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Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists

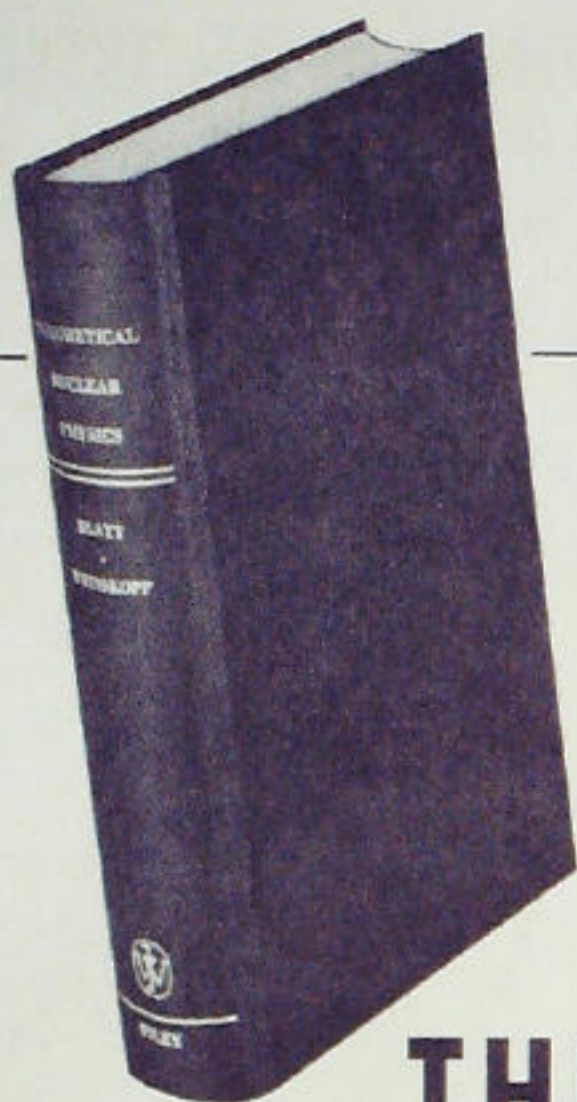
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from SAGS*

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AMERICAN VISA POLICY AND FOREIGN SCIENTISTS

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America's Paper Curtain

EDWARD A. SHILS

Professor Shils, special editor of this issue of the Bulletin, and a member of the Bulletin's editorial board, is Professor of Social Sciences in the Committee on Social Thought at the University of Chicago, and is a consultant of the Rand Corporation. He formerly taught at the University of London and last year was visiting professor at the University of Paris.

THROUGH the two McCarran Acts—the Internal Security Act of 1950, and the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952—and their excessively rigid, indiscriminate application by the State Department, the United States government and the American people are undoing with one hand what they are so laboriously and expensively accomplishing with the other. While one part of American policy generously and farsightedly has sought to defend the free societies of the West through the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Treaty, and other measures, these two Acts, and particularly the clauses bearing on the entry into the United States of foreign scientists, scholars, and educators, in conjunction with the sheer ignorance and unconcern for consequences in some sections of the State Department, alienate our allies, comfort our enemies, enfeeble our free institutions, and traduce the principles of liberty.

In the past few years a very large number of distinguished European scientists, almost all of them anti-Communists and deeply devoted to the freedom in which scientific truth is sought and discovered, have been frustrated in their efforts to come to the United States to share their knowledge with their American colleagues. Their applications for visas have in many cases been refused, usually after long delay; in other cases the visas have been finally granted, but only after delays so long that the scientific meetings to which they were invited had taken place, or the teach-

ing appointments for which they had been engaged had lapsed through their failure to arrive in time to fulfill them. In still other cases the applicants have received no decision whatsoever from the American consular officers to whom they applied.

A large part of the present issue of the *Bulletin* is given over to reports by eminent European scientists of their efforts to obtain visas to visit the United States for scientific and scholarly purposes. The number of frustrated applicants is, of course, far greater than the number which we print here. We did not attempt to obtain from all scientist-victims of the McCarran Acts statements about their visa experiences. We tried to reach a sample large enough and representative enough to make American readers aware of the egregious wrongheadedness of our present visa policy and the urgent need to change it. Some to whom we wrote, including several who had been most unjustly treated, were reluctant to contribute because they feared that in the present state of European opinion, the truth about their experiences under the McCarran Act was so discreditable to the United States that it would aid the Communists and other enemies of the United States. Many of those who have contributed have expressed the same apprehensions, but we urged them to contribute despite their hesitancy.

