclude by stating that Miss MOORE had undertaken to do this and that the complainant was unfair to conclude that she was Communistially inclined merely because she stated the Russian case. MOORE was very closely associated with MITCHELL, BISSON, KATE BARBES, LATTIMORE and CARTER.

The following persons were not mentioned in the files reviewed although it was suggested that such might be the case by the Bureau: JOHN STEWART SERVICE, EMANUEL LARSEN, MARK GAYN, ORACEL and MAX GRANICH, JOHN CARTER VINCENT, ANNA LOUISE SENON and V. H. TROTT ZU BELL.

It is interesting to note, however, that CARTER employed as an agent in Germany for the IPR a native of Russia who frequently visited Moscow on CARTER's behalf named "ADAM VON TROTT." A review of the developed photographs will reflect that VON TROTT was instructed to furnish information coming to his attention in pre-war Germany to the Soviet and further when writing to CARTER to address him under a code name and to sign his communications with a code name. Fortunately for the informant, CARTER kept biographical material concerning all the persons named herein and this material has been photographed along with other described articles.

The offices receiving copies of this letter are advised that New York has been requested to review and analyze the photographs in the light of information available in New York files. The agents handling this matter believe that it is possible that New York may be aware of such of the information contained in the photographs.

Other offices who are origin in cases on individuals named above are requested to immediately furnish New York, if they have not already done so, with a summary of known information concerning said subjects; and to further advise New York of the particular information which could be of value to the office of origin. It will be located in the photographs.

*Par. 4, of this letter deleted & maintained
in file 66-2168. MO*

It is suggested that in the event that the Bureau and New York find this material to be of particular interest that consideration be given to developing a similar source at New York City.

Certain original material, existing in quantity copies, apparently for dissemination by CARTER, was gathered in the original and said material is being reviewed at Boston and will be disseminated to the Bureau and offices interested therein.

APR 27 1950

WASHINGTON 5, WASHINGTON FIELD, NEW YORK 2 AND BALTIMORE 1
FROM BOSTON 27 4-10 PM

DIRECTOR, ATTENTION MR. BELMONT, SACS URGENT

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, IS - C. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] HAD ADVISED THAT CERTAIN FILES OF THE INSTANT ORGANIZATION, COVERING SOME OF ITS ACTIVITIES BETWEEN THIRTYONE AND MID FORTYFOUR, REFLECT THAT THE IPR, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF ITS INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY GENERAL, EDWARD C. CARTER, WAS ENGAGED IN THE BUSINESS OF SECURING AND DISSEMINATING INFO CONCERNING SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATIONS IN NATIONS HAVING BORDERS ON THE PACIFIC. [REDACTED] ACCORDING TO THE INFORMANT, [REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED] INFORMANT STATES [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] ACCORDING TO INFORMANT, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

b7D

FREDERICK VANDERBILT FIELDS, JOSEPH BARNES, KATHY BARNES, OWEN LATTIMORE, PHILIP JAFFE, KATE MITCHELL, ANDREW ROTH, THOMAS ARTHUR BISSON, WILLIAM LOCKWOOD, BEN KIZER AND HARRIET MOORE, ALGER HISS, MILDRED PRICE AND AGNES SMEDLY WERE ALSO AFFILIATED WITH AT LEAST CARTER AND LATTIMORE IN THE WORK OF THE ORGANIZATION. A LETTER IS FOLLOWING. OFFICES RECEIVING COPIES OF THIS LETTER ARE ADVISED THAT THE NY DIVISION HAS BEEN FURNISHED FOUR THOUSAND NEGATIVES FOR DEVELOPMENT AND PRINTING, CONTAINING EXTENSIVE INFO CONCERNING THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SUBJECT ORGANIZATION AND THE PERSONS NAMED HEREIN.

b3
b7E

DA BS R1 BA NY DS R 1 NY
RECEIVED: 3-27-50 4:44 PM WASHINGTON NET
CC: WASHINGTON FIELD

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

Searched
Serialized
Indexed
Filed

206-11-5301
[Handwritten signature]

604

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

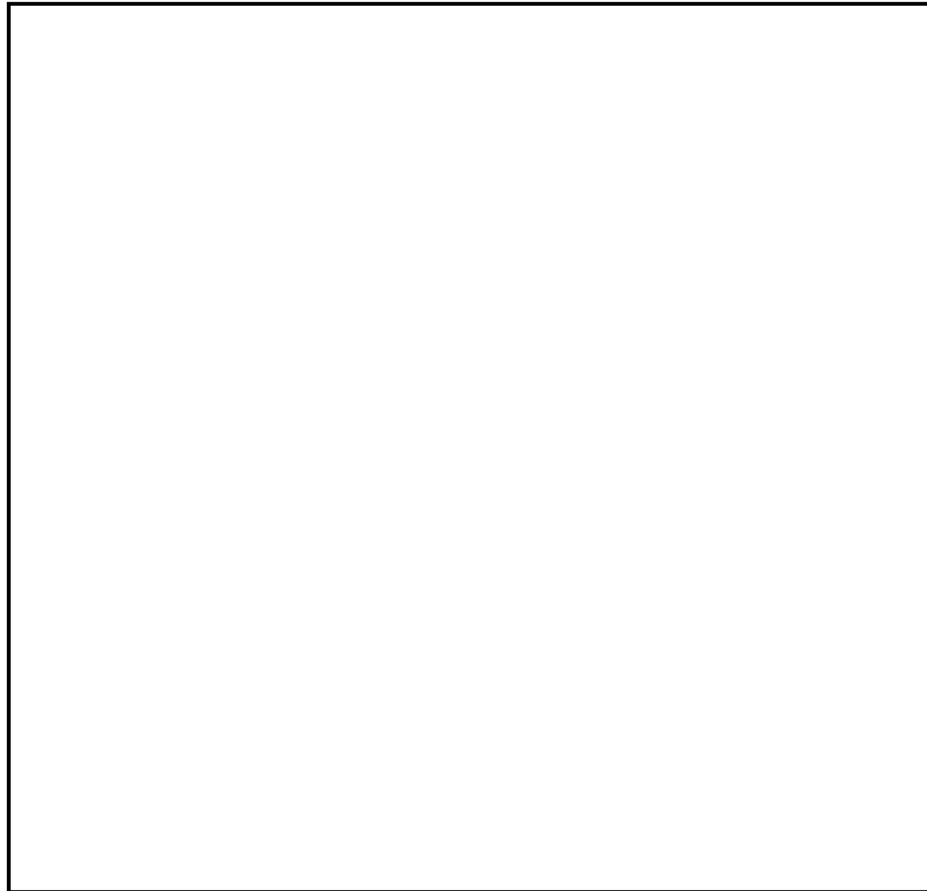
TO : GUY HOFFEL, SAC, WASHINGTON FIELD

DATE: March 30, 1950

FROM : LAMBERT G. ZANDER, SA

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

The following serials were removed from this file and forwarded to New York in accordance with instructions contained in Boston letter to the Bureau dated March 27, 1950:

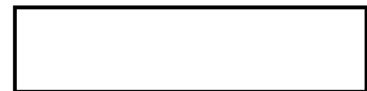
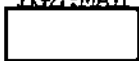


b7D

The serials removed contained information received from Informant not previously indexed to this file.

b7D

IGZ:MAH



FBI - WASH. FIELD
MAR 30 1950
[Handwritten initials]

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b7E

[Handwritten initials]

DIRECTOR, FBI

March 30, 1950

GUY HOMER, SAC, WASHINGTON FIELD

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference is made to Boston letter to the Bureau dated
March 27, 1950.

There is enclosed herewith for the New York Office informa-
tion confidentially furnished to the Washington Field Office by Informant
pertaining to the subject matter. It is possible that New York may presently
be in possession of identical information from other sources.

b7D

This informant must be completely protected and if informa-
tion contained herein is reported or the information otherwise disseminated,
it must be so paraphrased to completely protect the informant.

IGZ:MAH

CC: New York (Enc.) REGISTERED MAIL

*Hand
delivered
3-30
5:15*

WLD

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b3
b7E

URGENT

APRIL 5, 1950

CODE UNDERLINED WORDS

SAC's	ALBANY	HONOLULU	RICHMOND
	ANCHORAGE	INDIANAPOLIS	SAN FRANCISCO
	BALTIMORE	LOS ANGELES	SAN ANTONIO
	BOSTON	NEWARK	SAN DIEGO
	BUFFALO	NEW HAVEN	SAN FRANCISCO
	BUTTE	NEW YORK	WASHINGTON FIELD
	CHICAGO	PHILADELPHIA	
	CLEVELAND	PORTLAND	

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, ESPIONAGE - P. IN CONNECTION WITH INVESTIGATION OF OVEN LAT MORE, ALEXANDER BARMINE HAS STATED HE WAS TOLD IN NINETEEN THIRTYFIVE BY CHIEF OF SOVIET MILITARY INTELLIGENCE THAT INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS IN CHINA WAS COVER FOR SOVIET MILITARY INTELLIGENCE. IN NINETEEN THIRTYSEVEN, BARMINE WAS TOLD BY LATE GENERAL KRIVITSKY THAT INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS WAS COVER FOR SOVIET MILITARY INTELLIGENCE IN U.S. [REDACTED]

b7D

REPORTED

BY NEW YORK CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANT [REDACTED] EACH OFFICE SHOULD FURNISH TELETYPE SUMMARY TO EACH BUREAU AND NEW YORK BEFORE FIVE-THIRTY P. M. APRIL SIX OF ALL INFORMATION DEVELOPED BY THEM REGARDING INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS IN ANY INVESTIGATION WHICH HAS NOT BEEN SPECIFICALLY REPORTED IN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS CASE. PARTICULAR REFERENCE IS MADE TO DATA DEVELOPED DURING CURRENT INTERVIEWS IN LATTIMORE CASE. WHERE INFORMATION HAS BEEN DEVELOPED OFFICES SHOULD FOLLOW TELETYPE WITH REPORT SUITABLE FOR DISSEMINATION TO EACH BUREAU NO LATER THAN APRIL SEVEN EXCEPT ANCHORAGE AND HONOLULU WHICH MUST SUBMIT SUCH REPORT BY APRIL TEN AND NEW YORK, WHICH IS ORIGIN, WHICH MUST SUBMIT SUMMARY REPORT BY APRIL TWELVE. NEW YORK SHOULD FURNISH FOREGOING INSTRUCTION TO ANY OTHER OFFICES TO WHICH IT HAS SENT MATERIAL RECEIVED FROM [REDACTED]

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HOOVER

LM:HMB:bar

F. B. I.

APR 6 12 37 PM '50

WASHINGTON, D. C.

[Handwritten signature]

CC - WASHINGTON FIELD (BY SPECIAL MESSENGER)

Searched _____
 Serialized _____
 Indexed _____
 Filed _____

Handwritten notes:
 20-11-11
 12-10-11
 [unclear]

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

APR 5 1950

TELETYPE

NEW YORK 11 FROM WASH FIELD 6 12-29 PMP

DIRECTOR AND SAC VERY U R G E N T

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, ESP- R. REBUTEL APRIL FIVE, LAST,
CONCERNING SUBMISSION OF TELETYPE SUMMARY, AND REPORT BY APRIL SEVEN,
NEXT. INVESTIGATION AT WASH, DC AS REFLECTED IN REPORT SA W. G. FRIED-
MANN, DATED DECEMBER ELEVEN, NINETEEN THIRTY NINE, ENTITLED, "ADAM VON
TROTT, WAS, ESPIONAGE". REFLECTS INFO DEVELOPED IN WASH, DC CONCERNING
CONTACT BY TROTT WITH OWEN LATTIMORE AND IPR. NY REQUESTED TO FURNISH
WFO IDENTIFYING INFO CONCERNING ADAM VON TROTT, INCLUDING COMMUNIST AND
ESPIONAGE CONTACTS, IN ORDER THAT HE MAY BE PROPERLY IDENTIFIED IN
COMMUNICATIONS EMANATING FROM WFO. SUTEL BY FOUR THIRTY PM INSTANT
DATE.

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HTEL
^

BUREAU ADVISED

END

ACK SPL

SIGNATURE SHLD BE "HOTTEL

WA R11 NY

Searched.....
Serialized.....
Indexed.....
Filed.....

