

from Russia and active member of the Bozkurt Society, makes an interesting claim regarding the partisans of his cause in the Soviet Union: "There are tens of thousands of our students in upper Soviet schools.... It is again these same students from the Soviet schools who head the struggle for liberation of Turkistan from the Bolshevist dictatorships" (M. A. Tchokaiieff "Fifteen Years of Bolshevik Rule in Turkistan," Journal of the Royal Central Asia Society, July 1933, p. 359). Since several of Tchokai's associates (Ibrahim, Iyad Ishaqi, Akchura) have had close connections with the Japanese, it is natural that a great deal of the information collected by such men as Tchokai reached Japanese hands.

D. Subversion and Sabotage

By subversion is meant those Japanese tactics that deal neither with open propaganda nor merely with the collection of information but involve the sponsorship of revolutionary and separatist movements, the sabotage of industrial enterprises, and the artificial creation of disturbances.

Japanese encouragement and aid to Muslim independence movements began when Akashi first went to Russia to organize popular uprisings in the Russian rear before the Russo-Japanese War. The period of the revolution, 1917-22, is rich in illustrations of Japanese intrigue in Russian internal disturbances. From Semenov's plans for an autonomous Siberia (non-Muslim) through Baron Ungern von Sternberg's colossal dream of an independent Mongol Empire to Qurban Ali's independent

Bashkiria and Kirghizia -- there runs a thread of Japanese instigation, less by the Foreign Office than by the army and the patriotic societies. Black Dragon publications recount the biographies of men who helped "Muslim independence" by sending arms, trained advisers, and money. Qurban Ali's trip to Japan with ten Bashkir officers in 1921 was on behalf of just such an independence scheme in Central Asia.

Soviet accusations of planned sabotage and of stirring of discontent among the natives of Central Asia and Buriat-Mongolia undoubtedly are based in fact. Uchida's biography abounds in anecdotes of plans to blow up Russian railways, to impede construction of highways, and to "wake up Russian-held Muslims to independence ideas." The concentration of many vital Russian industries (oil, iron, steel) in Muslim areas would make it highly advisable, from the viewpoint of obstructing Russian defense preparations, to create disturbances and organize sabotage in these districts. Acts of espionage and subversion by members of the All-Russian Muslim League (organized in 1903) and its heir, the Central Muslim League of USSR, have been admitted both by the Japanese and by a number of arrested persons in connection with the Muslim trials in Tashkent (1929), Kokhand (1935), and Eravna, Buriat-Mongolia (1939). Thus subversion and sabotage have gone hand in hand with propaganda and intelligence to form the pattern of Japanese infiltration among the Soviet Muslims.

IV. RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

Despite the scarcity of direct information since Japan's entrance into the present war, several new trends of infiltration operations have become apparent.

Japanese propaganda directed to Muslims has generally increased in volume. There has, however, been a subtle but nonetheless noticeable change in its political as well as its geographic orientation. Politically, Communism has given place to "Anglo-American imperialism" as the main foe of Islam, while the geographic direction of Japanese propaganda has veered to the south. The Muslims of India, Malaya, and the Dutch East Indies now take precedence over Soviet Muslims both as objects and as targets of Japanese press and radio propaganda. Descriptions of Soviet persecutions have given place to glowing accounts of the happy life of the Malayan Muslims under Japanese rule, on the one hand, and calls to the Middle and the Near Eastern Muslims to throw off "the yoke of Anglo-American imperialism," on the other. (See, for example, Ibrahim's radio appeal, FCC Daily 27 April 1944). The Hsinking radio still talks in terms of fighting communism but the subtle implication is that the main enemy is the Chinese rather than the Soviet Communists.

Moreover, the war, in which Germany is fighting Russia

CONFIDENTIAL

- 54 -

while Japan remains neutral, has brought considerable Japanese collaboration with Germany on Muslim policy and a corresponding delimitation of spheres of overt leadership. As Japan has become increasingly active in southeastern Muslim areas, Germany has taken the lead in work with Soviet Muslims. An understanding is implied by the arrival in Japan of the Indian nationalist leader, Bose, while Iyad Ishaqi, resident in Japan since 1933, has returned to Europe. The speedy rise of numerous Muslim organizations in Berlin during 1943 is reminiscent of similar activities in Tokyo between 1933 and 1939. In January 1943 the Central Muslim Institute, modeled along the lines of the Institute of Islamic Studies in Tokyo, was opened in Berlin. Officiating at the inauguration was the Grand Mufti Amin el-Husaini, of Jerusalem, one-time refugee from British authorities in the Japanese Legation in Iran. In April the Kalmyck National Committee was formed. In June the Tatarische Mittelstelle (Tatar Central League) was founded to unite all Idel-Ural Muslim peoples. During the same month the Azerbaijan National Committee appeared in Berlin, its leaders being Atamalibek and Hilal Mudji (the "Voice of Germany" to Azerbaijan on Berlin broadcasts), both Bozkurt members and associates of Ibrahim and Iyad Ishaqi in Pan-Islamic work. All these organizations have declared themselves in favor of Muslim autonomy from the Soviet Union and as supporting both Japanese plans for Asia and German plans for Europe.

CONFIDENTIAL

In Afghanistan, where the Japanese and the Germans have used the same informants, the Japanese have recently switched from anti-Soviet to anti-British activities, while the Germans have taken an active part in the sponsorship of anti-Soviet Bokharan refugees. The plot disclosed in April 1943 to overthrow Soviet rule in Bokhara was the result of this sponsorship of anti-Soviet elements with Bozkurt connections in northern Afghanistan -- elements long known for their Japanese connections.

In spite of these recent trends, it would be a mistake to assume Japanese departure from the field of Muslim intrigue in Soviet areas. Afghan students returning to Kabul from Japan report a considerable number of Tadjik, Kazak, and Turkmen students in Japanese institutions. The Hsinking, Japanese-controlled, radio broadcasts even today Japanese propaganda in several Central Asiatic tongues. Japan's present overt inactivity is undoubtedly only temporary, and there is every reason to believe that she is continuing quietly to build up contacts in the Muslim areas adjoining her territory while abstaining from overt activities only in the interest of preserving Russian neutrality.

CONFIDENTIAL

- 55 -

APPENDIX IORGANIZATIONS

The fifty-four organizations listed below by no means exhaust the field. They are merely those concerning which information is available.

Administrative Council of Turko-Tatars in the Far East. See Turko-Tatar Far Eastern Council.

1. Afghanistan Club, Kazan-Kaikan, Kasumigaseki 3-chome Kojimachi-ku, Tokyo; org. 1935 for the "study of conditions in Afghanistan and neighboring countries and for the promotion of Afghan-Japanese friendship" by Yasunosuke Tanabe and Masaji Inoue, former Black Dragon intelligence agents in Afghanistan and Russian Central Asia. The present directors also include Torikichi Obata, Iwane Matsui, and Shigenori Togo. Membership - 120 in 1939.
2. Afghan-Japan Chamber of Commerce, org. in Kabul by the Japanese in the early thirties.

Ajiya Gikai. See Reawakening of Asia Society.
3. Azerbaijan National Committee, org. in Berlin, June 1943, to work for the Azerbaijan independence from Russia.
4. Black Dragon Language School, org. in 1901 by the Black Dragon Society to teach languages spoken in Russia.
5. Black Dragon Society (Kokuryukai), org. by Ryohei Uchida in 1901. Its present head is Yoshihisa Kuzuu.
6. Black Ocean Society (Genyosha), org. by Mitsuru Toyama in Fukuoka in 1879.

Bozkurt. See Grey Wolf Society.
7. Central Asia Research Association (Chuo Ajiya Kenkyu Kai), a subsidiary of the Institute of Islamic Studies and of the Good Neighbor Association.

CONFIDENTIAL

8. Central Muslim Institute, org. in Berlin, January 1943, to coordinate German activities among the Muslims.
Chuo Ajiya Kenkyu Kai. See Central Asia Research Association.
Dai-A-Gikai. See Reawakening of Greater Asia Society.
Dai-Ajiya Kyokai. See Great Asia Association.
Dai Nippon Kaikyo Kyokai. See Greater Japan Muslim League.
Dai Nippon Kaikyoto Kyokai, same as above. See Greater Japan Muslim League.
Dobunkai. See One-Culture Society.
9. East Asia One-Culture School (Toa Dobun Shoin or Tung Wen College), org. in Shanghai in 1900 for the purpose of training infiltration agents into Asiatic countries, and presently located in Chiaotung University, on Ave. Haig.
10. East Asia One-Culture Society (Toa Dobunkai), org. by Ki Inukai in 1898 together with the East Asia One-Culture School to work for the unification of all Asiatic peoples.
11. East Asia Society (Toa-kai) merged with the One-Culture Society (Dobunkai) to form the East Asia One-Culture Society in 1898. See p. 10.
12. East Asia Students' Society, org. in Tokyo, 10 July 1942, with General Senjuro Hayashi as president, and predecessor of the Muslim Students' League.
13. Foreign Office, Japanese.
Genyosha. See Black Ocean Society.
14. Good Neighbor Association (Zenrin Kyokai), org. in 1934 by General Senjuro Hayashi, then war minister, for the purpose of "promoting amity among the neighboring races," especially the Mongols and the Central Asiatics.
15. Good Neighbor School (Zenrin Shoin) at 170, Nishiokubo 4-chome Yodobashi-ku, Tokyo, in existence since 1895 to train infiltration agents into Russia, China, Korea, Mongolia, Manchuria and Russian Central Asia.

16. Great Asia Association (Dai-Ajia Kyokai), org. in 1934 in Tokyo by General Iwane Matsui, Jinichi Yano, and Kengo Murakawa to collect information on all the Asiatic countries primarily by utilizing the Japanese residents already in those countries. The society runs a school for training these persons when they are in Japan for visits arranged by the Association.
17. Greater Japan Muslim League (Dai Nippon Kaikyo Kyokai or Dai Nippon Kaikyoto Kyokai), org. in Tokyo in 1938 by General Senjuro Hayashi, Shozo Murata, and Abdur Rashid Ibrahim to coordinate the activities of all the Muslim organizations in Japan and Manchuria.
18. Grey Wolf Society (Bozkurt), a Pan-Turanic group with headquarters in Ankara, consisting of Muslim refugees from the Soviet Union and a few native Turks who are working for the creation of a pan-Turkic state to stretch from Asia Minor through Russian and Chinese Turkestan.
Hakuro Kai. See Society of the White Wolf.
19. Hall of Pleasurable Delights (Rakuzendo), org. by Keiichi Arao in Hankow in 1887, to screen the activities of a group of infiltration agents into Sinkiang and Russian Central Asia.
Idel-Ural Bunka Kyokai. See Idel Ural Cultured Association.
20. Idel-Ural Cultural Association, org. by Iyad Ishaqi in Tokyo, 1934, to unite the Tatars in the Far East for purposes of working toward an independent Turko-Tatar State in Central Asia with Japanese help. Its present headquarters are in Mukden.
Idel-Ural Independence League, same as Idel-Ural Cultural Association.
Idel-Ural Turko-Tatar Cultural Association (I.U.T.T.C.A.), same as Idel-Ural Cultural Association.
21. Imperial Religious Federation, established in May 1942 in Tokyo for the purpose of uniting, supervising, and coordinating the activities of all the religious faiths in Japan, Manchuria, China, Mongolia, Indochina, Thailand, Burma, India, Ceylon, Malaya, and the East Indies.

22. Institute of Islamic Studies (Kaikyo Kenkyu-sho), org. March 1938 under the auspices of the Foreign Office and the Army to collaborate with the Good Neighbor Association in research, intelligence, and the training of Muslim students and Japanese students of Islam for work in Muslim areas.
- Islam Bunka Kyokai. See Society of Islamic Culture.
23. Islamic Cultural Institute in Dairen, founded by the Japanese and in 1942 headed by Chang Te-ch'un with an enrollment of 80 students and up to March 1942, 100 graduates working under Japanese sponsorship in various Muslim territories of continental Asia.
24. Japan Residents' Muslim League (Nippon Teikoku Zairyu Kaikyoto Remmei), org. in 1928 in Tokyo by Inukai, Toyama, and Qurban Ali to disseminate Japanese propaganda among the Muslims.
25. Japan Turkish Society (Nichi-Do Kyokai) at 6, Marunouchi 3-chome, Kojimashiko, Tokyo, org. in 1926, by Masaji Inoue, industrialist, Black Dragon member, later organizer of the Afghanistan Club, and formerly Black Dragon intelligence agent for Russian Central Asia. It was formed following the arrest and execution in Turkey of the remnants of Enver Pasha's group and is active in promoting contact with Muslim refugees from Turkey and Russia who are interested in establishing an independent Turki state in Central Asia.
26. Japanese Army Intelligence (G-2) or the Second Department of the General Staff, one of the foremost agents of infiltration among the Muslim since the latter part of the last century.
- Japanese-Hungarian Society, See Nippon-Hungary Society of Tokyo.
27. Japanese Military Mission in Manchuria, the real power behind the government of Manchukuo and the organizer and supervisor of the White Russian Emigrants' Bureau.
Kaikyo-Kenkyu-sho. See Institute of Islamic Studies.
28. Kalmyk National Committee, org. in Berlin, April 1943, to work for "Kalmyk liberation from Bolshevism."
29. Keio University Foreign Language School in Tokyo, founded September 1942, the first school to organize courses for women in the languages of Muslim peoples of Russia and the Near and Middle East, thus implying the future utilization of women as espionage agents in these countries.
- Kokuryukai. See Black Dragon Society.
- Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai. See Society for International Cultural Relations.
- Kokushi-kan Semmon Gakko. See Nationalists' Training Academy.

30. Magyar Nippon Society (Magyar Nippon Tarsasag) of Budapest, org. by the Japanese in Hungary to collaborate with the Nippon-Hungary Society of Tokyo, the Turan Society of Japan, and the Pan-Turan Society of Budapest to bring about the realization of the racial identity of the Turki peoples with Japan and establish Japan as a friend of the Turki peoples of Europe and Asia.

Magyar Nippon Tarsasag. See Magyar Nippon Society of Budapest.

31. Manchurian Islam Association (Manshu Isuran Kyokai), org. by Kyodo Kawamura. (Black Dragon agent), in Hsinking in July 1932 and at present having 166 branches.

Manshu Isuran Kyokai. See Manchurian Islam Association.

32. Ministry of Propaganda, German, sponsor of Iyad Ishaqi's Muslim paper Yani Milli Yul in Berlin, published simultaneously with his Milli Bayrak in Mukden.

33. Muslim Student League, org. in Japan in July 1943.

34. Muslim Youth Corps, org. by Shinzo Takagaki in 1938 in Peking to train Chinese Muslim youths for special work for the Army.

35. Nationalists' Training School (Kokushi-kan Semmon Gakko) in Tokyo, Black Dragon Society School for training agents, org. by Toyama and now headed by Giichi Fukushima.

Nichi-Do Kyokai. See Japan Turkish Society.

36. Nippon-Hungary Society of Tokyo (Tokyo Nippon Hengarii Kyokai or La Societe Hongro-Japonaise a Tokyo), org. in 1934 to promote Japanese relationships with the Pan-Turan Society and the Magyar Nippon Society in Budapest for the promotion of feelings of racial kinship between Japan and the Turki peoples of Europe and Asia.

Nippon Teikoku Zairyu Kaikyoto Renmei. See Japan Residents' Muslim League.

37. Nippon Trading Association, a screen organization for Japanese espionage throughout India, Burma, Africa, and Latin America, but has recently been active in northern Afghanistan. Its couriers have been traveling in the guise of Muslim mullahs and Buddhist priests.

