

# Long-Secret Data Discloses How Allies Planned for War's End

## Yalta Disclosures Serve as Fuel for 10-Year Dispute

(Continued From First Page)  
turned out, the first combat bomb was dropped on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945. Japan surrendered eight days later.

Three U. N. Votes for Russia  
The record disclosed also that Roosevelt told Stalin and Churchill it was "very embarrassing" to him to yield to another Russian demand for Ukrainian and White Russian membership in the United Nations—giving Russia three votes in the General Assembly.

It disclosed long arguments by Mr. Roosevelt and Churchill with Stalin over their demands for creation of free governments in post-war Poland and other Eastern European countries liberated from the Nazis.

Stalin agreed to a declaration and procedures for setting up democratic regimes. But within a few years the Soviets solidified Communist rule from the Baltic to the Black Sea.

The Big Three conference was held at Yalta in the Russian Crimea in February, 1945. Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill had met some months earlier at Teheran, mainly on co-ordinating military strategy against Nazi Germany.

At Odds on German Methods  
At Yalta they grappled with great political issues, including the future of Germany. The record shows they agreed on "dismemberment" of Germany in principle, but not on how it should be cut up.

But the overriding problem from the American point of view and perhaps from the Russian one as well was Russia's prospective entry into the war against Japan.

Russia agreed to come in once Germany was defeated. The war in Europe ended May 7, 1945. Russia entered the conflict with Japan on August 9, 1945, three days after the United States dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima. Japan surrendered August 14, 1945.

The agreement between Roosevelt and Stalin on Russian entry into the Pacific war has produced years of political controversy in the United States.

Denounced by Republicans  
Many Republican Senators and others denounced Roosevelt's concessions as an unnecessary grant of position and power to Stalin. Roosevelt's defenders have replied it was the price he had to pay to assure Russian military action against the Pacific enemy, as his military advisers were urging.

State Department officials are understood to have hoped that publication of the record would end the long dispute. It appeared, however, that the record might simply furnish more ammunition for it.

In addition, a question was raised as to whether the published record was complete in all details. The State Department itself said some omissions had been made for reasons of national security or elimination of repetitious material or to avoid "needless offense" to foreign nations or to individuals.

Cut at Churchill Request  
Two deletions were made at the request of Prime Minister Churchill, the only surviving member of the Big Three. Adjacent paragraphs indicated they concerned Mr. Churchill's ideas of France's postwar position. Even with these and possibly other omissions, Mr. Churchill had declined to agree to the publication.

There were no major disclosures. The chief results of the Yalta conference had long since been known.

The Far East concessions permitted Russia to take over the Kurile Islands north of Japan, the southern half of Sakhalin Island and operation of the Chinese Eastern and South Manchurian railroads. The Russians also gained rights in the Chinese port of Dalien and the lease of Port Arthur as a naval base. Except of the Kuriles, these were rights or positions which Russia had held 50 years before, then lost in 1905 through war with Japan.

Stalin Cites "Difficulties"  
In a meeting with Mr. Roosevelt at Yalta on February 8, 1945, Stalin said that if his conditions were not met "it would be difficult for him and Molotov to explain to the Soviet people why Russia was entering the war against Japan."

In the same conversation Stalin indicated to Mr. Roosevelt that he was considering moving 25 divisions of troops to the Far East when they could be freed from duty in Europe.

Trusteeship Suggested  
Mr. Roosevelt also told Stalin he had in mind for Korea a trusteeship by Russia, the United States and China until the Korean people learned self-government, which he thought might take 20 to 30 years. Stalin and Roosevelt agreed that no foreign troops should be stationed in Korea.

Roosevelt said he thought it was unnecessary for the British to participate, but they might "resent" being left out.

In addition, Mr. Bohlen's notes, records were kept by other staff members, including Alger Hiss, a State Department aide later imprisoned for perjury in denying he had given documents to a prewar Communist spy ring. It was in his notes that Mr. Roosevelt was quoted as finding it "very embarrassing" to put the Soviet Ukraine and Soviet White



—AP Photo.  
ALGER HISS

## Hiss Says He Tried To Block Soviet Move

By the Associated Press  
NEW YORK, Mar. 17.—Alger Hiss said last night that he unsuccessfully opposed Russian proposals at the Yalta Conference to admit extra Soviet republics as independent members of the United Nations.

Asked about the Yalta documents, made public by the State Department, Hiss said he has considered that "my position at all times was pro-American" rather than anti-Soviet.

Hiss, whose role at the Yalta Conference has been a controversial issue for years, clarified some cryptic notes published by the State Department as part of the Yalta documents.