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R

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

155-6453
R
TELETYPE

NEW YORK FROM WASH FIELD 39 6 9 PM

SAC URGENT

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS. ESPIONAGE R. REBUTEL APRIL FIVE
REQUESTING SUMMARY INFORMATION DEVELOPED CONCERNING INSTANT CASE.
JOSEPH BARNES IN INTERVIEW APRIL TWO LAST ADVISED THAT OWEN LATTIMORE.
WENT TO MOSCOW IN THIRTY THREE TO SOLICIT SOVIET COOPERATION IN IN-
TERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF THE IPR BUT WAS UNSUCCESSFUL. BARNES STATED
USSR DENOUNCED IPR AS AN ORGANIZATION DOMINATED BY IMPERIALISTIC
AND CAPITALISTIC INTERESTS. UPTON CLOSE ADVISED ON APRIL TWO LAST THAT
IPR WAS ORGANIZED IN NINETEEN TWENTY TWO BY INDIVIDUALS INTERESTED
IN CHINESE WELFARE BUT ABOUT NINETEEN TWENTY FIVE IT BECAME A JAPANESE
PROPAGANDA ORGANIZATION. INDIVIDUALS SUCH AS OWEN LATTIMORE, PEARL
BUCK, JOHN AND ROBERT SERVICE, HALDORE HANSON, PHILIP JAFFE, AND PRO-
FESSOR SPECTOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON BECAME INFLUENTIAL IN
IPR. CLOSE DESCRIBED THE AFOREMENTIONED INDIVIDUALS AS SOCIAL THEOR-
ISTS AND CHAMPIONS OF THE BOLSHEVIK CAUSE. ACCORDING TO CLOSE IN THE
EARLY NINETEEN THIRTIES THIS GROUP OF PEOPLE DISCOVERED AN QUOTE ANGEL
UNQUOTE IN FREDERICK VANDERBILT FIELD DESCRIBED BY CLOSE AS A COMMUNIST.
CORLISS LAMONT ALSO HELPED IPR FINANCIALLY. CLOSE STATED THAT IN THE

END PAGE ONE

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PAGE TWO

THIRTIES A GROUP OF PEOPLE FAVORING IPR BEGAN INFILTRATING [REDACTED] b7E

[REDACTED] HE DESCRIBED THE FOLLOWING AS BEING IPR PROTEGES. ALGER HISS, DONALD HISS, JOHN SERVICE, ROBERT SERVICE, AND WILLIAM BUTTERWORTH. HE SAID THAT AN ENDORSEMENT BY IPR WAS A PREREQUISITE AND ALL THAT WAS NECESSARY TO OBTAIN EMPLOYMENT IN THE FAR EASTERN SECTION OF [REDACTED] b7E

[REDACTED] CLOSE ADVISED THAT ON ONE OCCASION WHEN OWEN LATTIMORE WAS IN SAN FRANCISCO HE WAS GIVEN A BANQUET BY IPR AND THE CHIEF SPONSOR FOR THE BANQUET WAS ANITA WHITNEY, A KNOWN COMMUNIST ACCORDING TO CLOSE. FRED A UTLEY ADVISED ON APRIL TWO LAST THAT SHE WAS OF THE OPINION THAT IPR WAS GOVERNED BY POLICIES OF USSR AND THAT THE AMERICAN DELEGATE WENT TO MOSCOW TO RECEIVE THEIR ORDERS ON POLICIES FOR IPR. UTLEY WAS OF THE OPINION THAT POLICY FORMING OFFICIALS OF THE FAR EASTERN SECTION OF [REDACTED] ARE INFLUENCES AND GUIDED BY REPRESENTATIVES AND POLICIES OF IPR. [REDACTED] b7D b7E

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ADVISED THAT [REDACTED]

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

[REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED] RENEE GUTHMAN IS BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN CHAIRMAN OF IPR AT WASHINGTON, D. C., DURING NINETEEN FORTY SIX AND FORTY SEVEN. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] IS KNOWN TO [REDACTED] OF KNOWN RELIABILITY, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ACCORDING TO [REDACTED] OF KNOWN RELIAB-

b7D

ILITY AND PHYSICAL SURVEILLANCES OF WFO. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] KNOWN TO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] OF KNOWN RELIABILITY ADVISED THAT

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ON JUNE SEVEN, NINETEEN FORTY FIVE, ROSE YARDUMIAN WAS INTERVIEWED IN CONNECTION WITH ANOTHER INVESTIGATION BY AGENTS OF THE WFO

END PAGE THREE

PAGE FOUR

AT WHICH TIME SHE ADVISED THAT SHE WAS EMPLOYED AT THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS AS WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE. SUBSEQUENT TO HER GRADUATION FROM RADCLIFF COLLEGE IN NINETEEN FORTY ONE, SHE WAS EMPLOYED AT THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS IN NY. IN NINETEEN FORTY TWO SHE WAS TRANSFERRED TO THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS IN WASHINGTON WHERE SHE WAS EMPLOYED AT THAT TIME AT SEVEN FOUR FOUR JACKSON PLACE, N. W. AS WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE. AS WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE OF THE INSTITUTE SHE DID RESEARCH WORK IN CONNECTION WITH FAR EASTERN DEVELOPMENT AND ARRANGED FOR MEETINGS OF THE MEMBERSHIP OF HER ORGANIZATION. SHE STATED THE IPR HAD BEEN IN EXISTANCE FOR APPROXIMATELY TWENTY YEARS AND WAS A PRIVATELY OPERATED ORGANIZATION DERIVING ITS INCOME FROM SUSTAINING MEMBERSHIPS AND ENDOWMENTS NAMING THE ROCKEFELLER INSTITUTE AND CARNEGIE FOUNDATION AS TWO OF THE ENDOWING AGENCIES. SHE INDICATED THAT THE WASHINGTON MEMBERSHIP WAS APPROXIMATELY TWO HUNDRED AND THAT THE AVERAGE ATTENDANCE AT THE MEETINGS, CONDUCTED BY THE INSTITUTE, USUALLY AT COSMOS CLUB, WAS BETWEEN SEVENTY FIVE AND ONE HUNDRED. SHE ADVISED THAT THE IPR HELD A CONFERENCE AT HOT SPRINGS, VA. JANUARY FORTY FIVE WHICH WAS ATTENDED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE INSTITUTE FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD. SHE EXPLAINED THAT SEVERAL GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES ALSO HAD REPRESENTATIVES AT THE CONFERENCE. THE NAVY

END PAGE FOUR

PAGE FIVE

DEPARTMENT AND STATE DEPARTMENT WERE SO REPRESENTED. IN A SIGNED STATEMENT DATED JUNE TWENTY TWO, NINETEEN FORTY FIVE, MADE TO FORMER AGENT OSCAR H. SELLS AND SA JAMES E. MC MAHON, CYRUS H. PEAKE, CHIEF OF THE ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION AND CONTROL SECTION, FOREIGN ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION, STATED THAT EARLY IN NINETEEN THIRTY SEVEN HE WAS INVITED TO JOIN THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF QUOTE AMERASIA UNQUOTE, THE FIRST ISSUE WHICH APPEARED IN MARCH, NINETEEN THIRTY SEVEN. DUE TO INCREASING DISAGREEMENT ON PEAKE-S PART WITH THE POLICY OF THE PUBLICATION HE OFFERED HIS RESIGNATION ABOUT SEPTEMBER, NINETEEN THIRTY EIGHT. PEAKE WAS URGED TO STAY AS IT SEEMED THAT QUOTE AMERASIA UNQUOTE WAS ABOUT TO BE TAKEN OVER ~~THE I~~

~~TTTTTTTTTTTTTTTTTTTT~~

~~OVER BY THE IP~~

OVER BY THE IPR AND WOULD BE MADE ONE OF THEIR REGULAR PUBLICATIONS. THIS PLAN HOWEVER FAILED TO MATERIALIZE AND PEAKE REMAINED ON THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF QUOTE AMERASIA UNQUOTE UNTIL OCTOBER, NINETEEN THIRTY NINE, WHEN HE RESIGNED BECAUSE OF SHARP DISAGREEMENT OVER EDITORIAL POLICY.

HOTTEL

BUREAU ADVISED

PLS VOID GARBLED LINES

END

WA R 39 NY

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

DR

APR - 6 1950

TELETYPE

NEW YORK 21 FROM WASHINGTON FIELD 6 3 XXX 4-53 P
DIRECTOR AND SAC..... U R G E N T

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, ESPIONAGE R. RE WFO LETTER MARCH
THIRTY LAST WHICH TRANSMITTED TO NEW YORK MATERIAL PERTAINING TO
I.P.R., WHICH HAS BEEN CONFIDENTIALLY FURNISHED WFO BY INFORMANT
NO COPIES OF THIS MATERIAL AVAILABLE TO WFO. THEREFORE SUGGESTED
NEW YORK REPORT IT IN ACCORDANCE WITH INSTRUCTIONS IN BUTEL OF APRIL
FIVE LAST.

b7D

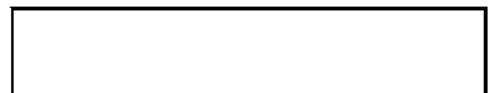
HOTTEL

BUREAU ADVISED

HOLD PLS

Searched _____
Serialized *mt*
Indexed _____
Filed *mt*

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

APR - 6 1950

R
TELETYPE

WASHINGTON AND WASH FIELD FROM NEW YORK 25 6 5-52P
DIRECTOR AND SACU R G E N T....

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, ESP - R. RETEL WFO APRIL SIX IN-
SOMANT REQUESTING IDENTIFYING INFO RE ADAM VON TROTT. *see slzatt* INS RECORDS
REFLECT TROTT, A GERMAN CITIZEN, ENTERED US, OCT. THREE, THIRTYNINE
AT NYC AND LEFT US AT SAN FRANCISCO JAN. TWELVE, NINETEEN FORTY.
see slzatt EDWARD C. CARTER DURING INTERVIEW JAN. NINETEEN FORTYTWO BY NYO
ADVISED HE WAS EXECUTIVE SEC-Y OF IPR, AMERICAN COUNCIL AND AS SUCH HE
INVITED VON TROTT TO BE BROUGHT TO US IN FALL NINETEEN THIRTYNINE

[REDACTED] VON TROTT WHILE IN US WAS
USED BY IPR TO OBTAIN GERMAN VIEWPOINT ON PACIFIC AFFAIRS WHICH WAS
DEEMED IMPORTANT BY CARTER BECUASE OF GERMAN DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPE.
CARTER STATED VON TROTT AT THAT TIME EMPLOYED IN GERMAN FOREIGN
OFFICE, WAS SECRETLY ANTI NAZI. NO COMMUNIST OR ESPIONAGE CONTACTS
OF VON TROTT NOTED. ARTICLE APPEARING TIME MAGAZINE DATED SEPT.
TWENTYFIVE, FORTYFOUR REFLECTS VON TROTT HANGED BY HITLER BECAUSE VON
TROTT HAD FORMULATED PLAN OVERTHROW HITLER. RUC.

SCHEIDT

*Given to Jones, who
interested 8:30 P.M.
WJS*

Zander

[REDACTED]

F. B. I.

Apr 6 8 01 PM '50

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Jones *Off*

BUREAU ADVISED

1509

Searched _____
Serialized _____
Indexed _____
Filed _____

AK

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b7E

Subj: Institute of Labor Relations

Address: _____

Birthdate: _____ SUPV: _____

Misc: _____

R# _____ Date 4-7 Searcher Initial PK

FILE NUMBER

SERIALS

[Redacted]

b3
b7E

[Redacted]

100-17762

100-4179

100-17167-65p87

[Redacted]

100-3668-1FP548

100-3925-1

-
-
-
4. Date checked _____
5. Checked by: _____

Please be assured that your cooperation in this matter will be greatly appreciated. For your convenience in replying, a franked, self-addressed envelope is being enclosed herewith.

Very truly yours,

Special Agent in Charge

Enclosure

(1-10-49)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FORM NO. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

NEW YORK

FILE NO. [redacted]

b3
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REPORT MADE AT WASHINGTON, D. C.	DATE WHEN MADE 4/7/50	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 4/4,6,7/50	REPORT MADE BY LAMBERT G. ZANDER
TITLE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS		CHARACTER OF CASE ESPIONAGE - R	

~~SECRET~~

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Pertinent information in the files of this office, concerning the Institute of Pacific Relations, reviewed and reported.

Index

- P -

Classified by *SP6 BA/CS*
Declassify on: OADR
3/21/83

DETAILS:

AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

In an interview with JOSEPH EELS BARNES on April 2, 1950, at Washington, D. C., he advised that he first met OWEN LATTIMORE in the Fall of 1945 at Banff, Canada. A convention of the Institute of Pacific Relations was in session there at the time. BARNES attended this convention as Secretary to NEWTON D. BAKER, Chairman of the American delegation to the Institute of Pacific Relations. It was BARNES' recollection that LATTIMORE was a delegate to this convention. BARNES stated he was employed by the Institute of Pacific Relations from 1931 to 1934 as a Research Assistant. During that same period, OWEN LATTIMORE was Editor of the organization's publication "Pacific Affairs".

With regard to OWEN LATTIMORE's role in the Institute of Pacific Relations, BARNES advised that in 1933, prior to the time the USSR entered the League of Nations and seemingly entering upon a policy of cooperation with other nations, OWEN LATTIMORE had gone to Moscow in an attempt to solicit Soviet cooperation for the International Organization of the Institute of Pacific Relations. The Soviet Government did, in fact, set up a Far Eastern Committee headed by a Dr. MOTILYEV, a renowned scholar and the chief editor of the Soviet encyclopedia. OWEN LATTIMORE tried to persuade MOTILYEV, and through him, the Soviet Government, to join the Institute.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED:

ML

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

COPIES OF THIS REPORT

- 5 - Bureau
- 4 - New York (100-17808)
- 3 - Washington Field

Searched _____

cc's of serials destroyed

Date: *3/26/83*

Initials: *[signature]*

~~SECRET~~

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~~SECRET~~

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[REDACTED]

Pacific Relations, but was unsuccessful. He stated that a committee was actually established by the Soviets to cooperate in this matter, and opened offices in the Chamber of Commerce Building in Moscow, but the intended cooperation never materialized. The negotiations culminated in a denunciation of the Institute of Pacific Relations by the Soviet Government as an organization dominated by imperialistic and capitalistic interests.

On April 1, 1950, Mr. UPTON CLOSE was interviewed by agents of this office, and advised that in about 1922 the Institute of Pacific Relations was organized by individuals who were sincerely interested in Chinese welfare; however, in about 1925 this organization became a propaganda organ for the Japanese. Individuals like OWEN LATTIMORE, PEARL BUCK, JOHN SERVICE, HALDORE HANSON, PHILIP JAFFE and Professor SPECTOR of the University of Washington, all of whom were social theorists and championed the Bolshevik cause, became influential in this organization. These people "damned" the book UPTON CLOSE had written in 1934, entitled "The Face of Japan". This group was constantly suggesting that China would be better off without the Western influence, and were bitterly anti-British, which was in accord with the Communist Party line.