38. Northwestern Muslim Institute, org. by the Japanese in Peiping and now headed by Ma Hang-p'ao.
39. One-Culture Society (Dobunkai), merged with East Asia Society (Toa-kai) to form East Asia One-Culture Society (Toa Dobunkai).
40. Oriental Society (Toyo Kyokai), Osaka Bldg., Uchisaiwai-cho, 2-chome, Kojimachi-ku, Tokyo, org. in 1898 to conduct investigations and train able men for private and public enterprise in various parts of Asia. It runs six training schools, including the Colonial University. Its present directors are Rentaro Mizuno, Hidejiro Nagata, and Atsushi Akaike. Its field has been primarily economic and industrial intelligence.
- Pan-Turan Society of Budapest. See Turan Society of Budapest.
- Rakuzendo. See Hall of Pleasurable Delights.
41. Reawakening of Asia Society (Ajiya Gikai), org. in 1909 by Tsunetaro Nakano.
42. Reawakening of Greater Asia Society (Dai-A-Gikai), the reorganized Reawakening of Asia Society.
- Russian Emigrants' Committee. See White Russian Emigrants' Bureau.
43. School for Eastern Study (Toyo Gakkan), org. in 1884 in Shanghai by Kotaro Hiraoka to train agents for the Black Ocean Society (Genyosha). Recently reported located on Kunshan Road.
44. Society for International Cultural Relations (Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai), org. in 1934 as semi-official agency of the Foreign Office.
45. Society of Islamic Culture (Islam Bunka Kyokai), org. by Teijiro Sakuma in Tokyo, 1935.
46. Society of Light, org. in Shanghai by Teijiro Sakuma in 1922, to spread Japanese propaganda to the Muslims of the Near and the Middle East in the guise of a Chinese Islamic periodical.
47. Society of the White Wolf (Hakurokai), a terrorist group with Pan-Asiatic aims, org. by Lieut. Zei Nishida in Japan in 1924.

48. Suiyuan Muslim Youth Corps, an organization which is not attached to any other Muslim organization in China but directly under the Japanese army where Chinese Muslim youths are trained for espionage in Muslim areas for Japan.
49. Tatarische Mittelstelle (Tatar Central League), org. in Berlin, June 1943, to unite all the Idel-Ural (i.e., Volga-Ural) Tatar groups desiring Tatar independence from Russia.
- Toa Dobun Shoin (Tung Wen College). See East Asia One-Culture School
- Toa Dobunkai. See East Asia One-Culture Society.
- Toa-kai. See East Asia Society.
50. Tokyo Islamic Order (Tokyo Kaikyo-dan), founded in 1924 by Muhammad Abdel-hai Qurban Ali.
- Tokyo Kaikyo-dan. See Tokyo Islamic Order.
- Tokyo Nippon Hangarii Kyokai. See Nippon-Hungary Society of Tokyo.
- Toyo Gakkan. See School for Eastern Study.
- Toyo Kyokai. See Oriental Society.
- Tung Wen College (Toa Dobun Shoin). See East Asia One-Culture School.
51. Turan Society of Budapest (Turani Tarsasag of Budapest), org. in 1916 to promote the political union of the Turki peoples.
52. Turan Society of Japan, org. in 1933 as Japanese branch of the Turan Society of Budapest, primarily for the purpose of promoting Japanese intrigue among the Muslim Turki refugees from Russia.
53. Turko-Tatar Far Eastern Council, org. in 1934 in Manchuria under sponsorship of Japanese Military Mission.
54. White Russian Emigrants' Bureau, first organized in Harbin following Japanese occupation and thence spread to all parts of Japanese occupied China where Russian refugees live for the purpose of unifying and supervising the Russian refugees in the Far East.
- White Wolf Society. See Society of the White Wolf.
- Zenrin Kyokai. See Good Neighbor Association.
- Zenrin Shoin. See Good Neighbor School.

APPENDIX IIWHO'S WHO

This Who's Who includes the names of all persons mentioned in the text as well as those of others who have been in some way connected with Japanese Muslim policy. The list and the annotations are not exhaustive, and some names about which little is known have been included to facilitate further inquiry. The permutations of Asiatic names are infinite. All variations and aliases encountered in this study have been cross-indexed but others undoubtedly are in use.

A. JAPANESE NATIONALS

Abdur Muliyanu. See Hosokawa, Susumu.

1. Akashi, Motojiro: Baron and General, b. 1865-d.1919; enlisted the aid of the Muslim and the Social Revolutionary groups in Russia to undermine the Russian rear and supply intelligence to the Japanese during the Russo-Japanese war; His most important Muslim contact, Abdur Rashid Ibrahim, was head of the Japanese Muslim Association until his death in September
2. Akikusa: Colonel and now possibly Major-General; suspected to be head of Russian Section of Japanese Military Intelligence; about 40 years old; speaks flawless Russian; organizer of the "Bureau of Affairs of Russian Immigrants" in occupied China and Manchuria.
3. Ando: Japanese "student," graduate of the Muslim University of el-Ashar in Cairo; returned to Yokohama in 1942.
4. Ando, Rinzo: Lieut. General, b.1886; Chief of Special Service of the Kwantung Army in Harbin 1933-36 and a close friend of Col. Akikusa (see above); transferred to Tokyo to command the Tokyo Bay Fortified Area in 1937, reputedly because one of his Russian agents, Levintseff, turned out to be agent for the Far Eastern Red Army planted in his Special Service.

5. Aoyanagi, Katsutoshi: b. 1879-d. 1934; cavalry officer and member of the Black Dragon Society; active in espionage and subversive activities all along the Russian border from Sinkiang through Mongolia to Manchuria; signer of the Muslim Oath of 1909 with Toyama, Ibrahim, and others.
6. Araki, Sadao (baptized in Russian Orthodox Church as Savva Danilovich Araki): Baron and General, b. 1877; member of the Supreme War Council and holder of several cabinet posts previous to 1936; at present retired but an important influence behind former Premier Tojo; like Akashi (see above) close to Toyama and patriotic society circles and an active proponent of both the Muslim and the Russian Orthodox policies. Akashi's successor as military attaché in Russia when Russo-Japanese relations were resumed after the Treaty of Portsmouth and organizer of the Japanese espionage there utilizing dissident Muslim and revolutionary elements.
7. Arao, Kiyoshi: organizer of the group of espionage agents into Russian Central Asia functioning as the Rakuzendo or the Hall of Pleasurable Delights.
8. Ariga, Bunhachiro: one of the first converts to Islam in 1896 in Kobe for the purpose of "serving Japan with his religion." See A. Kasama's "The Muslims," Iwanami Bunko Series, 1939.
9. Ashida, Hitoshi: b. 1887; prolific writer of Japanese propaganda literature for the Muslims; in the Japanese Constantinople Embassy in 1925; editor and president of Japan Times and Mail, Tokyo, since 1933; member of the Diet.
10. Atakana: one of the young officers who, ostensibly as converts to Islam, have been making annual pilgrimages to Mecca; in Mecca in 1935. See Oriente Moderno, 1935.
11. Cheng, Ch'ao-tsung. See Fukuda, Kikuo.
12. Endo, Ryusaku: b. 1886; member of the House of Peers since 1936; previously held posts in Korea and Manchuria; one of the directors of the Society of Islamic Culture in Tokyo; active in entertaining Muslim dignitaries and visitors in Japan.
12. Enomoto, Momotaro: one of the Japanese officers, who, to serve their country, accepted Islam and have made pilgrimages to Mecca; in Mecca December 1936 - April 1937; since then reported to be head of the Japanese intelligence in the Balkans-Levant Region.

13. Fujishima, Takehiko: one of the earliest organizers of Japanese infiltration into the Muslim areas of Russian Central Asia and member of Kiyoshi Arao's Rakuzendo; caught while traveling in the guise of a Buddhist priest and beheaded by the Chinese in 1895.
14. Fukamachi, Masao; Hajime Kobayashi's associate in a Latin American intrigue in 1941.
15. Fukii, Fuminaga: Hajime Kobayashi's companion in Latin America in 1941.
16. Fukuda, Kikuo (Chinese pseudonym: Cheng, Ch'ao-tsung); Black Dragon agent in Honan, China, since 1905; present whereabouts unknown.
17. Fukushima, Giichi: head of the Nationalists' Training School (Kokushi-kan Semmon Gakko) in Tokyo run by the Black Dragon Society.
18. Fukushima, Yasumasa: Colonel and later General, b. 1852-d.1919; earliest army investigator of the Muslim areas of Russia which he studied, making contacts and maps, while traveling alone on horseback 1883-97.
19. Furushima, Kazuo: one of the organizers of the Japan Residents' Muslim League (Nippon Teikoku Zairyu Kaikyoto Renmei) in 1928.
Haji Noor Muhammad. See Tanaka, Ippei (Yasuhira).
20. Hakoda, Rokusuke: organizer, with Toyama, and first president of the Black Ocean Society,
21. Hashiguchi, Komur: chief training officer of the Muslim Youth Corps in Peking, organized 1938, which trains Muslim youths for special work for the army (Hui-chia, 1938, 1.3, p. 51).
Hassan Murshid Effendi. See Hatano, Hassan.
22. Hatano, Mrs. Fatima: daughter of Baron Hiki who with her husband became a convert to Islam, 2 December 1911.
23. Hatano, Hassan Murshid effendi: one of the earliest Japanese propagandists to send articles to the Muslim press in Russia and India; ostensibly a convert to Islam; a member of the Black Dragon Society.

24. Hattori, Fuzo: used to illustrate the life history of a Japanese spy.
25. Hayashi, Senjuro: General, b.1876-d.1943; at various times war minister and prime minister; ardent promoter of the Japanese Muslim Policy and president, before his death, of the Greater Japan Muslim League and the Good Neighbor Association.
26. Hiki, Baron: converted to Islam with daughter and son-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Hatano, 2 December 1911, with much fanfare to advertise the spread of Islam among the upper classes in Japan; announcements and pictures of conversion sent to Islamic press throughout the world.
27. Hino, Tsuyomi: Major, d. 1920 in Tsingtao; espionage agent in China, India, and Russian Central Asia where he accompanied T. Uehara in 1906-07.
28. Hiraoka, Kotaro: second president of the Black Ocean Society and uncle of Ryohei Uchida; organizer of the Black Dragon Society.
29. Hirayama, Chikashi: one of the initial organizers of both the East Asia One-Culture Society and the Black Dragon Society.
30. Hosokawa, Susumu (Muslim pseudonym: Abdur Muliyanu): one of the Japanese officers and ostensible converts to Islam who made trips to Mecca throughout the thirties and made contacts with Bokharans and natives of Sinkiang.
31. Ichijo, Sdnetaka: director of the Good Neighbor Association (Zenrin Kyokai); member of the House of Peers.
32. Ichinomiya, Fusajiro: director of the East Asia One-Culture Society (Toa Dobunkai), head of its espionage school (Toa Dobun Shoin) in Shanghai.
33. Ikeda, Seihin: financier, head of the Bank of Japan and one of the four directors of the Good Neighbor Association which supports work in Mongolia and Central Asia.
34. Imaoka, Juichiro: writer of propaganda to the Muslims.
35. Inouye, Masaji: b.1876; Managing Director of the South Sea Association, the Japan-Turkish Society, and the Afghanistan Club; Black Dragon member and powerful backer of espionage and infiltration into Russian Central Asia, particularly the cotton area; owner of cotton plantations in Peru and spinning mills in Japan; studied in Berlin and Vienna and was Black Dragon agent on the Russian Afghan frontier in his youth; powerful influence in financial and patriotic society circles; ardent believer in Japanese imperialism.

36. Inukai, Ki or Tsuyoki: Diet member, party leader, Premier 1931-32, and an influential secret society man; organizer of Toa Dobunkai; active in the Muslim field until his assassination in 1932.
37. Ishiyama, special correspondent to Afghanistan, April 1941.
38. Isogai, Rensuke: Lieut. General, b. 1883; since December 1942, Governor General of Hong Kong; strong supporter of Japanese Muslim Policy.
39. Itagaki, Seishiro: General, b. 1885; War Minister May 1938-September 1939; one of the original founders of the Black Dragon Society.
40. Iwasaki, Shintaro: attaché to Japanese Legation in Kabul since 10 July, 1939, the only Japanese diplomat to have been there as long; active in intrigue with anti-British and (previous to 1941) anti-Soviet elements.
41. Kaji, Choichi: one of the original organizers of both the Toa Dobunkai and the Black Dragon Society.
42. Kamei, Yoshitsugu, commercial attaché, Japanese Embassy in Ankara (as of July 1942).
43. Kameyama, Rokuzo: attaché to the Japanese Legation in Kabul, as of January 1943.
44. Kasama, Akio: b. 1887; outstanding Japanese propagandist and intriguer in the field of Islam; held diplomatic posts in Turkey and Iran; at present army administrator of an unspecified occupied area; knows Turkish and Arabic.
45. Katsube, T., Charge d'affaires of Japanese Legation in Kabul until the arrival of the new Japanese minister Shichida in October 1942; tried to orient Japanese propaganda to Muslim themes and away from the Hindu tinge; wife (British) and two children with him in Kabul.
46. Kawahara, Kaku: Second Secretary, Japanese Legation, Kabul, since 1939.
47. Kawamura, Kyodo: Black Dragon agent in China, Manchuria, and Central Asia since 1909; organizer of the Manchurian Islamic Association in Hsinking, 1932.
48. Kawara, Tsunejiro: member of Kiyoshi Arai's Rakuzendo in Hankow who was investigating Russian railway building in Central Asia.

49. Kawarada, Yoshi: according to Yang Chin-chih, Chinese Muslim authority, in an article in Ta Kung Pao, Chungking, 9 March 1943, Kawarada was also one of the signers of the Muslim Oath in 1909; Toa Senkaku does not name him; evidently a Black Dragon agent specializing on Muslims who is still alive and operating since not included in Toa Senkaku Shishi Kiden, 1936 ed.
50. Kinoshita, Takeo: First Secretary, Japanese Embassy in Ankara, as of July 1942.
51. Kitamikado, Matsusaburo: one of the members of Kiyoshi Arai's Rakuzendo conducting espionage in Russian Central Asia and Sinkiang.
52. Kobayashi, Genji: Japanese engineer in Kabul; worked on Boghra Canal; still in Afghanistan in August 1943.
53. Kobayashi, Hajime: outstanding Japanese propagandist, professor, and editor of Kaikyo-ken (Islamic World) in Tokyo.
54. Kobayashi, Kikuo: Japanese minister to Kabul in 1942; died in the fall of 1942.
55. Kobayashi, Motomo: contributor of articles on Muslim questions to Rekishi-Gaku Kenkyu (Historical Research).
56. Koide, Sadao: assistant to Shinzo Takagaki, Black Dragon agent and army organizer of the Chinese Muslim Corps in Peking, 1938.
57. Koide, Takeo: executive secretary of the Japan-Turkish Society (Nichi-Do Kyokai) as of 1939.
58. Koizumi, Kotai: Black Dragon agent specializing in Russian Muslims; after several years' residence with Qurban Aki in Tokyo, ostensibly became a convert to Islam, went to Mecca, and thence to Russian Central Asia; last sent word to Black Dragon Society on reaching Lanchow; subsequent activity not mentioned by Toa Senkaku.
59. Komai, Kinjiro: reputed to be one of Toyama's chief undercover men; sent to Peking to combat Soviet diplomat Jaffe in 1922.
60. Kono, Hironaka, b. 1849-d.1923; one of the signers of the Muslim Oath of 1909.