An enlightened American public opinion, which we hope the present issue of the *Bulletin* will help develop, is absolutely necessary if we are to



improve our present policy. Hence, we have thought it was worth risking the likelihood that until the visa policy is changed, the Communists in Europe will find in this record even more ammunition for their anti-Americanism than they already possess. If it is not changed, then the self-imposed silence of our friends will not save our reputation. If it is changed, the advantage will be entirely with us.

It is because we are interested in laying before the American public the essential facts that we have restricted interpretations to a bare minimum. We have also confined ourselves almost entirely to scientists and have included only three illustrative cases from other fields of learning out of the many which were available to us. We have confined ourselves to scientists because it is in the banning of these outstanding scientists from our country that we can see most clearly the self-defeating character of our policy. We have also omitted a considerable amount of documentation on American passport policy. We include Professor Pauling's account of his case to show that the fundamental errors of our present visa policy are not the by-products of a legitimate concern with security, but are, instead, manifestations of an underlying xenophobia and misology, of an undue sensitivity to criticism which also find expression in our present shortsighted readiness to withhold passports from some of our scientist fellow-citizens.

The Effect of Our Visa Policy Abroad

Why does America act in this way? Is there any advantage to be gained for the United States? The answer is clearly: *No*. The United States is, on the contrary, being severely harmed by its visa policy. As Professor Aron and Mr. Cunliffe point out in their articles on France and England, and as will be evident from the perusal

of the various documents we have assembled, our claim to be the leader of the defense of the free society of the West is falsified by our refusal to allow foreigners to discuss unclassified scientific matters freely with American scientists and by our efforts to prevent some of our own scientists who have no classified information from going abroad where they can meet European scientists.

One of the main communist tactics in their campaign to disrupt the North Atlantic alliance is to show America as the enemy of Western Europe. Our visa policy gives them the evidence they seek. By our visa policy we play into the hands of the neutralists who argue there is no significant difference between the United States and the Soviet Union and that Western Europe should, accordingly, avoid involvement in a quarrel between the two paranoid, freedom-hating, barbarian regimes with which they have no common interests. Nearly every refusal of a visa, every unnecessary prolongation of the bureaucratic labyrinth through which a visa applicant must pass, embarrasses a Western friend of the United States and the Western alliance.

The refusal of a visa to an educated European applicant not only raises doubts in his mind about America's devotion to freedom of thought and about the calm sanity of its foreign policy as a whole, it also causes him great and often costly inconvenience. If he is a scientist who plans to spend several months in the United States, he must arrange for the conduct of his laboratory and the performance of his teaching duties during his absence. He usually arranges to sublet his house or apartment. These arrangements must be made in most cases well in advance, and the uncertainty of the date when a decision will come forth, if ever, adds to the difficulty. In some instances, men have resigned their positions preparatory to receiving a visa which never comes, to take up an appointment which they had already accepted from an American institution. It is easy to see why personal resentment should be added to the intellectual doubts which American visa policy is creating about the good faith and sobriety of American actions.

American visa policy cannot but weaken the arguments of our foreign friends against their communist and neutralist countrymen. Indeed, such is the situation that those who actually succeed in getting visas at present are

sometimes suspected by their irritated fellow-countrymen of being sycophants or American agents. Thus as a result of our present visa policy as a whole, even when, under the present law, we overcome our fears and prejudices and grant a visa, we nonetheless weaken the position of our friends and strengthen our enemies. As long as the law retains its present form, and as long as its administration is unchanged, even our more reasonable actions in the visa field do not offset the bad impression caused by our unreasonable actions.

Our visa policy places a great strain on the democratic European scientist's own faith in the soundness of the cause which he has hitherto believed he held in common with America. Those who retain their faith in America do so in spite of their experience with the representatives of the American government. They do so because of their close friendships with American scientists and scholars and, in some cases, their deeper political convictions that, in the long run, the moral substance and good sense of America will reassert itself and we will discard this rough-handed and frivolous policy.