Mr. CLOSE stated that during the early 1930's, this group discovered an "angel" in FREDERICK VANDERBILT FIELD, who was, at that time, Editor of "New Masses" and "an out-and-out Communist". CORLISS LAMONT was also a "buddy" and helped the Institute of Pacific Relations financially. It was near this time when a group favoring the Institute of Pacific Relations,

[REDACTED]

b7E

In Mr. CLOSE's opinion, the Institute of Pacific Relations showed its hand in November 1941 when they directed a letter over the signature of EDWARD C. CARTER to the National Broadcasting Company, demanding that UPTON CLOSE be taken off the air because of his criticism of a friendly nation - Japan.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

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[REDACTED]

UPTON CLOSE first met EDWARD G. CARTER at Mukden immediately after the invasion of Manchuria, when CARTER had just arrived there from Moscow, and he remarked to CARTER that Japan's actions must have been a great surprise to him. CARTER replied he had known it would occur prior to his departure from Russia. This statement of CARTER's was assurance to CLOSE that Japan had been in consultation with the Russian Government and obtained her approval prior to the invasion. Such cooperation between Japan and Russia, according to Mr. CLOSE, was evident throughout the Sino-Japan war.

[REDACTED]

Mr. CLOSE related that Dr. STANLEY HORNEBECK, whom he described as a very hard worker but gullible, became enthusiastic about some of his employees whom UPTON CLOSE described as Institute of Pacific Relations proteges. ALGER HISS was one of the first of these, and among others were DONALD HISS, JOHN SERVICE and WILLIAM BUTTERWORTH. UPTON CLOSE advised that an

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Mr. CLOSE advised in 1941, when LATTIMORE was in San Francisco, California, on his way to China, CLOSE extended an invitation to him to broadcast over the NBC network prior to his departure for China; however, before the broadcast CLOSE learned that a banquet had been given for LATTIMORE by the Institute of Pacific Relations, and that the chief sponsor for this banquet was one ANITA WELTNEY, who, according to CLOSE, was a well-known Communist. CLOSE contacted LATTIMORE and advised that if he were to be sponsored by such an individual he would be unable to share UPTON CLOSE's radio broadcast. As a result, OWEN LATTIMORE did not appear on the broadcast.

On April 2, 1950, FREDA UTLEY was interviewed in Washington, D. C., and advised she first met OWEN LATTIMORE in Moscow in the Spring of 1936. She stated she was employed by the Pacific Ocean Cabinet of the Institute of World Economy and Politics in Moscow. She advised that this organization at that time was a branch of the Communist Academy, now the

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Academy of Sciences, and the Russian Branch of the Institute of Pacific Relations. She advised that in the Spring of 1936, OWEN LATTIMORE, EDWARD C. CARTER and HARRIET MOORE, leading American figures in the Institute of Pacific Relations, came to Moscow for an all-day session at the Institute. FREDa UTLEY was of the definite opinion that the Institute of Pacific Relations was governed by the policies of the Soviet Union, and that these American delegates had come to Moscow to receive their orders on policy for the organization. To clarify this association between the American delegates of the IPR and the Soviet Union, FREDa UTLEY made available the following information appearing in her book, "Lost Illusions":

"The Pacific Ocean Cabinet of our Institute became the Russian branch of the Institute of Pacific Relations when the Kremlin switched over to the policy of establishing good relations with Liberal capitalist organizations and groups abroad. To keep up appearances, a room was taken in another part of the town and a notice put up on the door saying 'Soviet Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations'. When representatives of the American Council visited Moscow a few members of our Institute would be delegated to sit in this room and receive the foreigners.

"In 1936, however, the whole staff of our Pacific Ocean Cabinet had an all-day-long session at the Institute with E. C. CARTER, OWEN LATTIMORE, and HARRIET MOORE, leading lights of the Institute of Pacific Relations. I was a little surprised at the time that these Americans should defer so often and so completely to the Russian viewpoint.

"I was still more astonished in the evening when Mr. CARTER addressed a large gathering of Moscow Communist 'actives', as leading members of the Party were called. Afterward, PHILIP RABINOVITCH

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remarked to me with a smile that it was strange that Mr. CARTER, who had formerly been Secretary of the World Y.M.C.A. spoke almost like a good Bolshevik.

"OWEN LATTIMORE found it difficult at first to submit to the discipline required of Friends of the Soviet Union. He told me a few months later in London how he had almost lost his job as Editor of 'Pacific Affairs' because he had published an article by the Trotskyist, HAROLD ISAACS.

"In later years in the United States it did not astonish me to find the Institute of Pacific Relations following the same general line as the 'Daily Worker' in regard to China and Japan."

In regard to the all-day session at the Institute in Moscow, Miss UTLEY stated that she was not present as she was not a member of the Communist Party at that time, having left the Party in 1931. She advised, however, that she attended the evening assembly which Mr. E. C. CARTER addressed and that she recalled Mr. LATTIMORE spoke only a few words at this meeting.

Concerning this 1936 meeting with Mr. LATTIMORE in Moscow, Miss UTLEY also furnished information from her book, "Last Chance in China", which reads as follows:

"The Kremlin was in a better position to help its friends and discomfort its enemies in the Far East than anywhere else, thanks to the Institute of Pacific Relations. The Institute where I worked was a branch of the Communist Academy (now the Academy of Sciences), and was also the Russian branch of the Institute of Pacific Relations. It was we who received its American delegates when they came to Moscow for help and advice. To hear these Americans submit themselves to our dictates on

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theory and policy was amusing, if sad. In the spring of 1936, one of them, OWEN LATTIMORE, attempted to argue with the theoreticians of our Institute on questions concerned with Mongolia but he was overborne by the prestige of these high priests of Communism."

Miss UTLEY also advised that she was of the definite opinion that [redacted] [redacted] are influenced and guided by the representatives and policies of the Institute of Pacific Relations, of which OWEN LATTIMORE is a prominent representative. [redacted] and the Institute of Pacific Relations. Miss UTLEY pointed out that in 1943, LAWRENCE SALISBURY [redacted] [redacted] to edit the Institute of Pacific Relations magazine and that PHILIP JESSOP, formerly with the Institute, [redacted] [redacted]

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reflect that on May 12, 1947, Passport Number 69026 was issued to OWEN LATTIMORE. In his application for this passport, OWEN LATTIMORE stated he wished to go to England to attend an international conference of the Royal Institute of Inter-Czechoslovakia as a Special Correspondent for the Overseas News Agency, and as a representative of the American Institute of Pacific Relations.

In a signed statement dated June 22, 1945, furnished to Special Agents OSCAR H. SELLS and JAMES E. McMAHON, CYRUS H. PEAKE, Chief of the Economic Administration and Control Section, Foreign Economic Administration, stated that early in 1937 he was invited to join the Editorial Board of "Amerasia", the first issue of which appeared in March 1937. Due to increasing disagreement on PEAKE'S part with the policy of the publication, he offered his resignation about September 1938;

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however, he was urged to remain at his position inasmuch as it seemed that "Amerasia" was about to be taken over by the Institute of Pacific Relations and made one of this organization's regular publications. This possibility failed to materialize and PEAKE remained in his position on the Editorial Board of "Amerasia" until October 1939 when he resigned due to sharp disagreement over editorial policy.

Confidential Informant T-1, of known reliability, advised

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Confidential Informant T-2, of known reliability, advised

that

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In December 1943, the informant advised that

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~~SECRET~~ Confidential Informant T-3, of known reliability, advised that [Redacted]

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~~SECRET~~ Confidential Informant T-4, a reliable informant, advised that [Redacted]

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The same informant advised that [Redacted]

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Informant T-5, of known reliability, [Redacted]

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Confidential Informant T-6, of known reliability, advised

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[Redacted] according to Confidential Informant T-7
of known reliability, [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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Further, ~~Q~~ Confidential Informant T-8, of known
reliability, advised that [Redacted]

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Confidential Informant T-9, of known reliability,
has advised that [Redacted]

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Further, Confidential Informant T-6, previously mentioned, has advised [Redacted]

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~~C~~ Confidential Informant T-4, a reliable informant, advised that [Redacted]

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The same informant advised that [Redacted]

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This informant further advised that [Redacted]

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Confidential Informant T-10, of known reliability, advised that [Redacted]

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T-8, a reliable informant, advised [Redacted]

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T-6, a reliable informant, advised that [Redacted]

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T-10, a reliable informant, advises that [Redacted]

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T-11, a reliable informant, advised [Redacted]

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T-12, a reliable informant, [Redacted]

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On June 12, 1946, Special Agents COURTLAND J. JONES and GEORGE W. McKENNA observed ALLEN ROSENBERG at HENRY BOWEN SMITH's residence which, at that time, was 2818 N Street, N. W.

On December 6, 1946, Special Agents L. W. R. OBERNDORF and LORENZO H. D. WILDMAN observed HENRY BOWEN SMITH and his wife, CLAYTON, at the apartment of MARY JANE KEENEY, 215 - B Street, N. E., Washington.

On February 3, 1947, Special Agents WILLIAM H. MARR and CHARLES CLEVELAND observed MARY JANE KEENEY at the residence of HENRY BOWEN SMITH.

On December 19, 1946, Special Agents JAMES J. CANAVAN and EARL FUOSS observed MARY JANE KEENEY at the residence of HENRY BOWEN SMITH.

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ELIZABETH T. BENTLEY, in testimony before the HCUA, House of Representatives, at the second session of the 80th Congress, Between July 31, and December 9, 1949, identified two Communist espionage groups composed of government employees and government officials in Washington, D. C. Information supplied from the files of the Federal Government by members of these espionage groups, was conveyed to New York City and turned over to agents of the Soviet Union. NATHAN GREGORY SILVERMASTER, who, according to Miss BENTLEY, was the Director of the Labor Division of Farm Security Administration at that time, was a member of one of these groups. ALLEN ROSENBERG employed at that time, according to Miss BENTLEY in the Foreign Economic Administration, was a member of one of these groups. HENRY HILL COLLINS, according to WHITTAKER CHAMBERS, was a member of a Communist Party Underground Group in Washington in the late 1930's, and is presently Executive Secretary of the American Russian Institute in New York City.

Miss BENTLEY further testified before the HCUA that there were certain individuals employed in the government who cooperated in obtaining information from the files of the government for the use of Russian agents, but who are not actually attached to either of the Communist groups previously mentioned. According to Miss BENTLEY's testimony, ROBERT T. MILLER was one of these individuals, and at that time was head of the Policy Research Coordinator on Inter-American Affairs. He was also employed by the Near Eastern Affairs, State Department, and the Division of Research and Publications, State Department.

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T-13 a reliable informant advised [redacted]

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~~T-11~~ previously mentioned advised [redacted]

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DUNCAN CHAPLIN LEE was interviewed by agents of the Washington Field Office on May 29, 1947, at which time he advised he had been, and was still associated with the Institute of Pacific Relations. At the time of the interview, DUNCAN CHAPLIN LEE was engaged in the practice of law and maintained offices in the Tower Building, Washington, D. C. DUNCAN CHAPLIN LEE was one of the individuals named by ELIZABETH TERRILL BENTLEY, a confessed Soviet espionage agent, in her testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the Second Session of the 80th Congress in session from July 31 to September 9, 1948, as a person from whom she received information to be transmitted to her Soviet principals.

In October 1948, DUNCAN CHAPLIN LEE testified before this same committee at which time he advised he had joined the Institute of Pacific Relations in 1946, but had taken no active organizational part in its programs.

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Confidential Informant ~~T-15~~ of known reliability, advised that

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T-14, a reliable informant, advised that

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T-15, a reliable informant, advised that

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Confidential Informant ~~T-16~~ of known reliability, advised that

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DAVID DUBINSKY, President of the union, which is the third largest in the American Federation of Labor and claims 280,000 members, asserted in a one-

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paragraph announcement of the donation to the Red Cross that the union had decided to make its contributions through that agency as the one that "offers best assurance that the full amount will reach the much-suffering and battered heroic Russian people defending their homeland against the Nazi invaders." DUBINSKY added that the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union locals intend to contribute a total of \$100,000.00 to Russian medical aid.

Other officers of the ILGWU were more outspoken. "We contributed the Russian medical aid to the Red Cross because we would rather do that than hand it over to a new agency which we're not quite sure is absolutely clean and clear of Communist Party influence," said the union's press representative. "Although the Russian War Relief has a lot of people that are very substantial and very important, we're not sure that the money would be handled by people in whom we have faith and trust -- from a Communist viewpoint." The ILGWU is militantly anti-Communist, he said.

The official added that the union had information that some of the administrative officials of Russian War Relief, Inc., had been connected with the American Peace Mobilization, alleged Communist front group which opposed aid to Great Britain while the Soviet-Nazi pact was in effect, but which was renamed American People's Mobilization and dedicated to all-out aid to Britain, China and Russia after the Nazi invasion of Russia.

EDWARD C. CARTER, Chairman of Russian War Relief, Inc., and Secretary-General of the Institute for Pacific Relations, replied that the Treasurer of Russian War Relief, Inc., is PIERRE JAY, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Fiduciary Trust Company of New York. He suggested that anyone willing to "look up his antecedents" would know that "none of our funds are going to the C.P. (Communist Party)." CARTER said that there were about fifty persons on the staff of Russian War Relief, Inc., including script writers, copyists, accountants and stenographers. He said that he had never gone around each desk to ask, "Did you ever have anything to do with the American Peace Mobilization?" but that "so far as the officers are concerned, I can assure you that none of them have been identified with the Communist Party or Communist front organizations." As for the minor employees, he said it was, of course, "conceivable in a staff of fifty that there is someone who got enthusiastic down in Union Square."

CARTER added that he thought the remarks about the American Peace Mobilization actually were aimed at him, because a former research employee of his on the Institute for Pacific Relations, FREDERICK V. FIELD, became National Secretary of the American Peace Mobilization. He said the facts in that case were that he accepted FIELD'S resignation from the Institute as soon

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as Field went to the American Peace Mobilization. "Personally," said CARTER, "I have been an interventionist from the start."