61. Konoe, Fumitaka: son of Prince Aymaro Konoe and one of the directors of the East Asia One-Culture Society (Toa Dobunkai) and its espionage school in Shanghai; formerly student at Princeton University.
 62. Kori, Sozo (alias Muhammad Abduralis): one of the officers who, ostensibly as converts to Islam, made pilgrimages to Mecca in 1935, 1936, and 1937.
 63. Kurihara, Sho: b. 1890; Ambassador to Turkey as of July 1942.
 64. Kurosawa, Jiro: first secretary of the Japanese Legation in Roumania and before then in Turkey (1934).
 65. Kusuyama, Matasuke: Lieut. General, d. 22 June 1944; director of the Zenrin Kyokai and Zenrin Shoin (Good Neighbor Association and its espionage school).
 66. Kuzuu, Yoshihisa: present head of Black Dragon Society who succeeded Ryohei Uchida in 1935; professional patriotic society man.
- Ma Ch'eng-lung. See Nami, Hidenari.
67. Ma Hang-p'ao: either Chinese or Japanese; head of Japanese Northwest Muslim Institute in China.
 68. Machida, Joji: Research Department of the Foreign Office; previously attached to Japanese Embassy in Ankara.
 69. Makita, Takeshi: General Secretary of East Asia One-Culture Society and one of the directors of its espionage school in Shanghai.
 70. Masuko, Isamu (Takeshi): one of the officers who became converted to the idea of using Islam to achieve the Pan-Asiatic union; entered el-Azhar University in Cairo to study but died in 1932 in Teheran after some disturbance.
 71. Matsubara, Akio: Capt., Japanese naval attaché in Ankara, as of July 1942.
 72. Matsubara, Shobu: Japanese engineer in Kabul as of July 1943.
 73. Matsuda, Hisao: one of the officials of the Institute of Islamic Studies and writer on Muslim questions.

74. Matsui, Iwane, General; noted in recent history primarily for having led the rape of Nanking in 1937; director of Afghanistan Club and organizer of the Great Asia Association (Dai-Ajiya Kyokai); active proponent of the Japanese Muslim Policy.
75. Matsuoka, Yosuke; b. 1880; director of South Manchuria Railway 1936-39; like Yamamoto and Hayashi, former directors of the railway, very active in promoting Muslim cause; gave money for the building of mosques in Mukden and Dairen; one-time Foreign Minister; negotiator Russo-Japanese neutrality pact; educated in U S.
76. Mitani, Toru; adviser to North China Branch of China Union Mohammedan Association.
77. Miyagi, Ryoze; writer on Muslim questions; frequently translates from the Russian.
78. Miyazaki, Torazo; one of original organizers of the East Asia One-Culture Society (Toa Dobunkai); friend and associate of Sun Yat-sen.
79. Moriya, Wara; minister to Afghanistan from February 1938-April 1942, preceding Kikuo Kobayashi and succeeding Masamoto Kitada.
Muhammad Abdur Muliyanu (alias . Abdur Muliyanu). See Hosokawa, Susumu.
Muhammad Abduralis. See Kori, Sozo.
80. Munakata, Kotaro; member of Kiyoshi Arai's Rakuzendo in Hankow.
81. Murata, Shoze; b. 1872; big industrialist with shipping and cotton interests; ardent sponsor of Japanese espionage and penetration into the cotton areas of Soviet Central Asia; general secretary of the Society of Islamic Culture and vice-president of the Greater Japan Muslim League; since December 1942 supreme adviser to Japanese Military Administration in the Philippines.
82. Nabeshima, Naokazu; Viscount; president of the Nippon-Hungary Society of Tokyo as of 1939.
83. Naito, Chishu; outstanding Japanese authority on Russia, Turkey, Central Asia, and the Muslim questions; knows Turkish and Russian; Director of Institute of Islamic Studies; toured Muslim countries on good will tours arranged by the Foreign Office.

84. Nakamura, Yo: officer of the Society of Islamic Culture and simultaneously Chief of the Investigation Department of the Kanegafuchi Spinning Company; like Shozo Murata, interested in espionage in cotton areas of Soviet Central Asia.
85. Nakano, Jiro: d. 1921; member of Kiyoshi Arai's Rakuzendo, of Ryohei Uchida's Jujitsu School in Vladivostok; organizer of a school to train spies for Russian territory in Sapporo, Japan.
86. Nakano, Tsunetaro: organizer of the Reawakening of Greater Asia Society (Dai-A-Gikai); one of the signers of the Muslim Oath of 1909.
87. Nakao, Hideo: in July 1942 was listed as secretary to Sho Kurihara, Japanese Ambassador to Turkey; great authority on Islam; knows Turkish well; member of many Japanese delegations to the Near East and close companion of the group of officers who, ostensibly as converts to Islam, made annual trips to Mecca. See Wakabayashi, Mohammedan World and Japan, Tokyo, 1938.
88. Nakayama, Shoichi: Japanese minister to Iran after 1936; previously served in Russia; preceded Akio Kasama in Teheran in organization of espionage in Soviet Muslim areas.
89. Nakayama, Yasuzo: Black Dragon member and one of the signers of the Muslim Oath of 1909.
90. Nami, Hidenari (alias Ma Ch'eng-lung): Black Dragon agent in China, Sinkiang, and Russian Central Asia; speaks excellent Chinese and usually poses as Chinese on his travels; wears Chinese clothes.
91. Nishida, Zei: organizer of the Society of the White Wolf (Hakurokai) in 1924 and later of several other Pan-Asiatic terrorist groups.
92. Nobara, Shiro: Japanese historian and frequent contributor to the magazine Kaikyo-dan (Muslim or Islamic Fraternity) of articles on Sinkiang and Soviet Muslims.
93. Obata, Torikichi: director of Afghanistan Club in Tokyo; in Turkey in the twenties; Ambassador in 1923.
94. Ogasawara, Chosei: referred to by Japanese Advertiser, 13 May 1938, as representative of Japanese Muslims at the Tokyo Mosque dedication.

CONFIDENTIAL

- 72 -

95. Ohara, Abu bekr (alias Juje Chara, Abu Bekr Akhond Jan In en, and Jan Ju-en): Japanese convert to Islam. See La Temps (Cairo), 17 April 1935.
96. Ohara, Bukeiji: b. 1865-d. 1933 in Tsingtao; one of the signers of the Muslim Oath of 1909 and head of the East Asia One-Culture Society work in Shanghai where the espionage school (Toa Dobun Shoin) was run.
97. Okabe, Nagakage: Viscount; chairman of the Board of Directors of East Asia One-Culture Society; Cabinet member, 1943.
98. Okubo, Koji: head of Institute of Islamic Culture; exchange professor and lecturer in Turkey in 1936; professor of Islamic Studies in Waseda University; knows Turkish well; noted for his propagandistic writings to the Muslims on behalf of Japan.
99. Oya, Hanichiro: d. 1897; one of the earlier members of the Rakuzendo and pioneer in Muslim infiltration into Russian Central Asia.
100. Saito, Sekihei: in Kabul with wife and child as attaché to Japanese Legation in 1937.
101. Sakai, Takashi: Lieut. General, b. 1887; reported to be the originator of the Japanese plan for the creation of an autonomous Muslim state in Central Asia to be made up of Sinkiang and Soviet Central Asia; made director of Inner Mongolia Liaison Agency of the China Affairs Board in 1938.
102. Sakamoto, Miss Harue: arrived in Afghanistan with the four Japanese engineers and has been with them in Kandahar; still there in January 1943.
103. Sakamoto, Kenichi: translated Koran into Japanese from Rodwell's English version; his Japanese translation used for the Chinese translation in 1927.
104. Sakuma, Teiji (alias Tso Tung-shan): notorious Japanese Muslim worker; used Chinese pseudonym when in China or working there as a base for activities directed elsewhere; has lived with the Kazaks and the Tatars in Central Asia and speaks their languages; has worked in practically every Muslim country of continental Asia.
105. Sama, Ahmed: ostensibly a Japanese convert to Islam who lives with the Muslim students in Japan and is active in Muslim propaganda.

CONFIDENTIAL

106. San, Muhammad Ali: Japanese Muslim "convert" in Kobe; active around the Kobe mosque and in accompanying Muslim students and visitors in Japan.
107. Sasa, Tanetsugu: one of the present directors of the Society of Islamic Culture in Tokyo.
108. Sato, Hajime: Black Dragon agent who went to Russian Central Asia in 1917 as "resident" agent for several years; present whereabouts unknown.
109. Segawa, Hisashi: contributor of propagandistic articles to Dai Asia (Great Asia).
110. Seshita, Kiyoshi: Japanese Advertiser, 13 May 1938, lists him as one of the patrons of Islam active in the Tokyo Mosque dedication.

Shaliyisin, Muhammad. See Suzuki Tsuyomi.
111. Shibuya, Tatsuo: Japanese engineer in Kabul, July 1943.
112. Shichida, Motoharu: Japanese minister in Kabul since 21 October 1942; traveled to Kabul via Russia with two secretaries; previously held posts in Harbin and Vladivostok.
113. Shimagawa, Kisaburo: d. 1907; one of the earliest Japanese agents in Russia and Mongolia; usually traveled as a newspaperman.
114. Shimobayashi, Atsuyuki: Japanese writer of propaganda literature to the Muslims.
115. Shindo, Kiheitai: one of the original organizers of the Black Ocean Society with Toyama.
116. Shindo, Shintaro: b. 1883; close associate of Toyama in recent years and a powerful influence behind Japanese aggression, especially if directed at Russia; president of the Russo-Japanese Fisheries Co., Kyokuhō Petroleum Co., and Hokkaido Rubber Co., as well as of a number of other concerns; big industrialist; gave dinner for Toyama in 1935 to celebrate the latter's fiftieth anniversary of association with Sugiyama.
117. Shiota, Nobutaka: Lieut. General; president of the Japan Residents' Muslim League and successor to General Hayashi as foremost exponent of the Japanese Muslim policy among higher army hierarchy.

118. Soejima, Jiro: Black Dragon agent who "investigated" Soviet Kirghizia in 1925; present whereabouts unknown.
119. Suda, Masatsugu: author of numerous articles on the Muslim question in Dai Asia Magazine.
120. Sugiyama, Shigemaru: financial backer of the Black Ocean Society since its organization and a close associate of Toyama.
- Sung, Ssu-chai. See Ura Keiichi.
121. Suzuki, Tsuyomi (alias Muhammad Shaliyisin): one of the officers who, ostensibly as converts to Islam, made trips to Mecca; trips financed by the Kwantung Army, the South Manchurian Railway, and Mitsubishi Shoji Kaisha; contacted Muslims from Bokhara and Sinkiang; now attached to the Greater Japan Muslim League.
122. Tachibana, Zuicho: intelligence agent in Sinkiang, Afghanistan, Northern India and Western Siberia 1908-12; only eighteen when he started; guise that of a Buddhist priest; present whereabouts unknown but was trained for work in Central Asia.
123. Tada, Hiroshi: Japanese engineer in Kabul as of July 1943; has been working on the Boghra Canal with Tatsuo Shibuya.
124. Takagaki, Shinzo or Abdullah: at one time adviser to the Afghan Government and a Black Dragon agent around the Russian frontiers in Asia; at present trains Chinese Muslim youths as espionage agents for the Japanese army in Peking.
125. Takahashi, Ken: member of Hakuzendo; traveled in Central Asia as medicine salesman.
126. Taketomi, Toshihiko: b. 1884; preceded Sho Kurihara as Ambassador to Turkey; appointed August 1937.
127. Tanabe, Yasunosuke: Black Dragon member who went to Afghanistan in 1925 to set up a system of communications with the Turkmen organizations in Soviet Central Asia; at present director of the Afghanistan Club in Japan and the prime mover of Japanese anti-Soviet intrigue based in Afghanistan.
128. Tanaka, Bunichiro: consul-general in Alexandrovsk, USSR, since 1936 and authority on Russian frontier conditions, having graduated from the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages with a Russian major and having subsequently held positions in Vladivostok, Harbin, Odessa, Manchuli, and Petropavlovsk.

CONFIDENTIAL

- 75 -

129. Tanaka, Ippai or Yasuhira (alias Haji Noor Muhammad); b. 1882-d. 1934; one of the foremost promoters of the Japanese Muslim policy and active worker in the field who trained a number of younger men to follow in his footsteps as converts to Islam.
130. Tateishi, Horyo: Colonel; Military Attaché in Ankara as of July 1942.
131. Togo, Shigenori: b. 1882; director of Afghanistan Club and former ambassador to Russia; before that in Berlin.
132. Togo, Tsushima: Japanese Muslim "worker" who worked himself into the position of secretary and treasurer of the Working Muslim Missionary Society in London; in the guise of this position, he developed a large number of contacts among Muslims of the world and was able to send propaganda to all the Muslim periodicals; present whereabouts unknown but was probably repatriated following outbreak of war with Japan.
133. Tokonami, Takejiro: organizer with Toyama of Japan Residents' Muslim League.
134. Tokugawa, Iyemasa: ex-Ambassador to Turkey and president of the Japan-Turkish Society.
135. Toyama, Mitsuru: b. 26 June 1855-d. October 1944; since 1879 the most powerful patriotic society figure in Japan; founder of the Black Ocean Society and the real force behind the Black Dragon Society.
Tso Tung-shan. See Sakuma, Teijiro.
136. Tsuda, Shizue: one of the East Asia One-Culture Society (Toa Dobunkai) directors as of 1939-40.
137. Tsunejiro, Toragoro: referred to as one of the two arms of Toyama (the other being Sugiyama) at a celebration in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of Toyama's acquaintance with Sugiyama in 1935; celebration arranged by Shindo (Shintaro) and Uchida.
138. Tsurumi, Sakio: managing director of the Japan-Turkish Society together with Masaji Inoue; industrialist, big oil and cotton man, and backer of Japanese infiltration into the cotton and oil Muslim areas of Russia.
139. Tsuruoka, Senjin: third secretary of the Embassy in Ankara as of July 1942.

CONFIDENTIAL

140. Uchida, Ryōhei: d. 1938; founder of the Black Dragon Society and one of the most remarkable minds in the field of subversion and intelligence; personally responsible for sabotage of Russian railways and fortifications, several uprisings in Russia, China, Korea, and Manchuria, and numberless other things; next to Toyama, the most powerful patriotic society man in Japan.
141. Uchida, Sadatsuchi: b. 1865; Ambassador to Turkey in 1920; patriotic society connections and background; President of the Japan-Turkish Society 1934-35.
142. Ueda, Sentaro: b. 1868; capable intelligence agent with Black Dragon connections; graduate of St. Petersburg Imperial University Law School and usually operating as "student interpreter"; has had a great deal of experience in Russia, both Tsarist and Soviet; associated with Akashi at one time; in Teheran 1932-37 and since then on special staff of Foreign Office, although officially retired.
143. Uehara, Aisan: b. 1907-d. 1936; one of the younger officers who became "converts" to Islam and began making trips to Mecca under Ippei Tanaka's guidance; like Isamu Masuko, he died while on the trip under mysterious circumstances, one version (Toa Senkaku) stating that he committed suicide following identification as a non-Muslim by the authorities and refusal to admit him to Mecca.
144. Uehara, Taichi (Yuan Shang-chih): b. 1883-d. 1916; Black Dragon and simultaneously army spy in Russian Central Asia (Tashkent).
145. Ura, Keiichi (Sung Ssu-chai): member of the Rakuzendo; as a very young man in April 1890 he set out for Russian Central Asia posing as a Chinese; if alive, should be in late sixties or seventies; last reported in Burma.
146. Wakabayashi, Kyuman: b. 1891-d. 1923; brother of Nakabe Wakabayashi and worker for the Japanese Muslim policy in China; left many disciples including his brother Nakabe.
147. Wakabayashi, Nakabe: brother of Kyuman; author of Mohammedan World and Japan; trusted aid of Toyama in the Muslim infiltration; has made many trips to Muslim countries and has been active in recruiting personnel among the younger officers.
148. Waro, Moriya: Japanese Minister to Afghanistan in 1939.