The Effect at Home

Not only does the McCarran Act impede our efforts to block the communist attempt to dominate the mind of Europe and to break the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, it also weakens our security here at home. In the past years, even the smuggest of the gross enemies of the intellectual professions have come to appreciate the importance of science for our national security. Vast expenditures for scientific research on defense problems

have been authorized with the confidence that our scientists would find the answers which the more conventional and less ingenious minds of our soldiers and statesmen could not discover. But out of arrogance and ignorance it has been overlooked that American science, as Professors Smith and Bethe point out, is not omniscient and self-sufficient.

Despite our vastly greater wealth, our bigger and newer laboratories, and our much larger bodies of postgraduate science students, our larger number of science professors, old Europe still goes on producing great and valuable scientific discoveries. American scientists know that they can still learn very much from personal discussion with their European colleagues. But the State Department, acting on its interpretation of Congress' ill-conceived efforts to safeguard America from subversion, and moved by its own fear of abusive attacks from the more vociferous elements in Congress, stands in the way of these contacts.

International Scientific Congresses

The holding of international scientific congresses in America—an honor for Americans and a great advantage for American scientists since it allows them, with relatively small expenditure, to meet and hear the most important foreign scientists—is becoming more and more difficult. The Twelfth International Congress of Pure and Applied Chemistry which met in New York in September 1951 was marked by the absence of many of its important foreign members who had been unable to attend because of visa diffi-

"Out of Their Own Mouths"

"There is ample evidence that unnecessary restrictions exist on the flow of unclassified scientific and technological information. These restrictions are dangerous to the progress of United States science, affect adversely the conduct of foreign relations in science, and are therefore damaging to our national security."

—*Science and Foreign Relations*

Report of the International Science Policy Survey Group of the U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE (1950), page 85

culties. Professors Perey of France and Ruzicka of Switzerland received visas but too late to attend. Professor Marotta of Italy, Professor George Hevesy, and Dr. Steig Veibel of Denmark were unable to come because of visa difficulties.

The American Psychological Association has decided to waive its opportunity to play host to the International Congress of Psychology in 1954 because it did not want to subject 600 foreign psychologists to the humiliation which is now almost always encountered in seeking entry into the United States.

In 1950 the University of Chicago, planning to hold an International Congress on Nuclear Physics in September 1951, and hoping to avoid embarrassment to foreign scientists, first submitted a list of desired participants to the State Department to determine whether it had any objection to any of them. This was in December 1950. When, despite further requests, no reply was received from the State Department by March 1951, invitations were sent out. After the invitations were posted, the State Department telephoned the University to declare that eight to ten of the twenty-four foreigners would have difficulties in obtaining visas. Among those who failed to obtain visas were Professor S. Devons of the Imperial College of Science and Technology of the University of London, Dr. Lew Kowarski, the important French nuclear physicist, Professors Oliphant and Peierls, whose statements appear in this issue, and others. It should be noted that the Office of Naval Research, which is presumably concerned with American security, was a co-sponsor of this conference. As a result, a high official of that Office has asserted that he will not again attempt to sponsor an international conference as long as the McCarran Act and the State Department's administration of it continue unchanged.

A number of foreign scientists who had been invited to the Electron Physics Symposium of the National Bureau of Standards in November 1951, were unable to attend because of visa difficulties. The list could be greatly extended.

Many of the contributors to this issue describe their efforts, sometimes vain, sometimes barely and inconveniently successful, to obtain visas to attend international scientific conferences in the United States. In self-defense, international scientific organizations are beginning to decide not

to schedule any meetings in the United States as long as our present visa policy exists. Thus American scientists, already harried by necessary and unnecessary security requirements in their research and in their discussions with American colleagues, now encounter, thanks to the McCarran Acts and the State Department, additional obstacles to learning of the ideas and results of their foreign colleagues. And, if American scientists seek to go to Europe, the same anxiety about communism which has gone far beyond the requirements of reality, threatens to interfere through the denial of passports. Fortunately, American scientists have more opportunity to make their grievances heard in America than European scientists. Consequently, the Passport Division, although sometimes arbitrary and unrealistic in the assessment of the consequences of its actions, is not as arbitrary or unrealistic as the Visa Division in Washington and our consuls in foreign countries. And now, as a result of criticism and a court decision which checked its arbitrariness, the State Department has established a Board of Passport Appeals to review its refusals of passports.