As for the ILGWU contribution to the Red Cross, CARTER said that "our position is that we are delighted that the Garment Workers' Union is going to the help of Russia in her time of need." He said that the relationship between the Russian War Relief and the Red Cross in the matter of aid to Russia was so close that when people asked him to which organization they should make their contribution to Russian aid, he had told them time and time again that they should select whichever was "most completely satisfactory to their constituents."

Confidential Informant T-11, of known reliability, furnished the following information concerning [Redacted]

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[Confidential Informant T-17, of known reliability, advised that]

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The informant further stated that

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is reported by the informant

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[ROSE YARDUMIAN was interviewed by Special Agent ROBERT A. COLLIER and former Special Agent HARRIS HUSTON on June 7, 1945, in Washington, D. C., at which time she advised that she was born in Roslindale, Massachusetts, October 30, 1919, and that she attended the Girls' Latin School at Boston, Massachusetts, graduating from Radcliffe College in 1941, where she received an AB Degree. Subsequent to her graduation from Radcliffe College, she worked for approximately four months as Secretary of the State Aid Society and then moved to New York City, where she was employed with the Institute of Pacific Relations. After approximately one year and a half, she was transferred by the Institute of Pacific Relations to Washington, D. C., where she is presently employed, at 744 Jackson Place, Northwest, as Washington Representative of the Institute of Pacific Relations.]

[MISS YARDUMIAN stated that as Washington Representative of the Institute of Pacific Relations, she does a small amount of research work in connection with the Far Eastern development and arranges for meetings of the membership of her organization. She stated that the Institute of Pacific Relations has been in existence for approximately 20 years; that it is a privately operated organization, deriving its income from sustaining memberships and endowments. She named the Rockefeller Institute and the Carnegie Foundation as two endowing agencies. MISS YARDUMIAN stated that the Washington membership was approximately 200, and that the average attendance at the meetings conducted by the Institute, usually at the Cosmos Club, was between 75 and 100 members. She stated that through her work with the Institute, she had occasion to come in contact with many different types of individuals who were interested in the political and economic conditions in the Far East. She stated that the Institute of Pacific Relations held a conference in Hot Springs, Virginia, in January 1945, which was attended by representatives of the Institute from all over the world. She explained that several governmental agencies had representatives at this conference. The Navy Department and the State Department were so represented. She further indicated that ANDREW E. ROTH, as well as JULIAN R. FRIEDMAN, WILMA FAIRBANK, and ROBERT FEAREY, of the Department of State, attended this conference of the Institute as recorders. She indicated that she was well acquainted with MARGUERITE STUART, who is employed in the New York office of the Institute of Pacific Relations.]

[ELIZABETH DENISON KRAY USSACHEVSKY was interviewed in the Washington Field Office on June 7, 1945, by Special Agents JOHN E. ALLMON, JR., and

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MANNING C. CLEMENTS. She advised that she lived at 2228 Decatur Place, Northwest, and was employed at the Institute of Pacific Relations located at 744 Jackson Place, Northwest. MRS. USSACHEVSKY stated that she was born August 17, 1916, in Cleveland, Ohio. In 1939, she graduated from the University of Washington, Seattle, Washington and took graduate work there until 1944. She married VLADIMIR ALEXIE USSACHEVSKY on February 6, 1944, at Seattle, Washington. She obtained her present position as Secretary of the Institute of Pacific Relations in August 1944, when her husband was transferred to Washington, D. C., affiliated with the Office of Strategic Services.

She advised that only the Federal Communications Commission reports (Foreign Intelligence Service FCC reports) which are mimeographed monthly summaries and daily reports of leader intercepts from the Pacific and European war areas were received by her office daily. These, she had noted, were marked "Restricted" and she had been instructed by ROSIE YARDUMIAN to see that these reports were kept in the file cabinet and not made available to the public. MRS. USSACHEVSKY stated that her office is open to the public and that many non-Americans from the Pacific area visit the reading room. She also receives many callers for information regarding Asiatic affairs. She advised that the first time she met PHILIP JACOB JAFFE was when he called at the office of the Institute of Pacific Relations sometime in December 1944. She could not, at that time, recollect any of the details about his visit, indicating that he was apparently seeking information as a general visitor.

With reference to JOHN SERVICE, she stated that she first met him at a meeting held in the office of the Institute of Pacific Relations when he spoke as a representative of the State Department concerning his past experience in China.

MICHAEL GREENBERG was interviewed by Special Agents MILTON SINGMAN and M. A. TAYLOR, of the Washington Field Office, on June 6, 1945, at which time he advised he was at that time employed as a Foreign Affairs Economist, Administrative Division, Enemy Branch, Foreign Economic Administration. He said he advised in this connection that the work in his division was generally classified as secret, confidential and restricted and all considered highly confidential and not to be disclosed to persons outside of Government service. Prior to working for the Foreign Economic Administration in Washington, D. C., he lived in New York City and was employed until September 1942 with the Institute of Pacific Relations where he performed research and editorial work on economic conditions in the Orient. He also wrote for and assisted in the preparation of work for the two Institute of Pacific Relations publications, "Pacific Affairs" (quarterly) and "Far Eastern Survey" (bi-weekly). GREENBERG indicated that he was Editor of "Pacific Affairs" for some time.

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While so employed by the Institute of Pacific Relations, he became acquainted with KATE MITCHELL who was a member of the research staff there and through her, was introduced to PHILIP JACOB JAFFE. He observed that PHILIP JACOB JAFFE occupied a first floor office in the Institute of Pacific Relations Building at 129 East 53rd Street, and that he saw him there casually on a number of occasions as a result of this proximity. In October, 1942, he left New York City to come to Washington to accept Government employment. Prior to coming to Washington, he had written two articles for PHILIP JAFFE's magazine, "Amerasia." These articles were entitled "Malaya - Britain's Dollar Arsenal" and a book review on American books on the Pacific.

IRVING S. FRIEDMAN was interviewed by Special Agents EDWIN R. DONALDSON and RAPHAEL I. NIXON of the Washington Field Office on June 8, 1945, at which time he advised that he had met PHILIP JACOB JAFFE when he, FRIEDMAN, was associated with the International Secretariat of the Institute of Pacific Relations. JAFFE at that time was on the editorial board of "Amerasia." FRIEDMAN stated that his association with Mr. JAFFE consisted in his contributing an article to the "Amerasia" magazine. FRIEDMAN stated that since leaving the Institute of Pacific Relations, he could only remember one time when he had occasion to talk with Mr. JAFFE, namely at a lunch which the two of them had about two years ago. FRIEDMAN advised that if he recalls correctly, JAFFE asked him at that time whether he would be interested in contributing an article for "Amerasia." FRIEDMAN stated that in accordance with his general feeling that it was very difficult for people in Government to comment on current affairs because of their knowledge of confidential information, he would not undertake to contribute to Mr. JAFFE's periodical.

JOHN STEWART SERVICE was interviewed by Special Agents HAROLD G. BRACK and OSCAR J. KEEP of the Washington Field Office on June 6, 1945, at which time he advised that he was born at Chengten, China, on August 3, 1909, of American parents, and that he was an American citizen. Since June 23, 1933, he had been employed by the State Department of the United States and for the past four years he had been a member of the staff of the American Embassy at Chungking. Among his other duties was that of a political observer attached to the staff of the Army. He left China in April 1945, when he received orders to return to the United States. Upon his return to the Department of State he was temporarily assigned to the Office of Foreign Affairs. It was shortly after this time that he indicated he met PHILIP JACOB JAFFE as a dinner guest in the home of Lieutenant ANDREW E. ROTH. He indicated that he had known of PHILIP JAFFE for many years through numerous mutual friends and believed that he had met his wife in China in 1937. He knew him to be the Editor of "Amerasia."



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PHILIP JACOB JAFFE indicated that he was chiefly interested in meeting SERVICE to learn about the situation from SERVICE in Yen-an from which SERVICE had just returned. He advised that he allowed MR. JAFFE to see a report that he had prepared on a long conversation with MAO TSE TUNG, the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. MR. SERVICE indicated that thereafter he agreed to allow MR. JAFFE to see his other Yen-an reports which he subsequently did.

JOHN STEWART SERVICE advised that shortly thereafter, PHILIP JAFFE tried to persuade him to either write for or take over his magazine, "Amerasia" and suggested to SERVICE that SERVICE would not suffer financially on account of that. SERVICE advised that he had informed JAFFE he was not interested in his offer and neither was he interested in leaving the employ of the Department of State.

Also, in April of that year, SERVICE advised that in response to an invitation from MR. EDWARD CARTER of the IPR he went to New York City and met with their research staff. Following the meeting with the research staff, he advised that he spent the following day contacting old friends at the Institute of Pacific Relations, also calling on MR. JAFFE at his office.

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On [REDACTED] the U. S. Grand Jury for the District of Columbia returned indictments against [REDACTED]

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During the investigation of the above case, certain items of interest pertaining to the Institute of Pacific Relations are noted.

On the evening of April 10, 1945, Lt. and Mrs. ANDREW E. ROTH, Mr. and Mrs. DAVID KARR and ROSE YARDUMIAN, Washington representative of the Institute of Pacific Relations, were observed dining together at the LaSalle DuBois Restaurant, 18th and M Streets, N.W.

On April 26, 1945, Lt. ANDREW ROTH was observed to have lunch with ROSE YARDUMIAN, the local representative of Institute of Pacific Relations, at the Trianon Restaurant on 17th Street.

On April 28, 1945, Lt. ROTH was observed to enter the Institute of Pacific Relations Office, 744 Jackson Pl., N.W. at 11:05 am. He emerged at 11:45 am accompanied by Mrs. BESSIE USSACHEVSKY, an employee of the Institute of Pacific Relations and they had lunch together at the Trianon Restaurant separating at approximately 1:05 pm.

On May 4, 1945, ROTH was observed to have lunch with DAVID KARR, former employee of columnist DREW PEARSON. This luncheon also took place at the Trianon Restaurant and thereafter ROTH walked to the office of IPR entering at 1:15 pm and departing at 1:40 pm to return to the Navy Department.

On May 5, 1945 at 11:55 am, ROTH left the Navy Department and walked to 17th and Pennsylvania Ave., N.W. where he met JOHN S. SERVICE of the State Department. After luncheon in the Graystone Restaurant on 17th Street, ROTH and SERVICE walked to the office of IPR where both entered.

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They left together at 1:00 pm, SERVICE proceeding to the State Department where he was employed and ROTH to the Navy Department.

On May 7, 1945, PHILIP JACOB JAFFE made a 2 day visit to Washington, D.C. Upon arrival he was met in the lobby of the Statler Hotel by Lt. ANDREW E. ROTH and EMANUEL S. LARSEN and the 3 proceeded to the hotel room of JAFFE. On the following evening, Lt. ROTH and his wife and ROSE YARDUMIAN, local IFR representative, visited JAFFE at the Statler Hotel and subsequently this group together with ALVIN BARBER, employee of Foreign Economics Administration, proceeded to the LaSalle DuBois Restaurant, 18th and M Streets, N.W. for dinner.

On May 15, 1945, Lt. ROTH left the Navy Department at 11:45 am and walked to the 400 Club, 1425 F Street, N.W. where he met his wife, REENE ROTH and ROSE YARDUMIAN of IFR. Shortly thereafter they were joined by one OLGA (believed OLGA FIELD). This group had lunch at the 400 Club Restaurant. Thereafter Mrs. ROTH left and the others proceeded on foot to Pennsylvania Avenue and Jackson Place. ROSE YARDUMIAN and OLGA entered the office of IFR and ROTH was observed to return to the Navy Department.

On May 28, 29 and 30, 1945, PHILIP JACOB JAFFE again visited Washington and was a guest at the Statler Hotel. On this occasion also he was met on arrival by Lt. ANDREW E. ROTH and EMANUEL S. LARSEN in the lobby and, on this visit JAFFE again contacted ROTH, LARSEN, JOHN S. SERVICE, ALVIN BARBER and others as on prior occasions.

On the evening of May 29, 1945, PHILIP JAFFE, ANDREW ROTH and others were observed to attend a party at the residence of ELLEN ATKINSON, 3447 South Wakefield St., Arlington, Va. at which the following individuals were identified: JOHN STEWART SERVICE, BESSIE USSACHEVSKY and her husband, VLADIMIR USSACHEVSKY, ROSE YARDUMIAN, ALVIN BARBER and others.

On June 1, 1945, Lt. ROTH was observed to leave the Navy Department at 12:15 pm carrying a portable typewriter and a small airplane type overnight case. He took a taxi to the Office of the Institute of Pacific Relations which he entered. At 12:35 pm, Lt. ROTH left the above office without the typewriter or luggage. He walked to 19th and K Streets, N.W. where he was met by THEODORE COHEN, an employee of Foreign Economic Administration. They had lunch together at Parcheys Restaurant, 19th and K Streets, N.W., separating at 1:40 pm. Subsequently ROTH visited the Washington Cooperative Bookshop and then returned to the Office of IFR arriving at 2:00 pm. At 3:30 pm, ROTH left this address and took a street car to Connecticut Avenue and P Street and then proceeded on foot to 2228 Decatur Pl., N.W. which is the residence of VLADIMIR and BESSIE USSACHEVSKY.

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At the time ANDREW ROTH was interviewed at the Washington Field Office on June 4, 1945, he advised that he had a brief case and other Property at the Office of IPR, 744 Jackson Pl., N.W. and he wrote a note to ROSE YARDUMIAN requesting this property be delivered to the bearer of the note. On the morning of June 7, ROSE YARDUMIAN was contacted and complied with the request that ROTH'S property, consisting of a brief case containing a considerable number of papers, a Remington Portable Typewriter and other data be delivered to the agents.

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ADMINISTRATIVE

In the course of reviewing references to secure information relative to the Institute of Pacific Relations, it has been noted that mention is made (from an unidentified source) that MORTIMER GRAVES was at one time a member of the Advisory Committee and the Board of Trustees of the IPR.