149. Washio, Yoshinao: Inukai's biographer.
150. Watanabe, Dr. Ko: surgeon in Japanese Legation in Kabul; wife and child with him in Kabul; he arrived there in November 1938 and was there as of July 1943.
151. Watanabe, Mizutaro (Michitaro): industrialist and one of the managing directors of the Nippon-Hungary Association or Tokyo Nippon Hangarii Kyokai which stresses Pan-Turanism; also a director of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association.
152. Watanabe, S.: attaché in Japanese Legation in Kabul as of July 1943.
153. Yamada, Kinosuke: b. 1859-d. 1913; one of the signers of the Muslim Pact of 1909.
154. Yamama, Muhammad Ahmad: a young Japanese ostensibly converted to Islam by an Egyptian journalist, Badran Zeidar in Kabul; studied at al-Azhar University in 1935.
155. Yamamoto, Taro: one of the group of young officers ostensibly converted to Islam; following a trip to Mecca in 1933 with Ippei Tanaka, stayed in Afghanistan until 1941, ostensibly "studying Muslim conditions."
156. Yamamoto, Tatsuro: student of "Muslim conditions" in East Asia and frequent contributor of articles on the subject to historical periodicals.
157. Yamanouchi, Iwao: member of Arao's Rakuzendo.
158. Yamaoka, Kotaro: the first Japanese to reach Mecca; investigated the Muslim areas of the Near East and the Caucasus from 1898 to 1910; then accompanied Ibrahim to Russia but was apprehended by Russian military police and barely escaped; in 1932 he was active in the Society of Light with Teijiro Sakuma in Shanghai.
159. Yoshida, Eizo: Japanese student in Kabul, 22 January 1943.
160. Yoshida, Masaharu: d. 1921: one of the earliest proponents of the Japanese Muslim policy; sent to Russia and the Near East on a good will tour by Foreign Minister Inoue in 1880.

B. RUSSIAN AND SOVIET NATIONALS

161. Abdul, Haq: a "man in a foreign country across the border from Soviet Turkestan plotting with an imperialist power having designs on Soviet territory" was named defendant in absentia and identified as refugee from the Soviet Union and former follower of Enver Pasha during the Muslim treason trials in Kokhand, October - November 1935.

Abdul Haziz Maxum. See Maxumov, Abdul Haziz.

Abdul Karim Bochia. See Bochia, Muhammad Abdul Karim.

162. Abdul Majid or Majidov: pro-German businessman in Kabul; very influential.

Abdul Muttalib Satybaldyev. See Satybaldyev, Abdul Muttalib.

Abdur Rahim. See Rahim, Mullah M.

Abdur Rahman effendi Kerimi. See Bochia, Muhammad Abdul Karim.

Abdur Rashid Ibrahim. See Ibrahim, Abdur Rashid.

163. Akchura, Yusuf-bey Oghlu (in Russian, Usuf Akchurin; in German, Yussuf attschura Oglu; in Central Europe, Youssouf, Oglu, Aktchoura): member of the Administrative Council of the Turko-Tatars in the Far East in 1941 and descendant of a very wealthy Kazan Tatar family who owned large woolen mills in Tsarist Russia; great authority on Pan-Turanism.

Akchurin, Yusuf-bey or Usuf. See Akchura, Yusuf-bey Oghlu.

Aliev, Gurban. See Qurben Ali.

Aliev, Sultan. See Galiev, Sultan.

164. Ata mali bek: active in the Grey Wolf Society (Bozkurt) and the leader of the Azerbaijan National Committee organized in Berlin to work for Azerbaijan independence from the Soviet Union.

Attschura, Yussuf, Oglu: See Akchura, Yusuf-bey.

Ayas Ishaqi. See Ishaqi, Iyad.

165. Azef: notorious agent-provocateur of the Russian Social Revolutionary Party who had dealings with Akashi while the latter was enlisting Ibrahim's help in Russia for the Russo-Japanese war.
166. Balinov, Schemba: chairman of the Kalmyck National Committee in Berlin.
167. Barudy, Galimjan, Mufti: d. 1920; organized White Russian regiments in Siberia with Japanese help 1918-20.
168. Bochia, Abdul-Karin, or Muhammad Abdul Karim: head of the Muslim refugees from Soviet Russia in Kobe previous to his death in 1935; active in collecting money for the building of the Kobe mosque.
Bogia. See Bochia, Abdul-Karim.
169. Buldra, Frantisek: employed by the German Minister Pilger in Kabul for anti-Soviet espionage; died recently.
170. Fahrudinov: director of the Central Muslim League in USSR; arrested and tried for heading Japanese espionage at the trial held in Eravna, Buriat-Mongolia, April 1939; in Tsarist Russia was associate of Akchura and Ishaqi in Muslim activities.
Galiev, Gurban. See Qurban Ali (Kurbangaliev).
171. Galiev, Sultan: headed a movement for Muslim autonomy in Soviet Central Asia under the guise of party activities; native of Tashkent; tried for treason in connection with "autonomous movement supported by a foreign power" and executed in Tashkent, 1930; separatist movement of Central Asiatic Muslims has been named "Sultangalievschina" after him.
172. Gapon, Father: notorious agent-provocateur; had relations with Akashi.
173. Gasin, U.: represented Hailar Muslims at the Second Far-Eastern Congress of Turko-Tatars sponsored by the Japanese and held in Mukden, August 1941.
174. Gasprinsky, Ismail: editor of the Tatar newspaper Tardjuman in the Crimea which was approached by the Japanese to send a representative to Japan.

175. Ghulam Muhammad: Kokhand Muslim who escaped from Soviet territory around 1928 and is now active in anti-Soviet plots.
176. Hadjet-Lache (alias Em. Es., alias Muhammad-Beg Hadji Lache-Skagauche, alias Mr. X, alias M. Tatarine, alias M. Muslim, alias M-S, alias M. Aishin): Okhrana agent who investigated Pan-Islamic underground activities in Russian Muslim areas in 1907; later agent-provocateur and participant in the notorious "Stockholm Murders" of pro-Soviet Russians in Sweden; has worked as secret agent for many governments including Turkey; fluent writer, a talented but pathological character; present whereabouts unknown.
177. Hasbiulin, Mullah Muhammad: represented the Harbin Turko-Tatars at the Second Far Eastern Turko-Tatar Congress in Mukden, August 1941.
178. Hasukoff: described by Teijiro Sakuma as leading spirit in the Idel-Ural Turko-Tatar Culture Association of Manchuria in 1938; possibly the same man as Saccaf, Sheikh Muhammad, who represented Japanese interests in Hedjaz in 1935 and was referred to as a Tatar Muslim from Manchuria.
179. Hilal Mudji (Mudzi): leader with Ata mali bek of the Azerbaijan National Committee in Berlin and "Voice of Azerbaijan" to Russia on Berlin broadcasts.
180. Ibrahim, Abdur Rashid (alias A. Ibrahimov in Russian, Ibrahim Shimitlo in Japanese, I-pu-la-hsing in Chinese); d. September 1944, noted Muslim Propagandist and formerly espionage agent, resided in Japan.
- Ibrahimov, A. or R. See Ibrahim, Abdur Rashid.
- I-pu-la-hsing. See Ibrahim, Abdur Rashid.
- Ishaki or Ishakov, Ayes. See Ishaqi, Iyad, below.
181. Ishaqi, Iyad or Ayes and in Russian Ishakov: leader of the Tatar independence movement from the Soviet Union in Europe and the Far East.
182. Kalmykov, Capt.: a brigand posing as anti-Bolshevik leader with Japanese support.

- Kerimi, Abdur Rahman effendi. See Bochia, Muhammad Abdul-Karim..
183. Klimovich, Lucian: Muslim scholar in the Soviet Union and author of numerous works on the Muslims of Russia.
184. Kolchak, Alexander, Admiral: White Russian leader in Siberia whose prestige the Japanese worked to undermine by supporting Qurban Ali, Kalmykov, Semenov, etc.
- Kurbangali or Kurbangaliev. See Qurban Ali.
185. Kursh Irmat or Kurshimat: aide to late Enver Pasha and named as defendant in absentia at the Muslim treason trials in Kokhand, October-November 1935, for organizing espionage on behalf of an "imperialist power" across the border from Soviet Turkestan.
- Majidov. See Abdul Majid.
186. Maxumov, Abdul Aziz or Abdul Haziz Maxum: named espionage agent of a foreign imperialist power in Kokhand in November 1935 but fled abroad before being apprehended; an associate of Kursh Irmat.
187. Mir Yakub: refugee from Azerbaijan and an associate of Iyad Ishaqi who called on Polish President Sikorski with Ishaqi in London 1941.
188. Mubashir Khan: Uzbek refugee from the Soviet Union in Kabul involved in anti-Soviet plots.
- Muhammad Abdul Hai Qurban Ali. See Qurban Ali.
- Muhammad Abdul Karim Bochia, See Bochia, Muhammad Abdul-Karim.
189. Qari, Sadullah: Uzbek refugee from Tashkent in Kabul, very anti-Soviet and pro-Axis.
190. Qurban Ali, Muhammad Abdul Hai (alias Kurban Aliev, Kurbangali, and Kurbangaliev): leader of independent Bashkiria movement who has been living in Japan or Japanese-occupied territory since 1924 and training underground workers for the Muslim areas of Soviet Russia.

191. Rahim or Rahimov, Mullah, M.: succeeded Mullah M. Shamuni as head of the Far Eastern Turko-Tatars at a congress held in Mukden in August 1941.
- Saccaf, Sheikh Muhammad. See Hasukoff.
192. Sadr-ud-Din, Mufti: Uzbek refugee from Tashkent who escaped from Soviet Russia to Iran and thence to Kabul in 1940; a key person in anti-Soviet espionage based in Iran and Afghanistan; has much influence with the Uzbeks and contacts through Soviet Muslim areas; has methods of communicating with these contacts.
193. Saleiev, H. I.: A Russian Tatar in Harbin and chairman of the Japanese-sponsored Turko-Tatar Administrative Council.
194. Satybaldyev, Abdul Muttalib: with his organization, which cooperated with foreign powers in espionage, was exposed during the treason trials of Muslim clergy in Kokhand, October-November 1935.
195. Semenov, Ataman or General: Siberian cossack whose separatist Siberian government around Chita was sponsored by the Japanese in 1919 and who has since then been living in Manchuria, active in Anti-Soviet intrigue.
- Sham Gani, Iman, See Shamuni, Madiar Hazret.
196. Shamuni or Shamunin, Madiar Hazret: also referred to as Iman Sham Gani; was leader of the Kobe Muslims and head of the Turko-Tatar Far Eastern Congress before his death in Japan in 1940.
197. Sharinov, Nabiljan: acted as courier between Abdul Muttalib Satybaldyev and Abdul Haq; exposed at treason trials in Kokhand 1935 as agent of foreign powers.
198. Solmaz, Mrs. Hatice: a Russian Tatar refugee in Kabul, servant and mistress of German engineer Walther, July 1941; actively anti-Soviet.
- Sultan Ali. See Galiev, Sultan.
- Sultangaliev. See Galiev, Sultan.

199. Tadjimanov (in Japanese referred to as Jemianofu): director of the Central Muslim League of U.S.S.R. Exposed as German-Japanese agent and executed in Erevna, Buria-Mongolia, April 1939.
200. Tchokai, Mustafa: president of the Central Asia Islamic Nations Revolutionary League formed in 1921; since then active in the Grey Wolf Society and anti-Soviet propaganda among the Muslims.
- Tchokaieff, M.A. See Tchokai, Mustafa.
201. Thomas, Emile: Russian-born German in Dar-ul-Fanun, Afghanistan, who receives a small allowance from Abdul Majid
202. Ungern von Sternberg, Baron: Japanese-sponsored leader of the Autonomous Mongol Empire to extend from Manchuria to the Caspian; captured and shot by the Soviet government in 1921.
203. Usmanov, Mumin: public prosecutor in the Muslim treason trials held in Kokhand, Soviet Turkestan, October-November 1935.
204. Vitkovski: an anti-Soviet Russian in Kabul, active in anti-Soviet propaganda; in Manchuria around 1934.
205. X, Mr.: son of Ibrahim who came to Japan after the Russo-Japanese War to be educated at the expense of the Black Dragon Society and left following completion of education to "work for his cause."
206. Yanguraji: described by Sakuma as a Tatar in Tokyo and active supporter of the Tokyo mosque.
- C. Other Nationals:
207. Abdul Kerim Khan: founded a general trading company called the Shirkat-k-Karimi in Kabul in 1935 and tried to negotiate for trade facilities with Japanese companies.
208. Abdul Karim, Prince: rumored to have been meant by the Japanese to head the autonomous Muslim state in Central Asia in 1934; nephew of the last Sultan of Turkey.
209. Abudur Rahim Kan: General; reported anti-Soviet in 1935 and not averse to setting up an independent state of parts of Afghanistan and Soviet Russia; has large estates near Kushk.

210. Ali Ahmad (al-Jarjawi): editor of an Egyptian paper Al-Irshad; invited to Japan in 1906 and subsequently has written Japanese propaganda.
211. Aman al-Husaini: Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, with German and Japanese connections.
212. Amanullah: King of Afghanistan until 1928; since then exiled and living in Italy.
213. Ata Muhammad Khan: son of late Sardar Abdullah Khan and one of the Afghan officials who was secretly ordered to render assistance to Enver Pasha when the latter tried to set up an independent Muslim state in Central Asia in 1922; in Russia in 1929.
214. Bac, Muhammad: chargé d'affaires of the Turkish Embassy in Kabul, interested in Pan-Turanism and said to have used Muhammad Beg and his agents to collect materials on conditions in Russian Central Asia.
215. Barakatullah, Muhammad: d. 1928; Indian Muslim who was active in the East Asia One-Culture Society, the Reawakening of Asia Society, and the Black Dragon Society; connections with Japan began in 1909; in Russia in 1920; returned to Japan but was deported on British insistence.
216. Bose, Subhas Chandra: Indian nationalist flown to Japan from Berlin recently while Iyad Ishaqi returned from the Far East to Europe.
217. Chang Te-ch'un: director of Islamic Cultural Institute, established by the Japanese in Dairen.
218. Cioban-oghlu: Turkish teacher in Manchuria who writes Muslim propaganda for the Japanese.
219. Dariyus: chief of Teheran Radio Station; suspected of engaging in Japanese propaganda in 1942.
220. Darugar: wealthy soap manufacturer in Iran; suspected of spreading Japanese propaganda.