The real advantage for science of free informal contact, the exchange of impressions and interpretations, the comparison of results and procedures in face-to-face conversations remains as great as it ever was. Apparatus and vast expenditures and large administrative bodies do not replace it, and without it scientific progress moves more slowly and haltingly. An improvement in our visa practices cannot guarantee that science will advance. If, however, our visa practices remain what Senator McCarran and his associates have made them, an indispensable ingredient of American scientific progress will be lost.

The Loss to American Science

Our legislators and our State Department, as concerned as they are with our national security, act, however, as if they are unaware that American security depends not just on economic power but on our scientific progress as well. They insist on blinding themselves to our gains from foreign scientists. American science and American greatness gain more from foreign scientists than just their stimulating presentations at international congresses and their short visits to our universities.

The ranks of American science have been raised beyond measure by for-

foreign scientists who have immigrated to this country. Many great scientists have come here as nonquota immigrants for whom—thanks to the Immigration and Nationality Act—no special provision now exists beyond the *uninformed* discretion of a consul who must decide whether they are sufficiently important to America to go into the upper 50 per cent of their national quota. Professors Einstein, Bethe, Fermi, Szilard, Franck, Wigner, von Neumann, and a host of others, to whom American science and security are greatly indebted were born and trained in Europe and came here as immigrants. Our native-born scientists are among the first to acknowledge how much they owe to these eminent men and to numberless others less well known, who have come here as immigrants or as visitors or whom they have met in their laboratories and homes abroad.

Our Responsibility to Freedom

Finally, even if we disregard the injury which our visa policy does us in the implementation of our larger foreign policy, and even if we overlook our scientific loss, we still must be true to our moral responsibilities as free men in a free society. A free society is an open society, permitting and encouraging the unhampered pursuit of truth, facilitating the free interchange of ideas. But are we living as free men should, if we are not allowed to have personal contact with our foreign colleagues because they are not allowed to enter our country and some of us are not allowed to leave our own country? The very crime against freedom with which the Soviet Union is rightly charged—the refusal to permit its citizens to meet foreigners and to hear the ideas of foreigners—is one which we too, in a less thoroughgoing fashion, are committing. The American way of life is built around the ideal of personal and intellectual freedom. By affronting that ideal, the supporters and the executors of the McCarran Acts are contradicting the principles by which our country justifies its existence.

Do the prohibitions called for by the McCarran Acts and applied by the State Department, even beyond the extremes called for by the law, really meet American security needs today? It is obvious that if these measures are necessary, then all of the elaborate precautions taken to protect our secret research and installations must be functioning very poorly indeed. The whole system of security clearance,

guards, classification, etc.—must be utterly ineffective if foreign scientists could, if they wished, break through it.

The scientists who have been turned away have wished to come to scientific congresses where classified information was *not* being disclosed. They were invited to teach and do research in universities where they would not have been engaged on classified projects. No more than American scientists who are not employed on secret projects would foreign scientists have access to secret projects or their results.

We accept the system of security controls in certain areas of our life in order that the rest of it may be free, not that controls should be indiscriminately, overzealously extended to spheres where there is no evident need for them.

Do our legislators and our State Department think so poorly of our security arrangements that the entry of foreign scientists into the country would in itself help the Soviet Union to acquire our precious military secrets? If our security arrangements are as poor as the McCarran Act and the State Department imply, then we certainly shall find little additional safety in measures preventing contact between American and European scientists and scholars who are neither spies nor political agitators.

II

Distrust of the Educated

Unfortunately, the prohibition against the entry of so many foreign scientists rests on grounds which are not even as rational as the considerations of security discussed above. It is the product of several unworthy, irrational prejudices which form constant counter-currents in American life and which at unhappy moments like the

present seem to increase in strength. One of these is the fear and hatred of foreigners which permeates both the Internal Security Act of 1950 and the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952.

Another is the suspicious uneasiness concerning the reliability of the highly educated. Despite the prevailing American belief that everyone has a right to higher education as a step toward a successful career and a happy life, and the belief that scientific discoveries contribute to our health and prosperity, those who devote their lives to science and scholarship are distrusted. In the past they were regarded as harmlessly unreliable. The transformation of science into a subject of crucial importance to national defense has changed patronizing distrust into active and harrassing suspicion—recently exaggerated and aggravated by the Fuchs, Nunn May, and Pontecorvo cases.