On June 23, 1945, Mr. JAY ROBINSON was interviewed at the Washington Field Office by former Special Agent OSCAR H. SELLS, and Special Agent JAMES E. McMAHON. It is noted that EMMANUEL S. LARSEN, a subject in the case entitled "PHILIP JACOB JAFFE, was; ETAL, ESPIONAGE - C", had indicated he had known JAY ROBINSON, also known as RABINOWITZ. Mr. ROBINSON advised he resided at 1931 S Street, N. W., and at that time was employed by the Foreign Economic Administration as an Economic Analyst, Japanese Special Services Staff. Mr. ROBINSON advised he first met Lieutenant ANDREW E. ROTH in the Fall of 1940 when he was taking graduate work at Columbia University. ROBINSON stated that ROTH was interested in the same field in which ROBINSON had been interested for several years, namely the Far East. ROBINSON stated his contact with ROTH at Columbia University was limited to school work. ROBINSON stated he had never associated with ROTH socially.

He later met ROTH when ROTH attended Harvard University. Subsequent to that time, ROBINSON indicated he saw ROTH occasionally at IPR meetings and at meetings of a Far East Group usually held at the Brookings Institute.

With reference to ANDREW E. ROTH, it will be recalled that he was a subject in the case entitled "PHILIP JACOB JAFFE, was; ETAL, ESPIONAGE - C".

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On June 23, 1945, NORWOOD FRANCIS ALLMAN, Special Assistant to the Deputy Director, Far East Special Intelligence Branch, Office of Strategic Services, was interviewed by Special Agents RAPHAEL I. NIXON and JAMES E. McMAHON. ALLMAN advised that shortly after the conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations held at Hot Springs, Virginia, in January 1945, he interviewed a group of newspapermen who were present at that conference, "strictly off the record", but as an official of the OSS. He requested their reaction and viewpoints on the IPR conference. Thereafter, they furnished him some six or seven typewritten memoranda containing the information he had requested. According to ALLMAN, the information was of little value and was not distributed within the OSS, but was made a matter of record in OSS files. ALLMAN stated it was his belief he showed the memoranda to someone at the State Department, possibly to JOHN PENNINGTON GARDINER. Some time later, JULIAN RICHARD FRIEDMAN of the State Department and ALLMAN were discussing instant matter in FRIEDMAN's office when FRIEDMAN brought up the subject matter of the aforementioned memoranda.

According to ALLMAN, FRIEDMAN appeared quite upset over the contents of the memoranda, but ALLMAN never knew the reason that caused FRIEDMAN to be upset. ALLMAN stated he did not recall exactly what FRIEDMAN said about the memoranda. According to ALLMAN, he exhibited the memoranda to FRIEDMAN and to someone else at the State Department, possibly GARDINER, as an official document of the OSS.

ALLMAN explained that his purpose in not setting forth this information in a signed statement was because as an official of the OSS he did not desire the public to know that OSS was investigating, or conducting any inquiry of the Institute of Pacific Relations convention, particularly seeking information through newspaper correspondent. He stated that such an act, if it were made public, might possibly create adverse public opinion and would be bad policy.

In June 1945, Special Agents W. A. STEWART, Jr., and LAMBERT G. ZANDER interviewed Dr. HUGH BORTON, Specialist in the Office of Far Eastern Affairs, State Department, at which time he advised he

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knew KATE MITCHELL, having met her in the Summer of 1939 when BORTON was working for the IPR. BORTON also mentioned he attended discussion meetings in New York of the IPR with PHILIP JAFFE.

It will be recalled that KATE MITCHELL was one of the subjects in the case entitled "PHILIP JACOB JAFFE, was; ETAL, ESPIONAGE - C."

In a signed statement dated June 22, 1945, made to former Special Agent OSCAR H. SELLS and Special Agent JAMES E. McMAHON, CYRUS H. PEAKE, Chief of the Economic Administration and Control Section, Foreign Economic Administration, stated he met PHILIP JACOB JAFFE at the first general meeting of the Editorial Board of "Amerasia", shortly before the first issue appeared in March 1937. PEAKE also indicated he saw JAFFE at some general meetings held by the IPR in New York subsequent to the Fall of 1939. PEAKE further indicated he helped ANDREW E. ROTH secure a part-time job with an opportunity to do special study for the IPR on Indo-China, which was considered to be a very good piece of work.

On March 21, 1945, former Special Agent OSCAR H. SELLS and Special Agent JAMES E. McMAHON interviewed Mrs. ELLEN ATKINSON, 3447 Edith Wakefield, Fairlington, Virginia, relative to persons present at her home on the night of May 29, 1945, at which time she gave a party in honor of Lieutenant ANDREW E. ROTH because of his pending transfer from Washington, D. C. In her interview, Mrs. ATKINSON mentioned that no one by the name of OLGA _____ was present. She indicated OLGA FIELD, who was employed by the Institute of Pacific Relations in New York City, visited her several days prior to May 29, 1945, but was not present on the night of the aforementioned party.

During the interview with Mr. CLOSE, in connection with the investigation of OWEN LATTIMORE, he mentioned the names of other individuals who were friends of LATTIMORE and looked up to him for guidance and advice concerning Chinese matters, one of these being PHILIP JESSUP, whom CLOSE

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regarded as an interloper who was not a member of the Institute of Pacific Relations, but was looked up to by them and considered one of the group. He also mentioned LAUCHLIN CURRIE, who was given a government post because of his social ideologies, since CURRIE has no background in Far Eastern Affairs. He described CURRIE as distinctly favored and the "darling" of the IPR group. He considers CURRIE as a controlled money Socialist, and stated he believed CURRIE and JESSUP were Socialists, such belief being based upon their writings which reflect that they are not rugged individualists in a free enterprise system.

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LAUCHLIN BERNARD CURRIE was born in West Dublin, Nova Scotia, October 8, 1892, the son of LAUCHLIN and ALICE EISENHOWER CURRIE. He attended the London School of Economics, receiving a BS degree in 1925. In 1931 he received a Ph. D. degree from Harvard University. He first came to the U. S. in 1925 and was naturalized in 1934. He was employed as Instructor and Tutor at Harvard University from 1927 to 1934, Professor of International Economics, Fletcher Graduate School of Law and Diplomacy, West Medford, Massachusetts, 1933 and 1934, and during same period was employed as Consultant, Kendall Company, Boston, Massachusetts. During the latter part of 1934, he was appointed as Analyst, U. S. Treasury Department, later becoming Assistant Director of Research and Statistics for the Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System, serving until 1939.

In July 1939, he became Administrative Assistant to the President of the United States, and in 1941 was named head of an Economic Mission to China. He was the President's personal representative on a diplomatic mission to China in 1942. In September 1942, he was appointed Acting Deputy Administrator, Foreign Economic Administration. In February 1945,

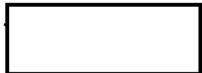
ADMINISTRATIVE

he went to London as head of American Mission, conferring with British officials and also conferred with officials of Switzerland concerning curtailment of Swiss exports to Germany. In July 1945, he opened offices at 19 Rector Street, New York City, under firm name of International Development Company, engaging in industrial advisory engineering and management export business. At present he conducts import-export business under name LAUCHLIN CURRIE and Company, Inc., 565 - 5th Avenue, New York City. He presently resides at 165 Gaylor Road, Scarsdale, New York.

An article in the New York Times on October 30, 1949, states CURRIE was head of Mission of International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to Colombia where Economic Survey was conducted.

ELIZABETH TERRILL BENTLEY, self confessed Soviet espionage agent, alleged CURRIE orally furnished GEORGE SILVERMAN information on various matters. SILVERMAN was formerly employed as Chief Production Specialist, Materiel Division, Army Air Forces, March 1942 to August 1945, and alleged by BENTLEY to be a member of a Communist Underground Espionage network. BENTLEY further stated CURRIE advised GEORGE SILVERMAN that the United States was on the verge of breaking the Soviet code. This source alleges that after the death of JACOB GOLOS, known Soviet Espionage agent who was BENTLEY's superior,

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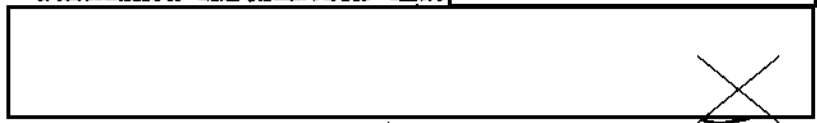
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NATHAN GREGORY SILVERMASTER, also named by her as Communist Underground agent, discussed with "BILL", a Soviet agent whose identity has not yet been established, the advisability of introducing CURRIE directly to the Russian contact, but she does not know if such arrangement was made.

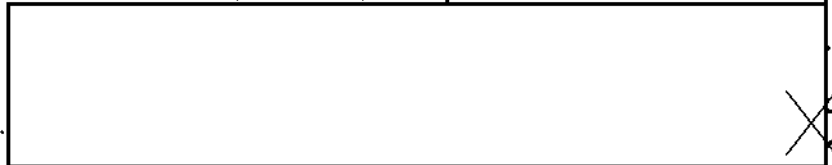
WHITTAKER CHAMBERS, self confessed Soviet agent, advised in 1939 he related to ADOLPH BERLE of the State Department, his knowledge of persons in the United States who were Communists or had Communist leanings. He states he gave the name of LAUCHLIN CURRIE, describing him as a "fellow traveler Communist, however, never went the whole way".

Confidential Informant T-14, of known reliability, furnished information that



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Informant also states that



Records of Local Board 47, Boston, Massachusetts, contain a letter from CURRIE requesting deferment for MICHAEL GREENBERG, associated with him at White House.

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BENTLEY alleges GREENBERG was a member of Communist Underground Group who supplied information which eventually came into the hands of JACOB GOLOS, known Soviet agent.

United States Army service record of WILLIAM LUDWIG ULLMAN bears CURRIE's name as a character reference. ULLMAN also alleged by BENTLEY to be member of Communist Underground Apparatus in Washington, D. C. SOLOMON ADLER, when interviewed by Bureau agents, stated he was acquainted with CURRIE. He was also named by BENTLEY as a member of the Communist Underground Apparatus in Washington, D. C.

Confidential Informant T-5, of known reliability, states



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CURRIE admitted knowing SILVERMASTER and ULLMAN, but claimed no knowledge of espionage activities on their part. First met SILVERMAN at Harvard University in 1927, and faintly remembered meeting VICTOR FERLO, who was also named by BENTLEY as a member of a group engaged in Soviet espionage activities.

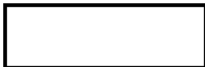
CURRIE stated MICHAEL GREENBERG at one time associated with him at White House in official capacity.

First met GROMOV in 1944, and visited him several times in 1945. In CURRIE's opinion, GROMOV was

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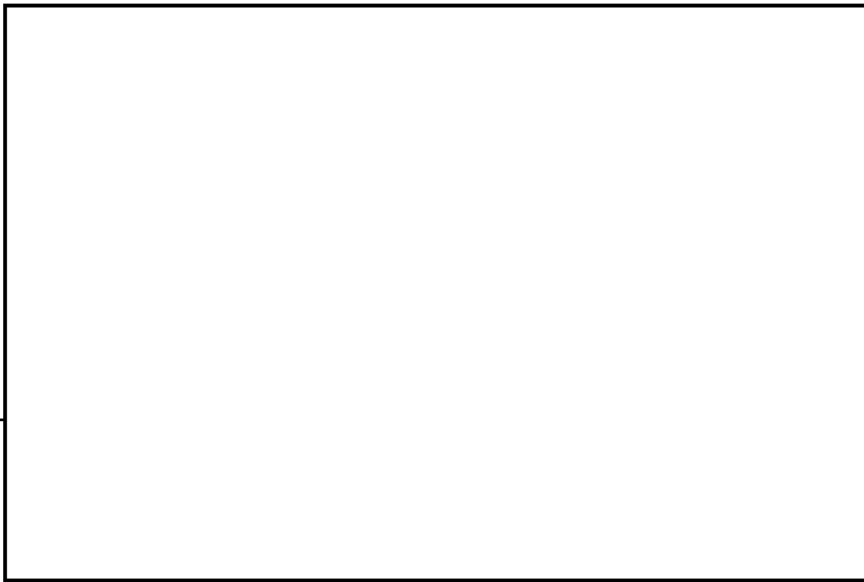
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the type of man who might be engaged in espionage for his government, but claimed he only discussed cultural matters with him. CURRIE recalled meeting MILDRED PRICE and PHILLIP JAFFE when active in the Institute of Pacific Relations, but claims association due to mutual interest in Far East affairs.



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At hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Eightieth Congress, Second Session, held during the period July 31 to September 9, 1948, ELIZABETH T. BENTLEY identified two Communist espionage groups composed of government employees and government officials in Washington, D. C. LAUCHLIN CURRIE was named by Miss BENTLEY as a member of one of these espionage groups.

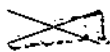
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On July 31, 1948, BENTLEY testified that CURRIE was not a Communist, but that he did furnish information concerning the attitude of the U. S. Government toward China and other governments and on one occasion he relayed information that the American Government was on the verge of breaking the Soviet Code. According to BENTLEY, CURRIE furnished information to GEORGE SILVERMAN who relayed it to Mr. and Mrs. SILVERMASTER or WILLIAM LUDWIG ULLMAN, who then turned the information over to BENTLEY. On August 13, 1948, LAUCHLIN CURRIE testified before the HCUA at which time he denied the charges made by BENTLEY concerning him. He admitted knowing the SILVERMASTERS, ULLMAN and SILVERMAN.