221. Enver Pasha: following expulsion from Turkey after the first World War proceeded via Moscow to Russian Central Asia where tried to set up an independent Pan-Turkic state; successful for a while but finally his followers were routed, many fled to Afghanistan and Sinkiang, and he himself was killed in a border skirmish with the Red Army in 1922. Arrests of his followers in Turkey took place in 1928 and many more fled Turkey and Russia to Afghanistan in later years. These elements are the backbone of anti-Soviet intrigue in Afghanistan used by the Japanese and the Germans for their own purposes. Most of Enver-Pasha's adherents, like himself, will look for support to anyone likely to promise help to the setting up of an independent Pan-Turanic and Muslim state. Thus their connection with the Grey Wolf Society which has similar aims and their susceptibility to German and Japanese promises.
222. Fadli, Alman: associate of Barakatullah; once published Islamic Fraternity in Tokyo; Egyptian.
223. Fakhr ul-Islam: of Teheran went to the Tokyo Religious Congress of 1906 as delegate from the Russian Caucasus.
224. Kaya, Kemal: a Turkish officer who fled Turkey to Manchuria and then became adviser to General Ma Chung-ying in Sinkiang in 1931; suspected of being both a Japanese and/or Soviet spy.
225. Muhammad Amin: ex-amir of Khotan; works for Hans Pilger and has probably also supplied information to the Japanese; in return for organization work in Tadjikistan, Sinkiang, and Tibet is to be given enlarged territories and remade Amir.
226. Pilger, Hans: German Minister in Kabul and active in anti-Soviet activities.
227. Quaroni, Pietro: Italian Minister in Kabul, actively cooperated with the German and Japanese embassies until the fall of Italy; subsequently Badoglio government's Minister to Moscow.
228. Tarzi, Habibullah Khan: b. 1897 in Kabul; Afghan Minister in Japan since 1933.
229. Tirazi, Sayyid Mubashir Khan: published articles on the Muslims in Japan in Kabul Review.
230. Zedan, Badran: Egyptian teacher and journalist in Kabul who, supposedly, converted Muhammad Ahmad Yamama to Islam in 1935.

APPENDIX IIIMUSLIMS IN THE USSR

A. Location and Distribution. The Muslims in Russia occupy almost the whole southern periphery of the country stretching from the Tatar settlements along the Trans-Siberian Railway through Central Asia to the shores of the Caspian and the Black seas. Between the Volga and the Urals they drive a wedge into Russian territory, practically separating European Russia from Siberia. Along the Trans-Siberian Railway, they reach Manchuria. With the exception of Georgia and Armenia on the Turkish border, the entire southern frontier of Russia--touching Persia, Afghanistan, and Sinkiang--is Muslim.

Economically the Muslim belt includes the wealthiest regions of the country. It is the source of Caucasian oil, Central Asiatic cotton and cattle, and of the mineral wealth of the lower Urals, at present the seat of important war industries and metallurgical plants.

The predominantly Muslim Turkic peoples of Russia are numerically the most important single non-Russian group in the Soviet Union. Today there are over twenty million Muslims in the USSR. For over a generation they have formed about 12 percent of the total population of the country. (See table on the following page. -).

B. Affinity to Neighboring Muslim States. In spite of a variety of tongues, the predominance of Turki dialects makes cultural intercourse between the tribes possible and establishes a tie with Turkey.

Table 1. MUSLIM NATIONALITIES IN THE USSR ACCORDING TO THE CENSUS OF 17 JANUARY 1939*

Nationality	Number of persons with families*	Percentage of total population of USSR
Uzbeks	4,884,021	2.36
Tatar	4,300,336	2.54
Kazak	3,098,764	1.83
Azerbaijan	2,274,805	1.34
Tadjik	1,228,964	.72
Kirgiz	834,306	.52
Dagestan	857,371	.50
Bashkir	842,925	.50
Turkmen	811,769	.48
Chechen	407,690	.24
Karakalpak	135,775	.11
Kabardin	164,106	.10
Ingush	92,074	.05
Adygei	37,973	.05
Karachaev	75,737	.04
Abhaz (mixed)	58,969	.03
Kurda	45,866	.03
Balkar	42,666	.03
Iranian	39,037	.02
Arab	21,793	.01
TOTAL	20,362,947	12.00

*Sulkevich, S. TERRITORIA I NASELENIE SSSR 1940. Abstracted from table on page 15.

CONFIDENTIAL

The proximity of Persia and Afghanistan and the use of Iranian by such groups as the Tadjik and some Caucasus tribes further cement the traditional affinity to these two Muslim states. The predominantly Turki population of Sinkiang has its counterpart on the other side of the border in the Soviet republics of Kazakstan and Kirgizistan.

C. Muslim Sects. The majority of the Russian Muslims are Sunnites, although Shiites are found in the Caucasus and in parts of Turkestan. Shamanism has survived to some degree in Kazakstan and is practiced side by side with Islam.

D. Absorption into the USSR. With the exception of the Tatars, the majority of these Muslim peoples were conquered by the Russians as late as the nineteenth century. Tsarist attempts to hinder the spread of Islam and to make the Muslim tribes pay taxes to the Russian government led to an intense anti-Russian feeling strengthened by religious, cultural, and racial differences. Pan-Islamic and Pan-Turkic ideas found a ready welcome, since they held out hope of religious and political liberation from the Russians.

Immediately after the Russian Revolution of 1917, nationalist republics claiming autonomous status were set up for these Muslim areas. The first republican governments were headed by nationalist intellectuals, occasionally of moderate socialist sympathies. As the Bolshevik movement with its international orientation swept the country, it resulted here as elsewhere in a fratricidal war

between the leftists of an international bent on the one side and the nationalists and moderates on the other. Among the latter were Muslim clergy and the wealthier classes, while the former were represented by the city proletariat and returned soldiers.

Here the civil strife went on long after the Civil War subsided in other parts of Russia. Throughout the late twenties and early thirties border skirmishes still broke out. Trains were attacked by bands of dissenters who usually escaped across the border into Persia or Afghanistan only to emerge again, often supplied with foreign arms.

The educational system of 1928 indicated the comparative degree of peace attained. Literacy came with communist propaganda and the Five-Year Plan. With the exception of religion, national cultures were encouraged. Schooling was in native dialects. Phonetic alphabets were invented where none had previously existed. Folk dancing, drama, and literature received national acclaim, and native troupes toured Russia at government expense. The most energetic and talented youths, provided they were of proletarian origin, went to communist universities to study. The new republics began to develop a sense of their own importance as they sent delegates to the All-Union Congress and were acclaimed sister republics in the Soviet Union.

E. Elements of Opposition. Opposition to the new order came from the Muslim clergy. With the fall of Tsarism, they lost their

subsidies and their right to teach the young. The forced collectivization program of the early thirties swelled the ranks of dissenters and brought a new flare-up of opposition, passive as well as active. Arrests and deportations of those not willing to cooperate left in their wake a bitterness not easily dissolved. When 1938, the year of the big purge, came even some of the foremost officials of local communist parties in Muslim areas were found to have been in touch with the enemy abroad and to have surreptitiously supported sabotage of the collective farms.

The outbreak of the war with Germany in 1941 found the Muslim borderlands strengthened by Soviet discipline. Industrialization was going full speed, and the population, willingly or unwillingly, was being swept into increased efforts toward defense and armament.

OVERSEAS TELEPHONE CONVERSATIONS

26 June, 1948.

Summary of conversation with Senator Hastings in Philadelphia at 11.15 p.m.
25 June 1948 (Tokyo Time).

Expressed the General's gratitude and appreciation for the work that was done by all of his supporters and requested Senator Hastings to thank each and every one of them. Senator Hastings said he appreciated that statement and that he would do so. On his part and everybody's part it was a pleasure to be of any assistance and they only hoped that it would have been successful. Senator Hastings said that all efforts on behalf of the General had been on a very dignified and high plane and that in his opinion there was nothing done or said that would in any way have embarrassed the General. Senator Hastings again repeated that it was a privilege to have worked for the General.

Senator Hastings said that the Dewey Organization was a well-oiled political machine that crushed everyone in its path. Hastings said that there was a strong undercurrent throughout the Convention and that it was very easy to feel that the delegates would have liked to have voted for the General and in the event there had been a deadlock he felt sure that the General would have been nominated.

He ascribed the reason that all went for Dewey on the third ballot to the fact that they were unable to agree among themselves as to who should be the candidate. Taft held out until the last minute for himself, although in a conversation with Skelley of Oklahoma he stated that General MacArthur would be agreeable to him but it was too late. In the last few minutes there was an attempt to switch to Bricker but Taft would not agree on Bricker and let him down terribly and then to completely destroy his relationship with Bricker made Bricker read his (Taft's) message to the Convention.

Hastings said that Warren had been offered the Vice-Presidency but had turned it down, stating he did not think that Dewey could be elected and that Halleck would be named Vice-Presidential candidate.

Hastings did not mention the General's statement about Dewey but did state that the General's position throughout, especially his answer to Senator Bridges and his answer to General Wainwright's telegram had been exactly correct and proper and that in view of everything he was glad of the position the General had taken throughout the entire campaign.

General R. C. Marshall called from Washington immediately after I talked to Senator Hastings and said that in his opinion everything was done that could have been done and that if the Convention had deadlocked he felt sure that the General would have been nominated. He wanted to assure General MacArthur that his campaign had been on a dignified basis and in his opinion the General did not suffer any lost prestige and was in a strong position before the American public.

Both Senator Hastings and General Marshall asked me to be sure to give their regards and best wishes to the General.

L. LEA

25 June 1948.

Telephone call between General Whitney and Captain Wells, California
at 4.15 p.m. 25 June, 1948 (Tokyo time).

Captain Wells: My name is Wells and I seem to have caused an uproar and I am sorry. I was listening to General Wainwright's nomination for the General and I got carried away, I guess. I have been an admirer of the Generals from the Pacific days and I wanted to wish him all the luck in the world. I did not mean to do anything unmilitary.

General Whitney: That is all right. The General will appreciate your call. What are you with now?

Captain Wells: I am on a Reserve status. I think the General is a hell of a fine man and to do what he has done with what he has -- I know he would make a hell of a fine President. I did not mean to upset the official apple-cart.

General Whitney: That is quite all right. Our facilities here are limited so I take the overseas calls for the General. What outfit were you with:

Captain Wells: I was with the 27th.

General Whitney: What part of the Theater?

Captain Wells: We were on Saipan, Okinawa, Marshall Islands. Prior to that I was under General Eichelberger as an Enlisted Man in the 31st Division.

General Whitney: I know the General will appreciate your having called and I want to thank you too. A thought of that kind means a great deal to the General, when the old crowd come through with that kind of support it means an awful lot to him.

Captain Wells: Well, that is all, Sir, and thank you very much.

25 June 1948.

Telephone conversation between Mr. Lea and Senator Hastings at 0745 hours
25 June 1948 (Tokyl Time).

Mr. Lea: We have the news of the second ballot from the radio
now what is the situation?

Senator Hastings: It has adjourned until 7.30 and looks better now. It
looks as though Dewey is stopped. They are trying to
get a candidate in position. Bricker may get a first
crack. His position is that he stepped aside 4 years
ago for Dewey; he stepped aside this year for Taft.
He made one of the best speeches at the Convention
last night. He is very friendly with Leedle and is
also for MacArthur, but for himself first. Leedle is
in touch with him. Gainey is doing good work with
Stassen and Kennedy with the other two.

Mr. Lea: But Dewey only lacks 33 votes for nomination.

Senator Hastings: He will get it unless they agree on a candidate.

Mr. Lea: What about Connecticut?

Senator Hastings: They stood pat.

Mr. Lea: They are trying to change the vote.

Senator Hastings: They are getting pressure to stand pat.

Mr. Lea: What about Massachusetts?

Senator Hastings: Most of them went for Dewey.

Mr. Lea: Martin has 10 scattered votes -- what about those?

Senator Hastings: I don't think he can control them.

Martin Downey is working very close with Dewey, also
Harold Cole. This is really the climax and everything
that can be done is being done. Kennedy is a great
help but he says you have to let Bricker get a chance
first. We are working like hell and will keep right
on it. We will keep on it to the last second.

Mr. Lea: Do you really believe you can stop Dewey?

Senator Hastings: If you can believe politicians, he is stopped.

24 June 1948.

Telephone conversation between Mr. Lea and Senator Hastings at 10 o'clock (Tokyo time) 24 June, 1948.

Mr. Lea: We wanted to talk to you to get the up to date situation. What is the situation now?

Senator Hastings: It looks as though Dewey is definitely stopped.

Mr. Lea: My heartiest congratulations.

Senator Hastings: We are going to get all kinds of help once he is stopped.

Mr. Lea: We have seen nothing regarding Martin of Massachusetts.

Senator Hastings: Kennedy was going to try to work on him but Dewey beat him to it. Kennedy said he can leave after the first ballot. He is a democrat -- old line connections -- financial backings --

Mr. Lea: We have seen nothing about Martin.

Senator Hastings: Martin and Saltonstall are for Dewey.

Mr. Lea: How many votes will Dewey get

Senator Hastings: About 470 on the first ballot.

Mr. Lea: AP says in the story here 390 to 418.

Senator Hastings: 470 is the top we think he can get.

Mr. Lea: That is getting awful close. But you think he is stopped?

Senator Hastings: Yes, I do.

Mr. Lea: We thought Vandenberg would not have let his name be offered unless he felt Dewey could be stopped.

Mr. Hastings: We feel the same way. Stassen feels he is stopped. Taft feels he is stopped. Everyone is very confident.

Mr. Lea: What reception did General Wainwright get?

Senator Hastings: Very, very good, but it was 4 o'clock in the morning.

Mr. Lea: Couldn't that have been stopped.

Senator Hastings: No, once the pattern is set it has to go on.

Mr. Lea: Was it dignified?

Senator Hastings: Very.

Mr. Lea: What sort of reception did it get.

Senator Hastings: A magnificent reception.

Mr. Lea: What about Kelley?

Senator Hastings: Very good, too.

Mr. Lea: Were there many delegates left.

Senator Hastings: Only about 15% . He did not start until 2o to 4.

Mr. Lea: What about Warren of California.

Senator Hastings: He is playing very coy and cagey but after the first ballot if Dewey is stopped we can get him.

Mr. Lea: Doesn't that put Warren in the Saddle.

Senator Hastings: No. The man to watch is Vandenberg.

Mr. Lea: Here is the situation. If you can stop Dewey you are in a wonderful position because where can he go except to the General?

Senator Hastings: The contact is already made.

Mr. Lea: What about Dan Gainey?

Senator Hastings: He is fine. I was with him yesterday. Stassen is talking to Vandenberg but no agreement has been reached yet.

Stassen's law partner, Ryan is also for MacArthur. Apparently Keenan talked to Ryan and said that MacArthur said he was a very fine Naval officer.

Mr. Lea: That is what I told you the other day.

Senator Hastings: We will have people with all the candidates but cannot move until after the first ballot. Everyone is working very well together under Leedle.

Mr. Lea: Leedle will be invaluable with Taft and Bricker.

Senator Hastings: He is watching that very carefully.

Mr. Lea: What is Bricker doing?

Senator Hastings: Absolutely nothing.

Mr. Lea: It is your considered opinion Dewey is absolutely stopped?

Senator Hastings: That is the way it looks. I feel stronger than last night.

Mr. Lea: Do you think Warren will hold out?

Senator Hastings: Yes, I do.

Mr. Lea: ~~Senator Hastings:~~ What about Vandenberg?

Senator Hastings: He said he would.

Mr. Lea: What about the Southern States?

Senator Hastings: Leedle has a man named Barker who knows them all and will and will go in after the first ballot.

Carroll Reece said he has not received the cable on the credentials.

Mr. Lea: It was sent the same time as the one to Leedle.

Senator Hastings: We will go after that.

Mr. Lea: How is O'Gara?

Senator Hastings: O'Gara is fine.

Mr. Lea: We will call you at 6 o'clock your time. Good luck to you all.

24 June 1948.

Telephone conversation between General Whitney and Mr. Robert New of Los Angeles, at present in Philadelphia. at 1240 hours, 24 June 1948 (Tokyo time)

Mr. New: This is Robert New of Los Angeles. I am in Philadelphia. Can you hear me?