Hiss' notes, written in an amateur shorthand, concerned the agreement at the 1945 Roosevelt-Churchill-Stalin conference to allow Russia three votes in the General Assembly of the United Nations, then being launched. Russia got votes for White Russia and the Ukraine as well as for itself.

Hiss was assigned at the Yalta conference to keep records and advise his superiors on matters dealing with the U. N.

He said last night he turned his notes over to the State Department when he left the service, "in the hope that they would be useful to my associates."

Hiss was released last November after serving three and one-half years in the Lewisburg (Pa.) Federal Penitentiary for perjury for denying before a Federal grand jury that while a State Department official he passed out department secrets for prewar Russian spy ring. He has protested his innocence again since release.

Russia into the United Nations as independent members.

Hiss kept his notes in abbreviated form, having taken them in longhand. There was no official stenographic record of the conference, and the published record, aside from official documents, comprises independent accounts of members of the United States delegation staff.

Churchill Reaction  
After Mr. Roosevelt said he found the three United Nations votes for Russia embarrassing, Hiss repeated this reaction from Churchill.

"Churchill: If brought out publicly without any explanation will cause trouble."

The decision actually was not publicly announced when it later leaked out to the American press, it became the first of the great Yalta controversies. Critics contended Mr. Roosevelt had made an unjustifiable concession to Stalin. The fact that no announcement had been made officially also stirred up a hue and cry about whether there were other secret agreements at Yalta.

The argument over a declaration for democratic governments in the countries to be liberated in Eastern Europe figured in many of the Yalta sessions.

Notes kept by H. Freeman Matthews recorded this February 9 exchange dealing with proposed elections in Poland: "Prime Minister: In parliament I must be able to say that the elections will be held in a fair way. I do not care much about Poles myself."

"Stalin: There are some very good people among the Poles. They are good fighters. Of course, they fight among themselves, too. I think on both sides there are non-fascist and anti-fascist elements."

Prime Minister: I do not like this position. Anybody can call anybody anything. We prefer the terminology democratic parties.

"Stalin: I refer to the declaration on liberated areas. On the whole I approve it. I find in a certain paragraph the same expression, anti-fascism and anti-fascism."

"President: This is the first example for the use of the declaration. It has the phrase to create democratic institutions of their own choice." The next paragraph contains the following: "(C) to form interim governmental authorities broadly representative of all democratic elements in the population and pledged to the earliest possible establishment through free elec-

(Continued From Page A-4)

tween the three great powers, Marshal Stalin remarked that it was not so difficult to keep unity in time of war since there was a joint aim to defeat the common enemy which was clear to everyone. He said the difficult task came after the war when diverse interests tended to divide the allies. He said he was confident that the present alliance would meet this test also and that it was our duty to see that it would, and that our relations in peacetime should be as strong as they had been in war.

The Prime Minister then said he felt we were all standing on the crest of a hill with the glories of future possibilities stretching before us.

Justice Byrnes proposed a toast to the common man all over the world.

## Feb. 9 Meeting— Plenary

Livadia palace  
Bohlen Minutes  
Top secret

The President said he understood the foreign ministers had another report to make, and he would ask Mr. Stettinius, who presided today, to give it.

Mr. Stettinius reported on the results of the discussion at the meeting of foreign ministers of the major powers providing machinery in the world-organization for dealing with territorial trusteeships and dependent areas, as follows:

It was agreed that the five governments which will have permanent seats on the Security Council should consult each other prior to the United Nations conference providing machinery in the world charter for dealing with territorial trusteeship and dependent areas.

The Prime Minister interrupted with great vigor to say that he did not agree with one single word of this report on trusteeships. He said that he had not been consulted nor had he heard of this subject up to now. He said that under no circumstances would he ever consent to 40 or 50 nations thrusting interfering fingers into the life's existence of the British Empire. As long as he was minister, he would never yield one scrap of their heritage.

Mr. Stettinius explained that this reference to the creation of machinery was not intended to refer to the British Empire, but that it had in mind particularly dependent areas which would be taken out of enemy control, for example, the Japanese islands in the Pacific.

The Prime Minister accepted Mr. Stettinius' explanation but remarked it would be better to say it did not refer to the British Empire. He added that Great Britain did not desire any territorial aggrandizement but had no objection if the question of trusteeship was to be considered in relation to enemy territory. He asked how Marshal Stalin would feel if the suggestion was made that the Crimea should be internationalized for use as a summer resort.

Marshal Stalin said he would be glad to give the Crimea as a place to be used for meetings of the three powers.