Suspicion of the Scientist

In the administration of the Act, officials who wish to justify the petty and arbitrary decisions which they make and which the law encourages always cite the Fuchs, Nunn May, and Pontecorvo cases. As one high official in an American embassy shouted at me when I mentioned that a certain visa applicant on whose behalf I was interceding was once a scientist, "Oh, that's it! He's a scientist! We've had some experience with them. We've been bitten by them."

The Immigration and Nationality Act gives further expression to this irrational fear of professors and scientists by its elimination of the non-quota immigration provisions for professors, which was a feature of our law until the second McCarran Act. In the past, prominent scientists could, as we indicated in the cases of Pro-

fessors Einstein, Fermi, Szilard, and others, enter the United States on non-quota immigrant visas. Now in addition to the consul's extremely suspicious scrutiny to determine their potential subversiveness, any special consideration whatsoever depends on the consul's and then the Attorney General's belief that they are "needed urgently in the United States because of the higher education, technical training . . . and . . . [are] prospectively beneficial to the national economy, cultural interests, and welfare of the United States." The mood induced in our consuls by their fear of the McCarran Acts and of the Congressional wrath behind those acts is not likely to encourage the imaginative exercise of the discretion thus allowed.

Scientists in certain fields of work like nuclear physics, electronics, and other fields are especially suspect.¹ Some of the recent victims of the American visa policy whose experiences we record in this issue have remarked how alarmed consular officials have become when they learned that the applicant was a physicist. The experience of the University of Chicago in its effort to call the nuclear physics conference, to which we have referred above, is only one more illustration of this contradictory belief in the supreme importance of scientific knowledge and the terrible fear of scientists as the unreliable, untrustworthy vessels of this crucial knowledge.

The attitude manifests itself not only in the refusals of visas, but in the petty and vindictive spirit in which they are sometimes granted. This may be seen in the case of Professor Schwartz² who was not allowed to make an official or formal appearance at any university, i.e., to give or to listen to mathematical lectures at a university, although after long delays and many ups and downs, he had finally been given a visa to attend the International Mathematical Conference.

The excessive preoccupation with the dangers of revolutionary subversion, arising from a compound of xenophobia, distrust of the educated and of intellectual activity, and the animosity of the professional politician against the usually better educated civil servants—all aggravated by the

"American Science Loses . . ."

"... Unless foreign scientists are permitted access to their American colleagues, either at international meetings or through individual visits, American science loses the benefit of the potential contribution of foreign research and technical advances to our own.

—Science and Foreign Relations

Report of the International Science Policy Group of the U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE (1950), page 85

¹ Cf. Wallace R. Brode, "International Exchange of Scientific Information," *Chemical and Engineering News*, XXVIII (December 11, 1950), 433.

² See page 237 of this issue.

"Our Most Precious Asset"

"It is a striking tribute to our democracy that so great a number of scientists can assemble here free from suspicion of one another, and free from fear of outside interference. This kind of personal freedom is our most precious national asset. It needs to be carefully guarded and zealously watched, for freedom is in more serious danger today than at any time in our national history."

—PRESIDENT HARRY S. TRUMAN

in a letter to the American Chemical Society
on the anniversary of its Diamond Jubilee,
August 13, 1951

system of the separation of powers which creates a nearly permanent war between legislative and executive branches of our federal government—brings us to our present position.

The Administration of the Acts

It is not, however, the content of the McCarran Acts which is solely responsible for the present position. The consular service and the Visa Division of the State Department acting under the authority of the two Acts have aggravated the situation. The State Department has been under brutal pressure from Congress for some years, and one of its main present concerns is to avoid giving any ground for being suspected of communism by the intemperate and hypersensitive "lunatic fringe" in Congress.

Consular Ineptitude

The consular officials have been given the responsibility of determining whether an applicant should receive a visa. They are not trained in the discriminating judgment of European political life, and, in general, their knowledge of political philosophies and movements, given their other numerous preoccupations, must not be expected to be large. They have little time or opportunity to inform themselves sufficiently to be able to do justice to all significant aspects of a case.