Gen. Whitney: I can hear you fine.

Mr. New: This afternoon I had a conference with Frazer Hunt and Bonner Fellers about General MacArthur's chances and possibilities at the Convention. Lafollette has come in tonight and I have talked to him. I have supported General MacArthur's candidacy from the start.

General Whitney: I know that.

Mr. New: We are all in agreement and we have come to the conclusion that there is truly and completely no hope of MacArthur being nominated. It is in the bag for Dewey and MacArthur has not any chance of getting the nomination. Frazer Hunt raised the point and we have come to the conclusion that we should put the matter to General MacArthur. Frazer Hunt's point is that in as much as General MacArthur will at best receive a small handful of votes, it would be better if his name was not put into nomination and would save Wainwright who is going to second. That is our feeling and we wonder whether General MacArthur would not do that.

Gen. Whitney: The General will let the situation be worked out by the group supporting him. He will not take any action one way or the other.

Mr. New: In other words, you feel he will prefer to be nominated.

Gen. Whitney: He will leave it to the group who are supporting him.

Mr. New: Very well, General, thank you. Goodbye.

23 June 1948

Telephone conversation between Mr. Lea and Mr. Leedle at 10 p.m., Tokyo time, 23 June 1948.

- Mr. Leedle: Did you hear about Halleck of Indiana? He is going to be Vice-President with Dewey. I can hear you very well this morning. Outside of that everything is going along fine. Everyone is pulling along fine together. Hays is here.
- Mr. Lea: I am glad of that because O'Gara called General Whitney this afternoon and he said he had not been able to see Hays or yourself.
- Mr. Leedle: I called him early yesterday morning and he said he had been up until 5 o'clock and was going to get some rest, and was going to call back. He could see Hays as often as he wants.
- Mr. Lea: He stated Hays said he could only see him for a minute. We would like to keep everyone happy.
- Mr. Leedle: To tell you the truth, he really seems peculiar. That is the reason I said he was a little touched.
- Mr. Lea: We know what a trouble he is and you ~~are kind of worried by it.~~ *must not worry about it*
- Mr. Lea: Who is going to nominate the General:
- Mr. Leedle: The gentleman from Wisconsin. He is here -- you know the one I am talking about?
- Mr. Lea: We thought Kelley, but he is sick.
- Mr. Leedle: Kelley is here now and he is determined to do it. I went through the preliminary with him and he was just grand.
- Last night Hoover made a speech for the General through and through.
- Mr. Lea: Is there any chance of a Taft, Stassen and Vandenberg organization? to stop Dewey or has the situation gone too far?
- Mr. Leedle: Last night the story was out that Taft and Stassen were together but that broke down. The most disturbing news is Halleck from Indiana. Every time you turn around Dewey has gone a little further.
- Mr. Lea: How many votes has he now?
- Mr. Leedle: He has over 400 votes now.

Mr. Lea: That is what worries us about the situation -- if there is a run from Wisconsin of 3 or 4 switching to Dewey --

Mr. Leedle: I am assured that is not so.

Mr. Lea: We think we should get that to the papers because it is so harmful.

Mr. Leedle: I received your cablegram. I saw Harris and he cabled to General MacArthur re-hashing the old stuff that there should be a statement. They are pretty sick. Don't let the General feel too bad about it. They want to give something to the Convention.

Mr. Lea: That is a paramount situation, that it cannot be done.

Mr. Leedle: I know that, but you cannot blame these fellows. I think Harris sent a pretty curt cable. You know, material from last November and all that. You must not feel too bad -- of course we must do what the General wants and if you want to stop the cable, that is all right.

Mr. Lea: Do you think Dewey can be stopped?

Mr. Leedle: I do. The New York papers had it last night but it is not a walkover. Every time you turn around Dewey has a few more votes.

Mr. Lea: Well, if he keeps on getting votes he will be nominated on the first or second ballot.

Mr. Leedle: The Taft people will have to stop him.

Mr. Lea: When will the nominations start?

Mr. Leedle: Actually, My guess about 1 o'clock. Wainwright will be there at 1 o'clock and will bring in a thousand petitions.

Mr. Lea: I am to call Hastings at this number at 7 o'clock tonight.

Mr. Leedle: That is right.

Mr. Leedle: Everything in New York is "Stop Dewey". And if you think you should stop the cable, do so.

Mr. Lea: I will talk to General Whitney about that. If you could give O'Gara a pat on the back --

Mr. Leedle: I have done that, but he sticks to his own men in Chicago.

Mr. Lea: Mr. Lea: O'Gara is content to have you. There is no question about you but he wants everyone in line.

Mr. Leedle: We have tried to work with him. He wants McNider to work on the floor, so we have McNider.

Mr. Lea: Well, don't let O'Gara worry you. We are counting on you on the whole situation.

Mr. Leedle: I am doing my very best.

Mr. Lea: General Whitney declined to send a cable to O'Gara. All right I will call at 7 o'clock.

24 June 1948.

Telephone conversation between Mr. Lea and Senator Hastings and Mr. Leedle at 9 a.m. Tokyo Time, 24 June, 1948.

Mr. Lea: What is the news?

Senator Hastings: Briefly it is this: Dewey has Missouri and Massachusetts and part of Indiana. He is still short of the necessary number for nomination. The other boys are holding their line. We have people placed with all of the group. If Dewey is not nominated on first three ballots, he is not likely to be nominated. Apparently he is not that far yet but there may be a bandwagon.

I had breakfast with Kennedy. He is in touch with Hoover and others and if there is a deadlock he will do everything possible. There is nothing we can do if they jump on the bandwagon. We are doing everything to keep the other forces together.

Mr. Lea: Is there anything to be done about Massachusetts?

Senator Hastings: Not in view of what Martin has done. He has thrown the whole delegation to Dewey. Kennedy said he would talk to Martin.

Mr. Leedle: O'Gara is the happiest man in the world. Is that all right?

Mr. Lea: I am glad he is happy. Did you get hold of Governor Edison?

Mr. Leedle: New Jersey swung before we had time to do so.

Mr. Lea: New Jersey has gone?

Mr. Leedle: That is right.

Senator Hastings: I spent an hour with Dan Gainey and he is all right and optimistic about stopping Dewey. Said there is bad feeling on the part of Stassen for Dewey.

Mr. Lea: How about between Taft and Dewey?

Senator Hastings: After all in the Preferential Primaries Dewey did not do so well. It is pretty much like the Wilkie situation over again.

The Dewey machine is well organized, well oiled and well greased. We have an excellent chance, though, if he does not get the nomination on the first three.

Mr. Lea: What can be done?

Senator Hastings: We have to keep the others united to stop him getting 500 votes.

Mr. Lea: How many ballots has he?

Senator Hastings: About 460.

Mr. Lea: What about Taft?

Senator Hastings: He is very angry and says he will stay put.

Mr. Lea: What about the Southern States?

Senator Hastings: We cannot do anything until after the first ballot. Everything is being done that can be done.

Mr. Lea: What about General Wainwright?

Senator Hastings: Wainwright goes on tonight, about 2 or 3 hours from now.

Mr. Lea: When do you want me to call you from now?

Senator Hastings: Wait until the balloting gets started. Suppose you call tomorrow at 10 o'clock your time.

Mr. Lea: Do you think this Dewey thing can be stopped?

Senator Hastings: I thought it could be when I talked to Gainey but the other delegates seem to be weakening. The Stassen people say he will stand and Taft will stand.

Mr. Lea: I thought Massachusetts would go with you.

Senator Hastings: They went with Dewey.

Mr. Lea: What about the Taft people?

Senator Hastings: They will stand. At the moment he has not enough to be nominated. I am giving you the facts.

Mr. Lea: That is what we want.

Senator Hastings: We are doing everything to stop Dewey.

Mr. Lea: Good luck to you and tell Leedle the same thing.

Telephone conversation with Mr. O'Gara, 5.30 p.m. Tokyo time, Wednesday, 23 June 1948:

- O'Gara - General Whitney, I have a little report.
- To-day Martin of Pennsylvanis went with Dewey which might turn the tide. In view of that Taft and Vandenberg and Stassen and others have joined.
- I had McNider and General Wood for supper last night. They agree with me on what I am thinking of.
- Of course we only have a small chance. I don't believe Taft is strong enough. I don't believe Vandenberg is strong enough.
- We might come to a time where Martin and our candidate will have a good chance.
- They have a man named Leedle. Have you talked to him?
- Gen Whitney - No, I have not talked to him.
- O'Gara - Ed Hays, who knows the business, is attending the delegation. That is all to the good. He is constructive. However, they won't cooperate with me at all.
- Gen Whitney - Have you talked to Leedle?
- O'Gara - No, I have not been able to get him.
- Gen Whitney - I think if you talk to him, everything will be straightened out.
- O'Gara - I have not been able to get him all day long.
- That is the principal thing. Now I wonder if this would be alright with you. Could you send this cable from yourself to me: "Please overseer allied group formed under Leedle and Hays, and have them cooperate with you."
- Gen Whitney - I think you had better see General Wood. He wired General MacArthur recommending for the group that Arthur Leedle be appointed for that purpose, and General MacArthur wired to General Wood that the selection of the group was entirely O.K. with him. I suggest that you get in touch with General Wood on that matter. I think he can straighten it out at once.

O'Gara - General Wood said he did not know Leedle, and asked me if I did.

Gen Whitney - General Wood personally recommended him to General MacArthur.

O'Gara - I know that, but just have them cooperate with me. They do not like me.

Gen Whitney - General MacArthur does not know Leedle at all, but acted entirely on the recommendation of the group forwarded by General Wood.

O'Gara - General Wood does not know him.

Gen Whitney - General MacArthur acted entirely upon General Wood's personal recommendation and that of the group.

O'Gara - Is it impossible for you to send a message.

Gen Whitney - I don't know how that would be understood by the group. I can arrange to get word to Mr. Leedle asking him to get in touch with you and to cooperate with you.

Can you work with Ed Hays?

O'Gara - I have not met him. I talked to him this morning. He was very busy, and when I asked if I could see him, said he did not know whether he would be there or not.

Gen Whitney - It is very difficult, Mr. O'Gara, from this distance for us to intervene in this matter. You can understand?

O'Gara - Yes, I understand.

Could you wire Leedle instead of me to cooperate with me?

Gen Whitney - I can arrange that through another source.

O'Gara - I hope you can get this thing worked out. We are going to have to act awfully fast.

Gen Whitney - That is right, and I want you to know that General MacArthur has always valued your support.

O'Gara - If they don't cooperate, it is going to be very bad. We don't have a good chance.

Gen Whitney - I will see what I can do. We of course need every measure of cooperation. I will get word to him.

O'Gara -

Alright. It should be done right away. Thanks a lot for everything. My regards to General MacArthur.

Gen Whitney -

I want to thank you for him for your efforts in his behalf.

23 June 1948.

Telephone conversation between Mr. Lea and Mr. Leedle at 11 a.m. Tokyo time,
June 23, 1948.

Mr. Lea: I have a very important message for you. Do you have someone who can take it down?

Mr. Leedle: I am here alone.

Mr. Lea quoted the message.

Mr. Leedle: Cable it to me.

Mr. Lea: You ask me to cable it to you?

Mr. Leedle: That is right.

Mr. Lea: I have several things to discuss with you. Have you talked to Governor Duff of Pennsylvania?

Mr. Leedle: We are doing that tonight. What do you think of Martin?

Mr. Lea: We do not understand it?

~~_____~~
Mr. Lea: We thought Duff might come out for the General because he may not be satisfied with the Vandenberg organization.

Mr. Leedle: It is very helpful to the General.

Mr. Lea: You think it is helpful?

Mr. Leedle: Yes, very.

Mr. Lea: I thought you might work out a situation with Taft.

Mr. Leedle: If Taft shows enough strength to block Dewey we are in better shape than we have ever been.

Mr. Lea: What do you think of the situation?

Mr. Leedle: I will have to wait until tomorrow morning before I can assess it.

Charles

Mr. Lea: Will you call Edison and ask him to release his letter to the General of March 31st this year. He wrote a beautiful letter and see if he will release that letter. The General has no objection to it being released.

Mr. Lea: Hastings talked to me about Governor Driscoll of New Jersey. Have you contacted him?

Mr. Leedle: We are doing that. We are having trouble with Warren. I have not been able to see him because he is devoting all his time to receiving delegates himself. We are getting in to see him tomorrow morning. Do you have the address to send me the cable? It is 135 South 17th Street, Apartment 7C.

Mr. Lea: Let me go on. What about O'Gara?

Mr. Leedle: Do you know what he is? I think he is a little bit touched. He is acting crazy. So just forget him. We will take care of him.

Mr. Lea: What about Wisconsin? If Stassen is out of the running, Wisconsin should be unanimously for the General -- a favorite son --

Mr. Leedle: We are going to work on that. Tomorrow at 1 o'clock Wainwright is going to have an ovation at the Convention Hall.

Mr. Lea: Would it help if we call Dan Gainey from here?

Mr. Leedle: Not a bit. Let me know what you are doing -- do what you please but let me know.

Mr. Lea: What about the people from Tennessee? That is Mrs. MacArthur's own State and they should come into line.

Mr. Leedle: I don't know about them.

Mr. Lea: I am sending a cable to some of these people -- to Carroll Reece, etc.

Mr. Leedle: Did you say you had cabled Reece? Did you receive my cable?

Mr. Lea: We have not received your cable yet.

Mr. Leedle: In my cable I stated: "Cable Reece immediately to deliver credentials to General MacArthur's Floor Manager, Ed. Hays".

Mr. Lea: Who do you want to sign it? - - - I will send it immediately.

Mr. Leedle: Send that long cable you read to me. They are waiting for that one to go to Wainwright.

Mr. Lea: I will send it to you and you can pass it to Wainwright.

Mr. Lea: I am going to call you at 8 o'clock tomorrow morning your time.
11 hours from now. Where is Reece?

Mr. Lea: What is the situation on Vandenberg? Cannot he be brought in line
and be consistent as in 1944?

Mr. Leedle: If he decides not to be a candidate himself, but he is still
running.

Mr. Lea: How do things look?

Mr. Leedle: Stassen and Vandenberg are still running.

Mr. Lea: I will talk to you tomorrow morning.

23 June 1948.

Conversation between Mr. Lea and Senator Hastings at 3 o'clock, Tokyo Time, 23 June 1948.

Mr. Lea: This is the thing I want to get over to you: I am afraid the Keeler situation of Wisconsin is a forerunner of the way the Stassen delegates may go, they may go to Dewey.

Senator Hastings: Since I talked to you I have checked that story and Ed. Hays says that the Wisconsin delegates will go right down the line for MacArthur.

Mr. Lea: The thing that worries us is whether or not Stassen might go to Dewey or his Wisconsin delegates might start a band wagon move for Dewey.

Senator Hastings: Stassen has issued a statement that he is in the fight to the finish. It came over the radio within the last half hour.

Mr. Lea: We have to try to get the Wisconsin delegates to stand firm. There is a lot of difference between the actual situation and wishful thinking. I want to urge on you, do not let these people start a band wagon movement for Dewey.

(Line faded and Mr. Lea repeated) - - - What we are afraid of is a band wagon movement to Dewey and that the people might get the impression that the Stassen people would be going to Dewey.

Senator Hastings: Hays said he conferred with the Wisconsin delegation and they will stick to the end. Stassen said he is in the fight to the finish and will not compromise.

Mr. Lea: Whatever situation is worked out will have to be worked out in the Convention. One combination might look good today and another one better tomorrow. We want you to keep yourselves fluid and flexible.