CURRIE admitted visiting the SILVERMASTER residence on several occasions which he said were purely social visits. CURRIE admitted knowing FRANK COE, SOLOMON ADLER, NORMAN BURSNER, HAROLD GLASSER, MICHAEL GREENBERG, ALGER HISS, IRVING KAPLAN, ROBERT T. MILLER, III, VICTOR PERLO, ALLAN R. ROSENBERG, WILLIAM H. TAYLOR and HARRY DEXTER WHITE, all of whom were named by BENTLEY in her testimony as being engaged in espionage activities. CURRIE admitted knowing ANATOLI GROMOV, former First Secretary of the Russian Embassy, and stated he once was invited to dinner by GROMOV. He said that GROMOV on this occasion made no attempt to secure any information from him and that the conversation generally concerned cultural matters.

CURRIE is listed as sponsor on visa application of KARL BORROMAEUS JOSE FRANK, better known as PAUL HAGEN, who has been alleged on numerous occasions to be a



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secret agent of the Soviet government. FRANK, when questioned concerning visa application, admitted membership in Communist Party in Europe from 1919 to 1929. Also admitted leadership in movement, but stated had no contact with Communists in U. S.

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CURRIE, when testifying under oath on April 30, 1942, as witness on behalf of visa application, stated he was introduced to FRANK at National Conference, Institute of Pacific Relations, by E. C. CARTER, Secretary of that group, and had communicated with FRANK concerning German refugees and other matters pertaining to Germany. CURRIE stated he knew FRANK was CP member at one time but did not feel there would be any danger to this country by his admission.

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Mr. CLOSE advised that ALFRED KOHLBERG, Exporter and Importer at 1 West 37th St., New York, N.Y., resigned from the Institute of Pacific Relations in the 1930's and constantly fought the influence of the LATTIMORE group concerning Chinese matters. With particular reference to the names of individuals whom Mr. CLOSE furnished as being influential in the Institute of Pacific Relations in 1925, he mentioned WILLIAM BUTTERWORTH, who is still with the State Department.

During the interview with Miss FREDa UTLEY, she furnished a portion of the information she had prepared for Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY, a part of which concerns the Institute of Pacific Relations. According to this information, "One and all, from 1944 onward, were deluding the American public into believing that we could easily get along with STALIN; that Soviet Russia was a 'peace-loving democracy,' and that the Chinese Communists were not Communists at all. But it was undoubtedly the Institute of Pacific Relations which set the tone and had the greatest influence either directly or through the well-known writers and professors who belonged to it and wrote for its publications I knew while in Moscow that the Institute of Pacific Relations received a large contribution from the Soviet Government, which, although 'legitimate' since it was a membership payment, undoubtedly influenced the directors of the Institute. How much the IPR received from Russia I do not know, but in those days, before it had acquired the support of many rich and innocent Americans, the Russian contribution must have meant a great deal to it...."

In commenting upon LATTIMORE in the information furnished to Senator McCARTHY, Miss UTLEY stated, "This metamorphosis of a decent liberal into a power-seeking Communist or into support of Communist dictatorship, is probably typical of a great many other less well-known figures associated with the Institute of Pacific Relations, or expressing similar views. Other Communist affiliated or sympathizing writers associated with the Institute of Pacific Relations are the following:

"FREDERICK VANDERBILT FIELD, the millionaire who has contributed so much to Communist fronts and publications, is the one avowed member of the Communist Party who has held important offices in the Institute of Pacific Relations. He was formerly Secretary of its American Council, and he was the 'angel' of 'Amerasia', the publication sponsored by those of the IPR who wanted vehicles for the expression of more definitely pro-Communist opinion than it was safe to publish in the IPR organs without alienating its non-Communist supporters. However, the connection between 'Amerasia' and the IPR was physically as well as politically close. 'Amerasia' originally was located on the same floor of the same New York building and walked through one lot of offices into the other, and met the same people working in both. FREDERICK FIELD constituted the open link between the American Council

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of the IPR and the Communist Party. Through FIELD'S old and close friend, JOSEPH BARNES, also long associated with the IPR, Communist influence was also able to penetrate into the 'Republican' New York 'Herald Tribune.'

"JOSEPH FELS BARNES became Deputy Director of the OWI for 'Atlantic Operations' but was dismissed by ELMER DAVIS after Congress had compelled a reorganization of the OWI to cleanse out some at least of its Communist and fellow traveller officials. This did not prevent JOE BARNES from becoming Foreign Editor of the New York 'Herald Tribune' or from accompanying WENDELL WILLKIE to Russia as guide and mentor, afterwards helping him to write 'One World', which presented a generally favorable picture of the USSR. In 1931, BARNES had worked in Moscow for the Soviet branch of the IPR. Following his return to the United States, while continuing his active association with the IPR, he also established, together with FRED FIELD, a tourist enterprise which arranged 'study tours' of the USSR. In 1936 he married ELIZABETH FIELD, who registered in the elections that year as a Communist. BARNES himself, in an article published in the 'Atlantic Monthly' in January, 1937, described EARL BROWDER, WILLIAM FOSTER and other American Communist leaders as the 'spiritual inheritors of the Founding Fathers'....."

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T-18 advised on [Redacted]

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T-18 also advised that on [Redacted]

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Subsequently on the same evening, ROTH contacted ROSE YARDUMIAN of IFR soliciting her advice as to placing HARRY OSHIMA with that organization. They discussed the proper approach and thought it would be necessary to go through EDWARD C. CARTER, head of IFR, to secure the position. ROTH commented that articles by OSHIMA were well written but he was not well acquainted with members of the Institute of Pacific Relations. ROSE indicated they had been discouraging younger people in the research line and encouraging established scholars to associate themselves with the Institute. She mentioned OLGA (FIELD?) was a contradiction to that, adding that Mr. CARTER happened to like her and she was highly recommended by HARRIET (LEVINE MOORE?). They discussed the fact that OSHIMA had written something for IFR and the conversation indicated that MICHAEL GREENBERG had gotten OSHIMA to write the article in September, 1942 or thereabouts.

Lt. ROTH and YARDUMIAN discussed persons in San Francisco connected with IFR whom ROTH could contact there and mentioned DOLLY ELTENTON. YARDUMIAN stated ELTENTON had worked for IFR out there quite a while and lectured in the Labor School on Russia causing quite a sensation. She was told by PRICE that she could not make more than 3 lectures a year on Russia to which she said, "The hell with you brother" and resigned from IFR. ROSE commented that it was a disgrace that nobody in New York backed her up. Lt. ROTH told YARDUMIAN that he had joined the Institute of Pacific Relations and ROSE told him that she was disappointed that he did not join through her, that she should have liked to have sent in his membership. ROTH indicated he would write ROSE a special confidential report on IFR relations in Honolulu and said "Maybe I can get a commission from CARTER to make a secret investigation." ROSE agreed, "I think that would be simply wonderful. You do that ANDY and then send me carbons of your secret investigation." ROSE advised that in the year and a half the Washington Field Office has been open, IFR has increased its membership from 100 to 200 members.

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The interview mentioned herein with EDWARD C. CARTER on January 19, 1942, was conducted by Special Agents of the New York Office as reflected in New York teletype dated April 6, 1950.

The interview with JOSEPH BARNES was conducted by Special Agent in Charge GUY HOTTEL, and Special Agents LUDWIG W.R. OBERNDORF and LAMBERT G. ZANDER.

UPTON CLOSE was interviewed by Special Agents LUDWIG W.R. OBERNDORF and H. DUDLEY PAYNE.

FREDA UTLEY was interviewed by Special Agents KENNETH D. ANENSON and H. DUDLEY PAYNE.

DUNCAN CHAPLIN LEE was interviewed on May 29, 1947, by Special Agents CHARLES G. CLEVELAND and W. RAYMOND WANALL.

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THE NEW YORK DIVISION

AT NEW YORK, N.Y.,

Will, if not previously reported, furnish background information regarding the following individuals and information concerning their affiliation and association with the Institute of Pacific Relations:

JOSEPH FELS BARNES
KATE MITCHELL
PHILIP JACOB JAFFE
OLGA FIELD

THE WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE

AT WASHINGTON, D.C.,

Will identify and furnish additional background information on MARTIN T. BENNETT who was a speaker at a meeting of the Institute of Pacific Relations on December 11, 1946, and who was in attendance at a meeting of that organization on April 24, 1947.

Will identify and furnish background information on OWEN JONES, a State Department employee, who was a speaker at a meeting of the Institute of Pacific Relations on April 24, 1947.

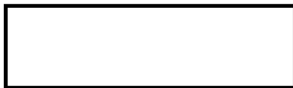
Will identify and furnish background information on ERIC BEECROFT, who spoke at a meeting of the IPR on December 5, 1946.

Will identify and furnish background information on LAWRENCE SALISBURY, who resigned from the State Department to become Editor of the IPR magazine.

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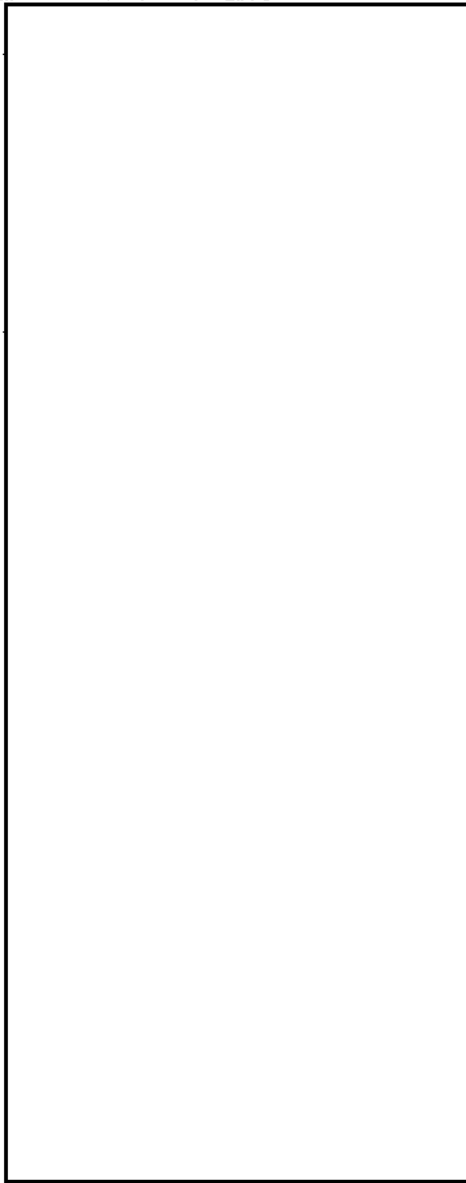
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CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS

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REFERENCE: Teletype from Bureau dated April 5, 1950.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

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TELETYPE

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INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, ESPIONAGE - R. REBUTEL THIS DATE
REQUESTING INFORMATION FROM INTERESTED OFFICES ON CAPTIONED ORGANIZATION.
UNLESS ADVISED TO CONTRARY BY BUREAU TODAY, WFO REQUESTED TO IMMEDI-
ATELY CONTACT ARMY INTELLIGENCE [Redacted] FOR INFO IN THEIR POSSESSION.
CONCERNING THIS ORGANIZATION. THE SUMMARY TELETYPE CONTAINING SUCH
INFO SHOULD BE EXPEDITIOUSLY SUBMITTED TO THE BUREAU AND NEW YORK,
FOLLOWED BY A REPORT.

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F. B. I

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

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April 12, 1950 URGENT

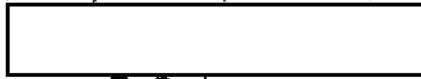
EMCOFF UNDERLINED PORTIONS

SAC, NEW YORK,
SAN FRANCISCO,
HONOLULU,
SEATTLE,
WASHINGTON FIELD

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, ESPIONAGE - R. RENEWEL APRIL EIGHT REGARDING
INVESTIGATION OF FINANCES. YOU ARE INSTRUCTED TO DETERMINE AVAILABLE INFORMATION
CONCERNING RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION AND COUNCILS
MENTIONED IN REFERENCED TELETYPE WITH PARTICULAR ATTENTION PAID TO RECEIPTS
FROM FOREIGN SOURCES. HONOLULU SHOULD CHECK BANK RECORDS FROM NINETEEN
TWENTY FIVE WHICH IS DATE SUBJECT ORGANIZATION STARTED. PURPOSE OF INVESTIGATION
IS TO DETERMINE WHETHER SUBJECT ORGANIZATION HAS BEEN USED AS COVER FOR SOVIET
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE, OR HAS OPERATED IN VIOLATION OF THE FOREIGN AGENTS
REGISTRATION ACT. EACH AUXILIARY OF ICE SHOULD CHECK ALL AVAILABLE SOURCES
OF INFORMATION TO DETERMINE IDENTITIES OF OFFICERS AND LOCATION OF OFFICES
OF THE IPR DURING PERIOD SUCH OFFICES WERE OPEN IN THEIR AREA. NEW YORK SHOULD
OBTAIN AND FURNISH TO BUREAU ALL COPIES OF REGULAR PERIODICALS OF SUBJECT
ORGANIZATION NOT PREVIOUSLY FURNISHED BUREAU. HOOVER

cc - Washington Field (By Special Messenger)
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RECORDS SECTION

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TELETYPE

NEW YORK 37 FROM WASH FIELD 13 11-25 PM

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INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, ESPIONAGE R.