HOPKINS TO PRESIDENT  
Yalta, February 10, 1945.  
Mr. President, the Russians have given in so much at this conference that I don't think we should let them down. Let the British disagree if they want to—

and continue their disagreement at Moscow. Simply say it is all referred to the reparations commission with the minutes to show the British disagree about any mention of the \$10 billion.

STETTINIUS TO PRESIDENT  
(Ribbons copy, bearing the initials of Stettinius as drafter and the following penciled notation in Hiss' handwriting: "Bohlen says 'The President has already

taken this up with Stalin with satisfactory results." (A. H.)")  
(Yalta) February 10, 1945.  
MEMORANDUM FOR  
PRESIDENT

Subject: Recommendation that the three powers encourage Kuomintang-Communist unity in the war effort against Japan.  
As this is likely to be the final plenary session, I suggest that some time during today's meeting you find occasion to urge the Marshal and the Prime Minister to see that full encouragement is given by their governments to Kuomintang-Communist unity in the war effort against Japan.

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Well to Study Facts  
"Before we reach any final decision it would be well to study the facts as they are disclosed in the conference record."

Senator Knowland indicated the dilemma lies in the fact that repudiation of the agreements might counteract American claims that the Soviets failed to hold the free elections they had pledged for what are now Iron Curtain satellites. Repudiation also might wash out the basis under which the Big Four now control Berlin.

There was little immediate comment on the 500,000-word Yalta record. A number of Congress members said they had not had time to study it.

Senator Capehart, Republican, of Indiana, however, said it showed the late President Roosevelt had made "an almost unpardonable error" in granting concessions to the Russians, but he added: "In all fairness, he was a sick man."

Senator Humphrey, Democrat, of Minnesota, said publication of the documents was "a very dangerous step . . . to satisfy the more vitriolic elements of the Republican Party." He named no names. As for the papers themselves, he said, they "will provide interesting reading but, I fear, will do nothing to settle our present day problems."

Senator Malone, Republican, of Nevada, commented: "History is history. It's the future we're interested in."

President Eisenhower tried to work out with Congressional leaders early in 1953 a resolution

"partywise that President Eisenhower is indispensable."

Senator Case said he thinks Mr. Eisenhower will "make up his mind next year, on the basis of what he conceives to be his duty." The New Jersey Senator said he feels there would be little to gain in broaching the subject to the President now.

Senator Cotton recalled that the 16 invited to the luncheon included members and former members who represented "the only Republicans in the House who were willing to stick their necks out" for Mr. Eisenhower early in 1953 when supporters of the late Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio were vigorously active.

The group wrote Gen. Eisenhower on Feb. 22, 1952, urging him to become a candidate for the Republican nomination. Senator Cotton said he feels "very much more strongly now" that Mr. Eisenhower ought to be a candidate in 1956 than he did about his possible candidacy in 1952.

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Neutrons Restrained  
The "implosion" effect of which Gen. Groves wrote was a casing about the core of the bomb of material which would reflect the neutrons released by the beginning of chain reaction and keep them contained within the heart of the bomb for a fraction of a second to build up the reaction. Without the reflecting device, or "lens," many neutrons escaped.

This implosion method remained a top official secret until 1951 (although there was some public speculation on the theory meanwhile). In that year, the spy trial of David Greenglass produced public reference to the implosion method.

In recent years, nuclear explosions of as little as 1,000 tons energy have been produced.

Alice Deal Principal  
Applies for Retirement

Miss Bertie Backus has applied to the Board of Education for retirement as principal at Alice Deal Junior High School because of ill health.

The Deal principal has been on sick leave since the beginning of the present school year.

Miss Backus became Deal principal when the school opened in 1931. She served from 1934 to 1936 as an assistant school superintendent in charge of a special project in combating juvenile delinquency.

Mr. Churchill said he would agree to a study of the question of the best means of studying a method of dismemberment.

Stalin said he would have no objection to accepting some formula which would make dismemberment possible and it was eventually understood that the principle was agreed to. Germany was not dismembered, except into Communist and Western zones after the Big Three split.

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Churchill Feared  
Too Many 'Bugs'  
Would Infest Yalta

By the Associated Press  
British Prime Minister Churchill took an extremely dim view of the location of the 1945 Yalta Conference.

The official record quotes Mr. Churchill as saying: "If we had spent 10 years on research we could not have found a worse place in the world than Yalta. It is rood for typhus and deadly lice which thrive in those parts."

However, Mr. Churchill's fears proved unfounded.

In President Roosevelt's log of his trip to Yalta, aides recorded that "medical officers of the USS Catoctin have accomplished a very effective job of de-bugging at Yalta."

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