Senator Hastings: I appreciate that, but I want to let you know what we are doing.

Mr. Lea: What can be done with Vandenberg?

Senator Hastings: There is an excellent chance he might do it but he must do it in combination with the others, with Warren, Martin, Taft.

Mr. Lea: Is there any chance of getting those people together?

Senator Hastings: I am having breakfast with Kennedy tomorrow and will know better then.

Mr. Lea: What time will I talk to you again?

Senator Hastings: Call me at 7 o'clock in Philadelphia. (0800 24 June, Tokyo)

Mr. Lea: What was your reaction to Martin declaring for Dewey?

Senator Hastings: My first reaction was Dewey had the votes for the nomination, but --

Mr. Lea: What about now?

Senator Hastings: He has not got them.

Mr. Lea: If everyone will stand pat --

Senator Hastings: That is what we are trying to do.

Mr. Lea: Is Taft holding the Southern delegation?

Senator Hastings: With those Taft has pledged, he is. He is confident he can stop it, but he cannot do it alone. It can only be done if they work together.

Mr. Lea: I sent the cables to Leedle and Reece.

Senator Hastings: Good. That is fine.

Mr. Lea: I will call you again at 7 o'clock. Goodbye.

23 June 1948.

Telephone conversation between Mr. Lea and Senator Hastings at 2.15 p.m.
23 June 1948:

Senator Hastings: I went to New York on account of the developments of Martin nominating Dewey. Here is the situation: Taft, Warren, Vandenberg Stassen and Martin are going to get together to stop Dewey, and they will have to agree on one man to do it. The only man they can agree on is MacArthur. Reviewing: Taft in California said many splendid things about MacArthur. Warren told Creel that he would support MacArthur. Vandenberg has publicly declared for MacArthur.

I talked with Gainey and he talked with Stassen and when he is eliminated he will try to get the Stassen delegation for MacArthur.

I got hold of Kennedy and will have breakfast with him in the morning. I want Kennedy to get Martin to initiate this move, offering Martin the Vice-Presidency.

I did not say anything about this to anyone in Philadelphia -- did not even discuss it with Leedle. I am going to talk to Kennedy to talk to Hoover and get him to get Taft. I don't think we should ask Hoover to do it but he can say a good word to all these people. As a matter of fact we thought Hoover's speech was a MacArthur speech.

Mr. Lea: It was magnificent.

Senator Hastings: I had a letter from Skelly of Oklahoma who is a friend of the General's, in which he said he has a very high regard for the General and believes he would be the right man for President. He went on to say he could not support two candidates at the same time but if Taft is out of the running he would like to see MacArthur for President.

All in Philadelphia are doing a magnificent job. They may get a little bit nervous sometimes but they are all very sincere. Wainwright is magnificent.

Mr. Lea: But keep him on the straight and narrow, if you know what I mean.

Senator Hastings: He is going to the Convention with all the petitions and try to get a stampede. That is not enough. It is going to take Kennedy, Taft and all the big men to do it.

Mr. Lea: I agree. It will take all the top men.

Senator Hastings: It is not dissimilar to the Democratic Convention of 1932 when the Convention was deadlocked over night while the Convention adjourned and Garner was selected as Vice-President. I would recommend Martin and if Kennedy gets Martin interested and he can initiate the action to bring these people into line - - -

Mr. Lea: You are having breakfast with Kennedy and then going to Philadelphia?

Senator Hastings: Yes, tomorrow morning. If you have any ideas let me know.

Mr. Lea: I will discuss this with General Whitney and probably call you back within an hour.

Mr. Lea: (Referring back to earlier part of conversation) Vandenberg declared he was for MacArthur in 1944?

Senator Hastings: Yes, but he did not change his mind since then but he will not have the courage to say no if he gets the nomination.

Mr. Lea: I talked to Leedle at about 9 o'clock in Philadelphia. Has anybody seen Duff?

Senator Hastings: No. But he is an integral part of this group.

Mr. Lea: I think it is very important and we might be able to bring Duff in line.

Senator Hastings: That would be part of the combine.

Mr. Lea: What about Driscoll of New Jersey?

Senator Hastings: He wants too much.

Mr. Lea: Has Hoover seen McCarthy of Wisconsin?

Senator Hastings: Kennedy is going to see him.

Mr. Lea: We think it is publicity to get people on the bandwagon for Dewey, but an AP story this morning stated that Keeler of Wisconsin said four MacArthur delegates would go to Dewey after giving the 2nd or 3rd ballot for MacArthur.

Senator Hastings: I don't believe it. That is Dewey propaganda.

Mr. Lea: We must offset that. It might be a bandwagon stunt.

Senator Hastings: I will take care of that. We have to get all these men, and get Martin to run for Vice-President.

Mr. Lea: You might get hold of Kelley of Wisconsin and issue a statement to offset any doubt about the delegates leaving MacArthur.

Senator Hastings: All right. Call me back when you have discussed this, will you?

22 June 1948.

Telephone conversation between Mr. Lea and Senator Hastings at 10 p.m.
22 June 1948.

Mr. Lea: How are things looking?

Senator Hastings: Very good. I am going to read something to you from the MacArthur National Headquarters. It is a cable which they sent to General MacArthur today signed by General Wainwright, Wood, McNider, Kelly Campbell -- all except O'Gara. Leedle is here with me. (quoted radio)

The only trouble is O'Gara. He is raising a little hell and getting a little obstreperous on the floor. He is resentful of us and says that he has the authority to act on behalf of the General.

Mr. Lea: That is not so. He called General Whitney yesterday and I have a copy of the conversation right here before me. General Whitney told him to get hold of Leedle and work with him and that is the sum and substance of that conversation. O'Gara said he did not know Leedle but would contact him.

Senator Hastings: I had a long talk with Kennedy and Hoover. They are both for MacArthur. Kennedy says that if there is a deadlock Hoover and Kennedy will work with Leedle. They are talking to McCarthy of Wisconsin. We also have a contact with Gainey who is with Stassen. With Leedle directing, Hoover and Kennedy are going to work along. Ed. Hays is working along wonderfully. The situation is in perfect shape once the deadlock comes.

Mr. Lea: We thought Hoover's speech was fine here.

Senator Hastings: That is good -- I will tell Kennedy -- Nothing can happen until there is a deadlock. Hoover and Kennedy think that they can bring Taft and Stassen into line. If there is a deadlock everyone will jump on the bandwagon.

Mr. Lea: There are a few questions I want to ask you: Did you place the bet?

Senator Hastings: The odds have gone from 100 to 1 to 30 to 1. And the bet was not placed.

Mr. Lea: Have you seen Warren or Creel?

Senator Hastings? Creel is sick. Warren has not been contacted.

Mr. Lea: Did you see Vandenberg's daughter?

Senator Hastings: Yes, but it was not very significant because he is a candidate himself.

Mr. Lea: Don't you think it is a good idea to have him out in front right now?

Senator Hastings: Absolutely. It eliminates the "dark horse" angle.

Mr. Lea: We have received an interesting despatch from Barry Faris, INS, who says Dewey can get 450 delegates but that is as high as he can go.

Senator Hastings: Dewey can only get it if they get on the bandwagon and I don't think they will get on the bandwagon.

Mr. Lea: Faris said Vandenberg is dying on the vine and Stassen is out of the picture.

Senator Hastings: That is true.

Mr. Lea: The General received a telegram yesterday from Reilly (quoted cable):
(Gave Senator Hastings his address)

Senator Hastings: I will try to meet him or have Leedle get in touch with him. The General will have that telegram this morning.

Mr. Lea: That is fine. I will talk to General Whitney about it.

Mr. Lea: What about the Wisconsin Delegation?

Senator Hastings: That is McCarthy and Kennedy says he can get it. He does not want to talk to McCarthy until the right time. It is all a question of timing. Once the deadlock comes we are in very good shape. You have the most experienced hands here.

Mr. Lea: I will call you again at 6 o'clock your time.

Senator Hastings: Better make it 24 hours from now. Leedle wants to say "Hello".

Mr. Lea: I want to tell you what a fine job you are doing.

Mr. Leedle: What I am doing has to do with the mechanics on the floor. So far O'Gara is standing in our way. Don't let me down because Hays and all the rest are together but O'Gara is getting obstreperous on the floor. If the authority is vested in me all you have to do is state it.

Mr. Lea: You have the authority. What we will do is sit tight and let you handle it and call you at midnight tomorrow your time. I will talk to General Whitney about O'Gara -- I am sorry he is standing in the way.

Mr. Leedle: He is just a rich man, and I don't know what is the matter with him -- sort of a baby, I guess. I have not talked to him personally and I don't want to unless I have to. Ed Hays will get the credentials if the authority is vested in me.

Mr. Leedle: That is the only reason Carroll Reece does not give him the credentials because the authority was not clear.

Mr. Lea: I am sorry you are having that trouble but I know that you are diplomat enough to handle it the right way.

Mr. Leedle: As long as we know where we stand we will have it in line by tonight.

Mr. Lea: I will call you again at 2 p.m. Tokyo time 23 June, 1948.

Senator Hastings: All right, and if I cannot take the call me call me again 24 hours from now.

21 June 1948.

Telephone call from Colonel Bill Booth, New Canaan, Connecticut at 1520 hours, 21 June 1948.

Colonel Booth: How are things in Tokyo? Is the sun shining?

General Whitney: Fine. How is it going back there?

Colonel Booth: Just a bunch of fellows from West Point getting together and we want Douglas to come home. Where is Douglas?

General Whitney: He is not available this afternoon -- he is making an inspection. Can I give him a message?

Colonel Booth: Tell him I am going to run him for President. Tell him to tell the Russians to go back where they belong and he will carry the election.

General Whitney: I will certainly see that he gets your message.

Colonel Booth: There are just a bunch of us here together and I am certainly disappointed that I cannot speak to Douglas.

General Whitney: I know that he will appreciate your call and please convey his best to the rest of the group.

Colonel Booth: I wish he would come right out and run for President -- the people of America want him.

General Whitney: Why don't you go down and tell them that in Philadelphia?

I will see that the General gets your message without delay, and I know he will appreciate your support; and please give his affectionate regards to the rest of the group with you.

21 June 1948

Telephone call between Senator Hastings and Mr. L. Lea at 10.15 p.m. June 21, 1948.

Mr. Lea: There was a United Press report today stating that a betting commissioner named Carroll in St. Louis was taking bets on the nomination Dewey 9 to 10, Bricker 50 to 1 and MacArthur 100 to 1. We have a \$10000 right here and plenty more to follow and we would like to place \$1000 to \$100,000 and if that does not bring the price down we have plenty of money. Let me hear from you - there should be a deadline.

Mr. Lea: What about the Wisconsin delegation? Any chance they might be for MacArthur.

Senator Hastings: They might be. Stassen is starting to disintegrate and looking around for the vice-presidency with Taft, Dewey and Vandenberg. We are assigning one good man to work with each of these men, one with Dewey one with Taft, one with Vandenberg, etc. and the same with Bricker, Martin. The situation is not good but not hopeless.

Walter Winchell said on the air today the odds against MacArthur are 30 to 1. We are putting a man with each of the men and I am seeing Vandenberg's daughter at lunch today (Monday 21st) and Joe Kennedy at 3 o'clock.

Mr. Lea: Did you see Vandenberg's daughter at Long Island.

Senator Hastings: I could not see her here but will see her later today.

General Wainwright arrived and got a very fine response.

Mr. Lea: We thought the statement was excellent.

Senator Hastings: It was an excellent statement. We have our headquarters set up now and the telephone numbers are Rittenhouse 61351 and 66471 and you can call me there at any time.

Mr. Lea: Do you feel as good today as yesterday.

Senator Hastings: Yes, I do. If money can buy it for Dewey he will buy it. Taft is fighting desperately to do so. We have planted the story on Dewey with the newspapers and feel that it will have a salutary effect.

Mr. Lea: What about Carroll Reece?

Senator Hastings: Isn't he very much for Taft?

Mr. Lea: There is a friend of mine close to Reece, Bailey Walsh. I have talked to Carroll Reece from time to time about the General. From my conversation the other day you thought Taft was out of the picture. I wondered if we could not bring Tennessee into the picture for the General. Mrs. MacArthur is from Tennessee and it should follow along.

Senator Hastings: We can work on that. As of 1 o'clock we are placing a man in every camp and we can work on that angle.

Mr. Lea: Mr. O'Gara called General Whitney yesterday -- has anyone been in contact with him?

Senator Hastings: Leedle and I have not.

Mr. Lea: It is my thought that everyone should try to work as close as possible.

Senator Hastings: Anything that can be done will be done. About Stassen, Dan Gainey is in there and is going to work for MacArthur when the others are eliminated. There is no chance unless there is a deadlock. Morton Downey is with Dewey and he is going to suggest that if there is a deadlock he can be President next time.

Mr. Lea: What about Harold Cole?

Senator Hastings: He is not as close as Morton.

Mr. Lea: What about Dick Berlin?

Senator Hastings: He is very close.

Mr. Lea: What about Hap. Flannigan?

Senator Hastings: Flannigan is for Dewey but I know him well and will see him.

Mr. Lea: What are the chances of a deadlock?

Senator Hastings: If Vandenberg has any guts there will be a deadlock. I will see his daughter today and know better then.

Mr. Lea: If you can picture to him the idea of having the spotlight turned right on him, and that he will go down in history - - -

Senator Hastings: That is exactly the line we will work on. You had better call me in Philadelphia from any time on now.

Mr. Lea: What about Carroll Reece?

Senator Hastings: Isn't he very much for Taft?

Mr. Lea: There is a friend of mine close to Reece, Bailey Walsh. I have talked to Carroll Reece from time to time about the General. From my conversation the other day you thought Taft was out of the picture. I wondered if we could not bring Tennessee into the picture for the General. Mrs. MacArthur is from Tennessee and it should follow along.

Senator Hastings: We can work on that. As of 1 o'clock we are placing a man in every camp and we can work on that angle.

Mr. Lea: Mr. O'Gara called General Whitney yesterday -- has anyone been in contact with him?

Senator Hastings: Leedle and I have not.

Mr. Lea: It is my thought that everyone should try to work as close as possible.

Senator Hastings: Anything that can be done will be done. About Stassen, Dan Gainey is in there and is going to work for MacArthur when the others are eliminated. There is no chance unless there is a deadlock. Morton Downey is with Dewey and he is going to suggest that if there is a deadlock he can be President next time.

Mr. Lea: What about Harold Cole?

Senator Hastings: He is not as close as Morton.

Mr. Lea: What about Dick Berlin?

Senator Hastings: He is very close.

Mr. Lea: What about Hap. Flannigan?

Senator Hastings: Flannigan is for Dewey but I know him well and will see him.

Mr. Lea: What are the chances of a deadlock?

Senator Hastings: If Vandenberg has any guts there will be a deadlock. I will see his daughter today and know better then.

Mr. Lea: If you can picture to him the idea of having the spotlight turned right on him, and that he will go down in history - - -

Senator Hastings: That is exactly the line we will work on. You had better call me in Philadelphia from any time on now.

Mr. Lea: What do the papers say this morning?

Senator Hastings: Dewey is in the lead with Taft second. Vandenberg has not yet issued a statement -- he will arrive today and on his arrival will depend a deadlock. He did say in Washington he was available.

Mr. Lea: How does Joe Kennedy feel?

Senator Hastings: Joe Kennedy is the best man we have and 100% for MacArthur. He said he would come right out now for MacArthur, but it is all a question of timing and he is afraid being a Democrat it would not help declaring today. He will help in every way possible. If there is a deadlock he may swing the whole Massachusetts delegation for MacArthur.