REURTEL APRIL TWELVE, FIFTY. THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION RE WILLIAM LANCELOT HOLLAND OBTAINED FROM HIS OWI PERSONNEL FILE, HIS STATE DEPARTMENT FOREIGN SERVICE PERSONNEL FILE AND FROM THE SECURITY FILES ALSO AT THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE. HE WAS BORN DECEMBER TWENTY EIGHT, NINETEEN SEVEN, SOUTH MALVERN, NEW ZEALAND. WIFE DOREEN MC GARRY HOLLAND ALSO BORN NEW ZEALAND. FATHER FREDERICK G. HOLLAND, MOTHER ADA E. AND BROTHERS JAMES, RICHARD L. AND MERVYN, ALL BORN IN NEW ZEALAND, AND QUOTE CITIZENS OF AND RESIDENTS IN NEW ZEALAND, UNQUOTE, AS OF FORTYFOUR. HOLLAND ATTENDED UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND, NINETEEN TWENTYSIX TO THIRTY AND RECEIVED BA DEGREE. RECEIVED MA DEGREE FROM CHRIST CHURCH IN N. Z. NINETEEN THIRTY, TOOK GRADUATE STUDY AT CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY, CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND AND ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, LONDON, ENGLAND THIRTYTWO TO THIRTYTHREE. STUDIED AT CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY ON ROCKEFELLER FELLOWSHIP AND HE TRAVELED IN HOLLAND, GERMANY, SWITZERLAND AND FRANCE IN CONNECTION WITH THIS FELLOWSHIP. EMPLOYED BY INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS AT HONOLULU, T. H. FROM DECEMBER, TWENTY EIGHT TO AUGUST, THIRTY TWO AS ASSISTANT TO RESEARCH DIRECTOR AND EMPLOYED IPR FROM JUNE, THIRTYTHREE TO AUGUST, FORTYFOUR AT NEW YORK, N. Y., LAST POSITION BEING RESEARCH SECRETARY

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PAGE TWO

AND EDITOR. HIS IMMEDIATE SUPERVISOR WAS E. C. CARTER. HOLLAND BEGAN EMPLOYMENT WITH OWI AS CONSULTANT AUGUST TWELVE, FORTYFOUR AND WAS SEPARATED FEBRUARY TWENTY EIGHT FORTYSIX. DURING THIS PERIOD OWI FIRST CHANGED TO INTERIM INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION SERVICE AND LATER ON JANUARY ONE, FORTYSIX BECAME KNOWN AS OFFICE OF INFORMATION AND CULTURAL RELATIONS, BOTH OF THESE LATTER ORGANIZATIONS WERE A PART OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, OWI HAVING BEEN A BRANCH OF THE OFFICE OF EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT. HIS LAST POSITION WITH THIS ORGANIZATION WAS AS CHIEF OF THE CHINA DIVISION AND IT WOULD BE STATED THAT HE WAS IN CHARGE OF ONE HUNDRED TWENTY FIVE AMERICAN EMPLOYEES AND SEVEN HUNDRED CHINESE EMPLOYEES, HIS DIVISION BEING COMPRISED OF SEVERAL INFORMATION OFFICES IN CHINA, MANCHURIA AND FORMOSA. HE ARRIVED IN CHUNGKING MARCH SIX, FORTYFIVE AND RETURNED TO THE U. S. NOVEMBER FOUR, FORTYFIVE. PRIOR TO THIS POSITION IN CHINA, OWI SENT HOLLAND TO AMERICAN EMBASSY AT LONDON, ENGLAND AS A SPECIAL CONSULTANT OF THE OVERSEAS OPERATIONS BRANCH OF OWI ON THE STAFF OF THE SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR AND GENERAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE OWI IN LONDON. HIS DUTIES WERE DEFINED AS FOLLOWS -- QUOTE MR. HOLLAND-S FUNCTION WILL BE T EXPLAIN AMERICAN POLICY IN THE PACIFIC TO INTERESTED GROUPS IN LONDON, UNQUOTE. IN HIS APPLICATIONS FOR FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT DATED MAY TWENTY FIVE, FORTYFOUR AND NOVEMBER TEN, FORTYFOUR HE LISTED THE FOLLOWING

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

PERSONS AS REFERENCES-- E. C. CARTER, ONE EAST FIFTY FOURTH STREET, NEW YORK, SECRETARY GENERAL, IPR, HILDA AUSTERN, SAME ADDRESS, ASSISTANT TREASURER, IPR, PHILLIP JESSUP, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, PROFESSOR, CATHERINE PORTER, PATTERSON, NEW YORK, OWI REGIONAL SPECIALIST, OWEN LATTIMORE, DEPUTY DIRECTOR OWI, WASHINGTON, D. C., GEORGE E. TAYLOR, ASSISTANT DEPUTY DIRECTOR, OWI, WASHINGTON, D. C., J. B. CONDLIFFE, YALE UNIVERSITY, NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT AND WILLIAM C. JOHNSTONE, GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D. C. HE LISTS THE FOLLOWING ADDRESSES-- THREE FOUR FIVE EAST SIXTY EIGHTH STREET, NEW YORK, TWO TWO ZERO EAST SEVENTY THIRD STREET, NEW YORK, AND FIFTEEN ARLINGTON COURT, BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA. UNDER SPECIAL QUALIFICATIONS HE STATED, QUOTE HAVE WIDE KNOWLEDGE OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN CHINA, JAPAN, SOUTHEAST ASIA, NEW ZEALAND, AUSTRALIA, INDIA AND PACIFIC ISLANDS. HAVE NUMEROUS FRIENDS AMONG INTELLECTUAL AND OFFICIAL LEADERS OF CHINA, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, CANADA AND ENGLAND. HAVE SPECIALIZED IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STUDIES. HAVE EXTENSIVE EXPERIENCE OF EDITING RESEARCH AND PUBLISHING ON ALL INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF FAR EAST AND PACIFIC. CONSIDERABLE EXPERIENCE AS LECTURER AND UNIVERSITY TEACHER, UNQUOTE. HE APPARENTLY BECAME A NATURALIZED U. S. CITIZEN JULY SIX, FORTYFOUR, HOWEVER, THE PLACE

END PAGE THREE

PAGE FOUR

HIS NATURALIZATION IS UNKNOWN. HE ALSO INDICATED IN HIS APPLICATION THAT DURING FORTYTHREE HE SERVED AS A LECTURER AT THE NAVAL SCHOOL OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, IN NEW YORK, AT WHICH TIME HE WAS APPARENTLY ALSO EMPLOYED BY IPR. HOLLAND-S PERSONNEL FILE AT THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE CONTAINS A LETTER WRITTEN BY HIM TO MR. ~~ELMER DAVIS~~ WHO WAS IN CHARGE OF THE OWI AT THAT TIME. IN THIS LETTER HE STATES, QUOTE, THIS NOTE IS JUST TO EXPRESS MY WARMEST PERSONAL THANKS TO YOU FOR YOUR INTERVENTION WITH THE PASSPORT DIVISION OF THE STATE DIVISION OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT. I WAS CONSIDERABLY SURPRISED AND DISMAYED TO LEARN THAT I AM ALLEGED TO HAVE CONNECTIONS WITH PERSONS OR GROUPS THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT FINDS QUESTIONABLE. I WAS THEREFORE ALL THE MORE GRATEFUL TO LEARN THAT YOU HAD ACTED SO PROMPTLY AND VIGOROUSLY. I AM ONLY SORRY THAT THE DELAY CAUSED BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT-S MISGIVINGS WAS SO GREAT AS TO MAKE IT ADVISABLE IN THE OPINION OF THE LONDON OUTPOSTS TO POSTPONE MY TRIP UNTIL LATE IN JANUARY. I AM NOT SURE WHETHER THERE IS ANYTHING I CAN OR SHOULD DO ABOUT MY RECORD AT THE STATE DEPARMTNT. I CAN UNDERSTAND THE NEED FOR NOT GRANTING OFFICIAL PASSPORTS TOO READILY TO PERSONS AS RECENTLY NATURALIZED AS I AM. ON THE OTHER HAND IF THE STATE DEPARTMENT-S MISGIVINGS DERIVED FROM ALLEGATIONS CONCERNING MY CONNECTIONS WITH COMMUNIST GROUPS OR

END PAGE FOUR

PAGE FIVE

INDIVIDUALS I SHOULD LIKE TO MAKE A VIGOROUS PROTEST AS TO THE FACTS. I HAVE NEVER SUPPORTED OR BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH ANY COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION AND TO THE BEST OF MY BELIEF HAVE NEVER BEEN ACQUAINTED WITH A MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. I ONCE MET EARL BROWDER AT A PARTY, I HAVE BEEN INVITED TO WRITE FOR NEW MASSES BUT HAVE DECLINED, I HAVE MET AT SOCIAL FUNCTIONS IN THE LAST TWO OR THREE YEARS MEMBERS OF THE CHINESE AND INDIA COMMUNIST PARTIES. THE SUM TOTAL OF MY CONNECTIONS WITH PEOPLE WHO COULD BE IN ANY WAY CALLED LEFT WING PROBABLY AMOUNTS TO ABOUT TEN PEOPLE IN THE WORLD AND COMPRISES A TINY FRACTION OF THE NUMBER OF ACQUAINTANCES AND CLOSE CONNECTIONS I HAVE WITH PERSONS WHO ARE DECIDEDLY CONSERVATIVE IN POLITICS. IT IS ALWAYS POSSIBLE THAT I HAVE, WITHOUT KNOWING IT, MET A MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL BUT I CANNOT IMAGINE THE OCCASION. I MENTION THESE FACTS NOT AS A DEFENSE AGAINST THE ALLEGATIONS, APPARENTLY MADE BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT, BECAUSE I DOUBT IF THERE IS ANY NEED TO DEFEND MYSELF, BUT SIMPLY FOR YOUR INFORMATION, I SHOULD BE READY AT ANY TIME TO ANSWER ANY QUESTIONS WHICH YOU OR THE PASSPORT AUTHORITIES WHISH TO PUT TO ME CONCERNING MY PERSONAL OR PROFESSIONAL CONNECTIONS, UNQUOTE. THIS LETTER IS SIGNED BY HOLLAND. A MEMORANDUM IN HOLLAND'S PERSONNEL FILE DATED DECEMBER FIVE, FORTYFIVE STATES THAT THE SECURITY

END PAGE FIVE

PAGE SIX

SCREENING COMMISSION RECOMMENDS THAT THE TRANSFER OF HOLLAND FROM INTERIM INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION SERVICE TO THE AUXILIARY FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BE DISAPPROVED AS HE IS A SECURITY RISK, QUOTE BECAUSE OF RADICAL AND COMMUNISTIC AFFILIATIONS, UNQUOTE. THIS MEMO STATES THAT THE BASIS FOR THIS CONCLUSION IS, ONE, IN AUGUST, FORTYTWO A RELIABLE CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE [REDACTED]

b7D
b7E

[REDACTED] ACCORDING

TO THE FILE HAGEN ADMITTED TO AN INTERDEPARTMENTAL VISA REVIEWING COMMITTEE THAT HE HAD BEEN AN ACTIVE MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY FROM NINETEEN NINETEEN TO TWENTYTHREE. A CONFIDENTIAL FOREIGN SOURCE [REDACTED]

b7D
b7E

[REDACTED] IT WAS ALSO ALLEGED [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

END PAGE SIX

[REDACTED] QUOTE, [REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED] UNQUOTE. THE FILE POINTS

OUT THAT WITH REGARD TO THE LATTER ALLEGATION THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE IPR WHO IT SHOULD BE NOTED IS ONE OF HOLLAND-S REFERENCES, QUOTE

b7D

[REDACTED] QUOTE [REDACTED]

UNQUOTE, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] UNQUOTE. THE FILE ALSO REFLECTS

THAT CARTER WAS AMEMBER OF THE AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSITUTUTE. THE LAST POINT ON WHICH HOLLAND-S DISAPPROVAL IS BASED IS THE FACT THAT IN THE LETTER SET OUT PREVIOUSLY IN THIS TELETYPE FROM HOLLAND TO ELMER DAVIS HE ADMITS THAT HE MET CHINESE AND INDIAN COMMUNISTS AT SOCIAL FUNCTIONS AND HAD BEEN INVITED TO WRITE FOR NEW MASSES. WITH REGARD TO THE LATTER THE FILE STATES, QUOTE AS THE NEW MASSES CONSISTENTLY PUBLISHES ARTICLES FAVORABLE TO THE C. P. AND ITS CURRENT LINE IT MAY BE FAIR TO ASSUME THAT ITS EDITOR WOULD EXPECT AN ARTICLE FROM HOLLAND TO BE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEIR EDITORAL POLICY, UNQUOTE. A LATER MEMO DATED MARCH TWENTY SEVEN, FORTYSIX ASKED THAT PROPER NOTIFICATION BE GIVEN TO QUOTE, TERMINATE HIS SEFVICES, UNQUOTE, AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

HOTTEL

BUREAU ADVISED

HOLD PLS

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1506433-000

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- Page 4 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 6 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 10 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 14 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 16 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 22 ~ b3; b7E;
- Page 23 ~ b3; b7E;
- Page 24 ~ b3; b7E;
- Page 25 ~ b3; b7E;
- Page 26 ~ b3; b7E;
- Page 27 ~ b3; b7E;
- Page 28 ~ b3; b7E;
- Page 29 ~ b3; b7E;
- Page 30 ~ b3; b7E;
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
ADMINISTRATIVE CENTER

APR 7 1950

K
TELETYPE

NEW YORK 41 FROM WASH FIELD 7 9-10 PM
DIRECTOR AND SAC

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, ESPIONAGE DASH R. RE NY TELETYPE APRIL
SIX LAST. IDA FILES HERE PRESENTLY BEING REVIEWED AND WILL BE COMPLETED
BY APRIL TEN NEXT. REVIEW THUS FAR INDICATES NO INFORMATION NOT
ALREADY KNOWN TO BUREAU. b7E

REMAINDER WILL NOT BE AVAILABLE FOR REVIEW
UNTIL SEVERAL DAYS AFTER THIS DATE.