Mr. Lea: Shall I call you tomorrow night?

Senator Hastings: Yes, call 24 hours from now.

Telephone conversation between General Whitney and Mr. O'Gara from Philadelphia -- 20 June 1948, Tokyo time 3 p.m.

Mr. O'Gara - I am at Philadelphia. As you know, the nomination is rather in the lap of the gods. If we get a deadlock, we have a fair chance. No one knows.

- I was very disappointed the other day because of that accident.

Gen Whitney - Yes, it was very bad.

Mr. O'Gara - He had told me on the 'phone that he might have communications arranged. I don't know what he had in mind - he would not tell me.

Gen Whitney - You can get through to me here at any time.

Mr. O'Gara - You mean, without the 24 hours wait?

Gen Whitney - Yes, just say it is an emergency and that everything has been arranged. I have an overseas telephone in my office and in my home. Arrangements have all been made for any of you to get through to me at any time, night or day.

Mr. O'Gara - I have a few questions:

Is there anyone who has any authority here at the Convention?

Gen Whitney - General Wood wired General MacArthur that Mr. Leedle of Ohio had been chosen by the group out there to act as sort of floor manager at the Convention. General MacArthur sent his concurrence.

Mr O'Gara - Never heard of him, but he must be good.

Gen Whitney - Leedle was formerly Taft's secretary -- comes from Springfield, Ohio. Is down in Washington at the present time.

Mr. O'Gara - Gen Wood will be here to-morrow.

I have an idea of putting up to the leading contenders a proposition in case of a deadlock. I am going to

state that I believe that I know what can be done, subject to approval. Is that alright?

Gen Whitney - Yes, you bet.

Mr. O'Gara - I am going to talk to Taft and his manager and Dewey and his manager, and may be Stassen, and tell them I have some official authority to talk to them regarding MacArthur's nomination. Anything I say of course will be subject to approval.

Gen Whitney - Yes, go ahead.

Mr. O'Gara - Any possibility of sending a wire saying just "Use your own judgment", or something official?

Gen Whitney - Better to talk to Leedle about it.

Mr. O'Gara - Is he in authority?

Gen Whitney- - He was given authority following the conference with General Wood to represent the groups supporting General MacArthur.

Mr. O'Gara - Alright then.

I can get through to you at any time?

Gen Whitney - Yes, any time.

DECLASSIFIED BY: 11032 SEC. 3(E) AND 5(D) OR (E) NNDG # 713012

Telephone conversation with Senator Hastings, New York, 11pm Tokyo time, Sunday, 20 June, 1948.

Hastings reported Convention definitely deadlocked, and in the event Dewey not nominated by 3rd ballot, Dewey would be eliminated due to the publicity and interviews given out by Dewey and his campaign managers that he would win on the first few ballots.

Governor of Michigan stated Vandenberg definitely available.

Hastings meeting Vandenberg's two daughters at Huntington, Long Island, Sunday, New York time.

Leedle seeing Vandenberg in Philadelphia.

Gen Wainwright due to arrive Philadelphia, 10.40 a.m. Sunday, Philadelphia time.

Senator Martin of Pennsylvania thinks he is eligible as compromise candidate.

Governor Duff of Pennsylvania supporting Taft.

George Creel has been very helpful with Warren of California.

Warren due in New York Sunday afternoon, New York time. Warren playing very cagey.

Am to talk to Hastings at 2.20p.m to-day, Tokyo time.

L. LEA.

Tokyo, Japan.

June 20, 1948.

MEMORANDUM TO GENERAL COURTNEY WHITNEY:

SUBJECT : Conversation with Senator John A. Hastings, 11 p.m., Tokyo time, June 19th, 1948.

Hastings reported that as of 12 o'clock Friday night, New York time, that Mr. Lawrence stated that General Wainwright had not received the telegram. Lawrence further stated that as soon as the telegram was received that they, meaning General Wainwright and himself, would leave immediately for Philadelphia and be in Philadelphia by noon, Sunday.

Hastings did not know of Kelley's illness but stated that he would have Leedle call Kelly immediately for his reaction for a replacement to nominate the General. Hastings was most enthusiastic about the Vandenberg suggestion. Stated he did not know whether Vandenberg could be "sold" on the potential possibilities but that he would call Leedle in Washington and go over the matter with Leedle and if Leedle thought advisable, immediately leave for Washington for a conference with Vandenberg. He thought that Leedle should do all the talking and that they would try to sell Vandenberg the idea. He said it was wonderful and thanked us profusely for the suggestion.

Was disappointed about the General not making a speech in Philadelphia but agreed it was the right thing.

L. LEA

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Government Section

Telephone Conversation between Mr. Lynn Atkinson of Los Angeles and General Whitney, Tokyo, on 18 June 1948 at 4:00 p.m.

Mr. Atkinson: I'm calling at the suggestion of Jonathan Wainwright with whom I talked this afternoon and also Robert Harris of New York City. You don't know me, of course. I meant General Marquat. The MacArthur campaign is somewhat disorganized, but there is a basic sentiment that might result in his nomination. Today I talked with Warren Wright, who is the coordinator of MacArthur Clubs and he is just leaving, and also Mr. Ed Hayes in Chicago. I have had extended conversations.

Now, our problem is this. They have anticipated that Chairman Kelley would nominate General MacArthur and Wainwright would second it. That was published in the papers. They are carrying the announcement. In a conversation this morning with Ed Hayes, he said General Wainwright was not going to attend the convention. I took it on myself to talk to General Wainwright. His attitude was this. I would say that he might seem rebuffed. He definitely refuses to go to Philadelphia unless he is authorized by General MacArthur. He wants a definite telegram saying that the General is willing to have his name presented to the convention and will accept if nominated. General Wainwright has written two letters to the General with various answers and neither letter had authorized acceptance if nominated.

General Whitney: The last letter which the General sent to General Wainwright was to the effect that he hoped that he would be on the convention floor to lend his moral support to the Wisconsin group, and he made it very clear in that that he sincerely hoped that General Wainwright would be able to get there and stand by to assist them so, I can't understand why there should be any doubt in General Wainwright's mind about it.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Government Section

Page -2-

Mr. Atkinson: Well, General Wainwright really seemed anxious to go to Philadelphia, but I guess he is maybe a little old or wanted maybe more directions. I don't know General Wainwright at all, but he seems very definite in expressing the thought that he should be authorized to go. Now, maybe the telegram urged he be on the convention floor but did not definitely state that he wished to be nominated.

I'm sort of in the middle. I thought of this -- after talking to Wainwright I thought it important and I called Bob Harris and he says that he and Ed Hayes and General Robert Wood and Arthur Leedle say that this is very vital and suggested that a telegram be sent.

General Whitney: General Wainwright is still at his San Antonio address?

Mr. Atkinson: He is, yes, and I have a telegram form to suggest. I'll give it to you and I'm sure this would be the answer to the problem. It started like this: "In answer to the suggestion that someone be authorized to place my name in the Republican Convention as a candidate for president, I would be most honored to have you join in presenting my name as a nominee, if you believe it advisable and for the best interest of America. This might be the telegram that General Wainwright could read to the convention. I'll read that paragraph again: "In answer to the suggestion that someone be authorized to place my name before the Republican Convention as a candidate for president I would be most honored to have you join in presenting me as a nominee if you believe it advisable and for the best interests of America.

General Whitney: Now, how about the mechanics of that? How could General Wainwright get the floor of the convention if he is not in any delegation.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Government Section

Page 3

Mr. Atkinson: We have arrange for that. He is to be an alternate of Wisconsin. We want him to second the nomination. And I'll tell you the planned display. After Orin Kelley, who is the Chairman of the Wisconsin Delegation has made the nomination, then General Wainwright will second the nomination, we'll not have a big enough crowd to make a parade, so I have suggested that General Wainwright at the conclusion ask for a moment of silence and that the band play "Onward Christian Soldiers". That has been adopted to close the seconding of the nomination. There is another paragraph that should go in this telegram, "In the event that the Convention should select me as the candidate, I would humbly accept this high honor and look forward to being of further service to my country and yours."

General Whitney: Of course, the General has made his position that he is available very clear before and I rather think that he wouldn't want to press that thought again on the people who all know now where he stands. There is no slightest doubt as to his availability. However, I'll take this up with him just as soon as I can get in touch with him. Have you any further ideas, Mr. Atkinson?

Mr. Atkinson: I'll say this: The first paragraph is to definitely authorize his nomination by his friend General Wainwright, the second paragraph is to tell the convention that he accepts the nomination and looks forward to working on with them. We have had quite a discussion of phraseology. Would you like to have me read that again?

General Whitney: I have got that all right. General MacArthur will have his own definite ideas as to what action he should take. I know that he wants General Wainwright to be (next page)

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS

Government Section

Page 4

present and he has expected right along he would be present, and this is the first indication he has had that he wouldn't.

Mr. Atkinson: I was so alarmed I wanted to phone someone. I wanted to phone Tokyo, and I'll call him in the morning and tell him I have telephoned. I'm now planning to go personally to San Antonio and pick up General Wainwright to take him to Philadelphia in order that he will be there to meet the people. Of course, you know, Stassen and Dewey and the others were at their Headquarters to greet the people, and we have no one. I was at the Wilkie Convention and worked with part of the crowd for the Wilkie Convention. I know a little about convention politics, not much, I'm a businessman, not a politician. I'm planning on picking him up if we can get him to go. The telegram is vital to the whole present situation. Some telegram along the lines that I have suggested will satisfy Mr. Wainwright's position -- which he has taken. It is very vital. As I tell you, there has been a long distance conversation all over America today with Warren Wright, Hays and others, and who should I talk to further.

General Whitney: Call me at any time you feel it advisable.

Mr. Atkinson: My phone number here is WHitney 5661.

General Whitney: I know the General is going to appreciate your having called, Mr. Atkinson, and I will lay this before him just as soon as I get in touch with him.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Government Section

Page 5

Mr. Atkinson: Could you send me a cable telling me "Telegram sent" or something like that so I can call General Wainwright? 324 Muirfield Road, Los Angeles, California.

General Whitney: How does the California Delegation stand on the nomination, do you know?

Mr. Atkinson: I think half the delegation will be for MacArthur after the second or third ballot. There is a friendly feeling there. They came out and showed, outside of the three candidates who are expected to deadlock, that General MacArthur would be second only to Vandenberg, and Vandenberg is announcing that he is not going to be available.

General Whitney: Has that announcement been confirmed?

Mr. Atkinson: In a definite conversation that he will only take one term and nobody wants him to do that -- he doesn't want it anyway as he feels his heart would not stand up.

General Whitney: He said that himself?

Mr. Atkinson: That has been said among the delegates in Philadelphia.

General Whitney: That is very interesting. Well, you contact me if you have anything you'd like to talk to me about.

Mr. Atkinson: The main thing at this point would be the telegram to enable me to get General Wainwright happy and on the track, and it is important for him to go there with me.

General Whitney: I'll get that moving right away.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Government Section

Telephone Conference between Mr. Keenan, San Francisco, and General Whitney, Tokyo, on 14 June 1948 at 4:35 p.m.

General Whitney : Hello, Joe.

Mr. Keenan : Yes, Courtney.

General Whitney: How are you?

Mr. Keenan: Went out to lunch with Louis Mayer. Can you hear me?

General Whitney: Yes, you bet, fine.

Mr. Keenan: I'm going to be in Washington on Wednesday morning.

General Whitney: Yes.

Mr. Keenan: I'll be in Washington on Wednesday morning and this situation, Courtney, is wide open.

General Whitney: What do you hear specifically?

Mr. Keenan: It's a wide open situation.

General Whitney: I see.

Mr. Keenan: The governors are in New Hampshire. Governor Warren went to New York to a convention. I'll have some further news on Wednesday or Thursday, but the situation is not at all discouraging along the lines that you and I discussed.

General Whitney: The situation in California seems to look all right does it?

Mr. Keenan: Looks very good. I talked to a lot of people -- too many to tell you about over the phone. There is a great deal of sentiment among the people at the top. Mayer made a speech before 40 or 50 or 60 of his top stars and said that what we needed was the "strongest and best man we could get" and everybody knew who that was. I thought it was very encouraging.

General Whitney: Yes, I think that is fine. Well, keep me advised if anything special comes up. Did you have anything else to report?

Mr. Keenan: No, nothing for the moment. I'm going to Washington. I'll be there Wednesday morning.

General Whitney: I'll tell the General. I know he will appreciate you're having called.

18 June, 1948.

Warren in New York.

Leedle to see Warren Monday.

Joe Kennedy and Leedle to see Herbert Hoover Monday.

Late edition NEW YORK TIMES said that Dewey was elated over Vandenberg's
statement that he would not accept nomination.

However, later edition of HERALD TRIBUNE states that Vandenberg would
accept if drafted.

Leedle has talked to Taft on 'phone --

Taft is very cocky and expects nomination

Leedle has seen Bricker.

Bricker is for Taft first, and was afraid that Taft and Dewey had made
a deal, but told Leedle that this was not so.

Stassen announced that he would win on the 9th ballot.

Hastings stated that it was a consensus of opinion that if balloting
would pass the 7th ballot, General MacArthur would
receive the nomination.

L. LEA.

General Whitney: General Wainwright acknowledged that and understood it fully. General MacArthur says that under these circumstances he would not feel disposed to put any undue pressure on General Wainwright.

Mr. Atkinson: General Wainwright acted like he wants pressure, General Whitney; I think his attitude is that he wants something to read at the Convention. As I read this He said (he he is very outspoken) "I want the General to say that he is willing to have me nominate, and if nominated he will accept."

General Whitney: In the General's statement of March 9 he made it very clear that he would accept the nomination. He does not feel he should act further -- he says the American people understand that.

Mr. Atkinson: Well, we have General Wainwright to deal with. I do not know whether it is vanity or what. But it is a practical situation.

General Whitney: General MacArthur feels that it is clear to General Wainwright, that he has made this statement, and that he should not go further unless he hears from General Wainwright direct. He feels that he should not put pressure on General Wainwright -- if he needs clarification he would appeal to General MacArthur direct and say he does.

Mr. Atkinson: I will tell General Wainwright that tomorrow.

General Whitney: As far as the second part is concerned: The General's public statement of March 9 makes it very clear he would accept if it were offered him.

Mr. Atkinson: I will tell General Wainwright that General MacArthur feels he made it very clear in his public statement of March 9 that he would accept nomination and then read him this extract from the letter of May 19.

General Whitney: That is right, the last sentence in the letter of May 19.

Mr. Atkinson: Do you think he received the letter.

General Whitney: Yes, I am sure that he got it.

Mr. Atkinson: In the conversation I had he was quite forthright that he had not received specific authorization to appear before the Convention and he felt he should have a further statement that the General would accept if nominated. We may be have a couple of Generals to deal with but that is the situation. The telegram might do good when he seconds the nomination. We were hoping to serve two purposes -- get General Wainwright to come to Philadelphia and second, the telegram should be read. He very definitely has a feeling he should have authorization from General MacArthur.

General Whitney: I think if the letter is referred to unless he did not receive it he will know that it is the General's desire for him to be there if he can.

Mr. Atkinson: Do you think you could have further conversation and try to straighten it out?

General Whitney: I think that is as far as the General will go -- he feels there cannot be any doubt. He wants him to be there if he can possibly arrange it.

Mr. Atkinson: I think General Wainwright will say: "Why doesn't the General wire me direct?"

General Whitney: The General does not feel he can put any additional pressure on General Wainwright because he has made it clear.

Mr. Atkinson: I know the General will welcome it. - - - I will handle it that way and call you. Is there any "Urgent" request or code word?