H O T T E L

BUREAU ADVISED
ACK AND HOLD PLS
PLS ACK
WA R 41 NYC
TU V M
OK

Searched _____
Serialized _____
Indexed _____
Filed _____

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cu

SECRET

APR 10 1950

K
TELETYPE

NEW YORK 19 FROM WASH FIELD 10 9-06 PM

DIRECTOR AND SAC.....R O U T I N E

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, ESPIONAGE R. RE N.Y. TELETYPE APRIL ^{b7E}
 SIX LAST REQUESTING REVIEW IDA AND [REDACTED] REVIEW IDA FILES COMPLE-
 TED. NO INDEPENDENT INVESTIGATION CONDUCTED BY THAT AGENCY. FILE IS
 REplete WITH INFORMATION FROM FBI AND HCUA AS WELL AS NEWSPAPER QUOTA-
 TIONS RE SUBJECT ORGANIZATION. IDA IN PAST HAS UPON INVITATION FROM
 IPR SENT OBSERVERS TO ATTEND SUBJECT-S CONVENTIONS AND HAS BORROWED
 BOOKS AND DOCUMENTARY MATERIAL FROM SUBJECT. IDA HAS BACKGROUND DATA
 RE ORIGINAL FORMATION AND INCORPORATION, ALL OF WHICH BUREAU HAS IN ITS
 FILES. ONE SUMMARY OF INFORMATION DATED MARCH TWENTY, FORTY FIVE CON-
 TAINS STATEMENT QUOTE WHILE THE ORGANIZATION ITSELF IS GENERALLY
 RECOGNIZED AS BEING COOPERATIVE AND LOYAL TO THE U.S. IN ITS FUNCTIONS
 AND ACTIVITIES, ONE OF ITS OFFICIALS IS REGARDED AS BEING EXTREMELY
 LIBERAL AND REPORTED TO BE COMMUNISTICALLY INCLINED UNQUOTE. NO SOURCE
 INDICATED AND INDIVIDUAL REFERRED TO NOT IDENTIFIED. IDA HAS LISTS
 OF OFFICERS AND TRUSTEES OF IPR ORGANIZATION ALL OF WHOM BELIEVE TO BE
 KNOWN TO BUREAU. BUREAU IS ADVISED THAT IDA SUMMARILY REACHES CONCLU-
 SION THAT IPR IS COMMUNIST FRONT, WHICH CONCLUSION IS NOT BASED ON
 INDEPENDENT INVESTIGATION CONDUCTED BY IDA, BUT RATHER ON HEARSAY
 EVIDENCE RECEIVED. DETAILS FOLLOW IN REPORT FORM.

H O T T E L

BUREAU ADVISED

HOLD PLS

Searched _____
 Serialized _____
 Indexed _____
 Filed _____

99-411-29

Subj: 2 PR

Address: _____

Birthdate: _____

SUPV: _____

Misc: _____

R# _____

Date 4-17

Searcher

Initial JKFILE NUMBERSERIALSEdward E. Hunternumerous other ref
Hilda Austerman

b3

b7E

100-17,162-84-85 p148-17493-1320 p24-17162-64-17162-278 p1Officer Franklin J. ...66-1166-117766-00-106566-1718-111

above are the last known addresses of this individual. It is not desired that any extended investigation be conducted but that only his residence and employment be discreetly verified. In the event this individual has moved or changed his employment, it is desired that the necessary inquiries be made to determine his present address and place of employment, if possible. In replying please fill in the spaces as provided below on this letter and return to me.

1. Does the subject still reside at the above address? _____
2. Is subject still employed as indicated above? _____
3. If address or employment are not same as above, please indicate present residence and place of employment:

4. Date checked _____

Subj: J.P.R.

Address: _____

Birthdate: _____

SUPV: _____

Misc: _____

R# _____

Date 4-12

Searcher _____

Initial JKFILE NUMBERSERIALSDeliverer Frankles Ray Co11 124-2557 X 11100-91604-2 p3Frank Ray124-2557 XLarry Ray124-2557 X

APR 11 1950

TELETYPE

WASHINGTON FIELD 42 FROM NEW YORK 11. 6-53 P

SAC URGENT

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, IS-C. ^{see sly att} HILDA AUSTERN IS AMONG INDIVIDUALS FREQUENTLY MENTIONED IN THE PHOTOSTATIC COPIES OF IPR RECORDS MAINTAINED IN CUSTODY OF EDWARD C. ^{see sly att} CARTER, FORMER INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY OF ORGANIZATION AND MADE AVAILABLE TO BOSTON OFFICE BY ND SIX NAUGHT THREE PER MARCH TWENTY SEVEN LAST, BOSTON /JUNE/ LETTER TO BUREAU. HILDA AUSTERN SERVED AS ASSISTANT TREASURER, IPR, ONE EAST FIFTYFOURTH STREET, NYC, NINETEEN THIRTYNINE TO FORTYFIVE, AND FROM NOVEMBER, FORTYFIVE TO DECEMBER FORTYSIX SERVED IN UNRRA WHERE IN FORTYSIX SHE MARRIED ^{see sly att} JEFFERSON FRANKLIN RAY, HER SUPERIOR IN THAT ORGANIZATION. BUREAU LET TO WASHINGTON FIELD MARCH FOUR, FORTYNINE REQUESTED INVESTIGATION OF ^{see sly att} JEFFERSON FRANKLIN RAY, JR, AKA, ^{see sly att} "FRANK", "SONNY" UNDER ERP. THIS LETTER AND ACCOMPANYING PERSONAL DATA FORM REFLECTED RAY EMPLOYED AS ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, WASHINGTON OFFICE, COMMITTEE FOR MARSHALL PLAN, SEVENTEEN FORT [REDACTED] WASHINGTON, D. C. AND RESIDING WITH WIFE ^{see sly att} HILDA AUSTERN RAY, TWENTYSEVEN TWENTYSEVEN ORDWAY ST, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. VERIFY ^{see sly att} HILDA AUSTERN-S RESIDENCE AT FOREGOING ADDRESS AND SUTEL.

*Checked
not done until 3:24*

HLD PLS

LKH

Searched _____
Serialized _____
Indexed _____
Filed _____

SCHEIDT

London 2

[REDACTED]

CONNORS

b3
b7E

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

APR 12 1950

TELETYPE

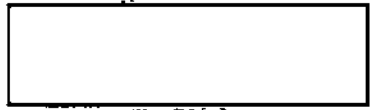
WASHINGTON AND WASHINGTON FIELD 31 FROM NEW YORK 12 5-33 P
DIRECTOR AND SAC URGENT

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS., ESPIONAGE - R. WILLIAM L. HOLLAND,
SEC-Y GENERAL, IPR. REPORTED EX CHINA BUREAU CHIEF OWI. WFO REQUESTED
IMMEDIATELY REVIEW RECORD OF HOLLAND AT OWI AND SUBMIT SUMMARY ON BACK-
GROUND INFO BY FIVE THIRTY P.M., APRIL THIRTEEN NEXT.

SCHEIDT

*Supervisor. Oberdorfer advised
7:30 P.M. 4-12-50*

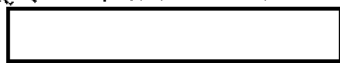
WILLIAM L. HOLLAND
100-11492-518 P 3
100-11492-518 P 3



F. B. I.

BUREAU ADVISED

APR 12 6 33 PM '50



WASHINGTON, D. C.

Searched _____
Serialized _____
Indexed _____
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Penick *P*

ZANPER

*General
All 11-2-50
27*

97

JK

NEW YORK 33 FROM WASH FIELD

12

6-30 P

DIRECTOR AND SAC..... U R G E N T

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, IS - C. RENYTEL APRIL ELEVEN, LAST, REQUESTING WFO TO LOCATE HILDA AUSTERN, WHO WITH HUSBAND JEFFERSON FRANKLIN RAY, JR., FORMERLY RESIDED TWO SEVEN TWO SEVEN ORDWAY STREET, NW. TELEPHONE AT THIS NUMBER DISCONNECTED NOVEMBER SEVEN, FORTYNINE. INQUIRY AT LOCAL PO REFLECTS MR. AND MRS. RAY LEFT CHANGE OF ADDRESS ON OCTOBER NINE, FORTYNINE TO APO FOUR NAUGHT FOUR, CARE POSTMASTER, SAN FRANCISCO, AMIK-ECA. INQUIRY AT ECA REFLECTS BOTH MR. AND MRS. RAY NOW IN SEOUL, KOREA.

HOTTEL

BUREAU ADVISED

Walter
.....
.....
.....

HOLD PLS



b3
b7E

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

TELETYPE

NEW YORK 10 FROM WASH FIELD 14 117PM

DIRECTOR AND SAC U R G E N T

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, ESP - R. REMYTEL APRIL THIRTEEN, LAST.
SIXTH WORD IN LINE EIGHTEEN, ON PAGE SIX OF REFTTEL, SHOULD BE "HOLLAND",
NOT "HAGEN".

HOTTEL

BUREAU ADVISED

HOLD PLS

[Handwritten signature]



Subj: ESTHER AURIN BRUNAUER

Address: _____

Birthdate: _____ SUPV: _____

Misc: PAGE 1 OF 3R# _____ Date _____ Searcher Initial WmFILE NUMBERSERIALSBRUNAUER100-19456-272DR. BRUNAUERCP INDEXMR. BRUNAUER100-10352-301 p 3MRS. BRUNAUERCP INDEX100-1163-1053Miss E. C. BRUNAUER100-16597-1473 p 3

Subj: _____

Address: _____

Birthdate: _____ SUPV: _____

Misc: PAGE 2 OF 3R# _____ Date _____ Searcher Initial ShmFILE NUMBERSERIALS

ESTHER BRUNAUER

100-17493-2631 p 61

C.P. INDEX

100-10332-106

DR. ESTHER BRUNAUER

74-94-2545 p 17

100-283-18 p 2

ESTHER C. BRUNAUER

100-283-1C 227

DR. ESTHER CAUKIN BRUNAUER

121-208 *

100-5971-1 p 154

100-20653-13 p 2

Subj: _____

Address: _____

Birthdate: _____ SUPV: _____

Misc: PAGE 3 OF 3R# _____ Date _____ Searcher Initial IRMFILE NUMBERSERIALS

DR. ESTHER C. BRUNAUER

QUART. INTEL. SUM

2-15-44 p 644

100-0-3483

100-20653-13 p 1

ESTHER CAUKIN BRUNAUER

121-208*

121-0-10583-13

MRS. ESTHER CAUKIN BRUNAUER

S.I.

Subj: ROY VEATCH

Address: _____

Birthdate: _____

SUPV: _____

Misc: _____

R# _____

Date _____

Searcher
Initial SMFILE NUMBERSERIALS

VEATCH

b3

b7E

ROY VEATCH

R. INDEX

100-17228-38 p 49

WILLIAM T. STONE
121-5991 3 AMU
M... RLEFS

BRUNN...
VEATCH...
L...

FBI ALBANY 4-19-50 3:39 P.M. LMK

DIRECTOR AND SACS NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON FIELD

URGENT

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS. ESP. R. RE NY TEL APRIL EIGHTEEN
LAST. SECRETARY OF STATE, NYS, ALBANY, NY HAD RECORD OF STATEMENT
AND DESIGNATION FOR THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF THE INSTITUTE OF
PACIFIC RELATIONS INCORPORATED, WHICH ORGANIZATION WAS INCORPORATED
IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. REQUEST FOR THIS ORGANIZATION TO DO
BUSINESS IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK WAS RECEIVED ON FEBRUARY TWENTY,
NINETEEN THIRTYNINE. AUTHORITY TO DO BUSINESS GRANTED CORPORATION
ON MAY EIGHTEEN, NINETEEN THIRTYNINE. REQUEST FOR THIS AUTHORITY
WAS MADE BY SECRETARY OF THE ORGANIZATION, FREDERICK V. FIELD, WHO
STATED RESIDENCE ADDRESS WAS ONE SIX WEST TWELFTH ST., NYC. ATTACHED
TO REQUEST TO DO BUSINESS IN NYS WAS A CERTIFIED COPY OF INCORPORATION
PAPERS OF THE CORPORATION WHICH WAS INCORPORATED IN DISTRICT OF
COLUMBIA. CERTIFIED COPY LISTED FOLLOWING INDIVIDUALS AS OFFICERS:
ESTHER CAUKIN BRENNER, WILLIAM T. STONE, ROY VEATCH. ON JUNE SIX,
NINETEEN FORTYSEVEN, AN INDIVIDUAL NAMED EDWARD C., LAST NAME
BELIEVED TO BE CARTER, A VICE PRESIDENT OF THIS CORPORATION, OBTAINED
A CERTIFICATE OF CHANGE OF NAME OF THAT ORGANIZATION TO THE AMERICAN
INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS INCORPORATED. REPORT BEING SUBMITTED
THIS DATE.

WALL

WA 3-45 PM OK FBI WA LIR
NY OK FBI NYC JFH

b3
b7E

RECEIVED: 4-19-50 4:15 P.M. ELR



F. B. I

APR 19 6 18 PM '50

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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Serialized _____
Indexed _____
Filed _____

Released to [Signature]

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated
outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in
order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

[Signature]

GUY HOTTEL, SAC, WASHINGTON FIELD

April 19, 1950

L. W. R. OBERNDORF, SUPERVISOR

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS
ESPIONAGE - R

Inspector BELMONT of the Bureau advised me at 3:40 P.M. today that Mr. PEYTON FORD of the Department of Justice had advised Assistant to the Director D. M. LADD that the State Department had conducted an investigation on the subject organization in 1947. The investigation was conducted by one investigator who, during the course of the investigation, also interviewed LOUIS BUDENZ. Mr. BELMONT stated Mr. LADD had instructed that this office obtain a copy of the report made by the investigator in question, and that the investigator himself be interviewed as to what BUDENZ had told him about the captioned organization at that time. The investigator was also to be asked specifically whether BUDENZ had made any statements to the investigator concerning OWEN LATTINORE.

He also instructed that this matter was to be given immediate attention, and that the report was to be furnished the Bureau today.

[Redacted]
LWR:NEB

39 - [unclear]

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[Redacted]

FBI - WASHINGTON
APR 19 1950
SAC

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