Although the Visa Division assures inquirers that the most painstaking and thorough investigations are being conducted into the applicant's views, neither the consuls nor the Visa Division have the time or disposition to read what an applicant has written in his books or articles. The consul cannot be expected to assess the signif-

icance of the fact that Arthur Koestler dedicated his anti-Soviet book, *The Yogi and the Commissar* to Professor Polanyi. The consul does sense, however, that he will be in far greater danger from his superiors if he grants a visa to a Communist than if he refuses a visa to a non-Communist. Hence anything touching on a connection with communism, even where it is patently anti-communist, such as Professor Polanyi's lecture in 1942 on "The Self-Government of Science" before the Institute of Free German Culture, instantly touches off his suspicion.

Why should the consular official take the chance of behaving reasonably toward a visa applicant when the matter which he must judge is too complex and subtle for him to understand and when any misstep will result in injury to his career? It can never be a misstep to refuse a man a visa—it can only be a misstep if the wrong man is given one. Thus, if he temporizes, the occasion for which the visa was sought might pass and the applicant might finally give up without ever getting a decision. On the other hand, if he grants the visa, then no one knows when some ex-Communist spy like Miss Bentley or a politician like Senator McCarthy might get it into his head to denounce some transient connection the applicant had with communism twenty or thirty years ago—and then the consul's career will be in danger. So it is better to do nothing, and if one has to do something in the potentially dangerous cases which nearly all scientists, being scientists, constitute, then refuse the visa.

Moreover, the xenophobia of the McCarran Acts themselves seem to

infect the officials responsible for the granting of visas. It is impossible, of course, to determine whether the excessive touchiness of American officials about criticisms of America made by foreigners is a result of their own hypersensitivity or the product of an attempt to read the minds of the legislators and to act in accordance with the spirit of the law. However that may be, the consular decision to exclude Professor Oliphant,³ as far as we know, seems in part to be motivated by his criticisms of American policy concerning the international control of atomic energy.

There are other factors working in the situation, which, while humanly understandable, are nonetheless unjustifiable and pernicious in their consequences for American policy. For one thing, where an application has been held up for months on the presumption of the suspect character of the applicant, the consul saves face by refusing it and thus gives the appearance of justifying the long delay by showing that there really were good grounds for a prolonged investigation—which, of course, might or might not have taken place.

Then too, consuls feel on the defensive toward foreigners about the application of a law which has been so widely criticized in Europe. Whatever their own personal feelings about the rightfulness of the law, they feel compelled to demonstrate that the law is necessary by presuming that the applicants are probably subversive. Since his decision is not subject to review by any higher authority, the consul need really worry only about Congressional criticism, which thus far is much more likely to attack him only if he grants a visa rather than refuses one. Thus, an incentive to be scrupulously just is lacking, while the incentive to be negative is enhanced.

Lack of Provisions for Effective Administration

In addition to the main factors—fear of foreigners, hatred of the educated, and the uncomfortable position of the consuls between Congress and the applicant—which underlie the present scandal of American visa policy, we must mention another which arises from Congress' tendency to enact laws without a concomitant concern for their effective administration. Just as it has refused to allow the Subversive Activities Control Board required for the administration of the

³ See page 230 of this issue.

domestic aspects of the Internal Security Act to come into operation, so Congress has not made adequate provision for the expeditious handling of visa applications under the new and difficult situations created by its laws. Consuls, fearful of making a decision for which they alone hold responsibility, refer cases to Washington for advisory opinions. In Washington investigations must be made and opinions rendered. Even if the staff in Washington were intellectually qualified to render informed judgments, the burden of work is so great that the staff cannot deal with the cases—well or badly—in any reasonable time.

Mr. L'Heureux, the chief of the Visa Division, testifying before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations on January 29, 1952, said when requesting thirty-three new employees for his division:

Since the Security Act was enacted in 1950, there has been no increase in the personnel of the Visa Division. We had in hand 651 cases at the end of the fiscal year 1950. At the end of 1951, we had 6,617. As of December 31, 1951, we had 9,187 cases backlogged. The result is a long delay in rendering . . . advisory opinions and increased inquiries from the public and members of Congress which just increases the work without additional production. . . . They [visa applications] are backlogged at consulates now because we cannot handle the volume in the Visa Division. . . . They are not even typing them at present. We estimate . . . we will probably have to render a maximum of 15,000 advisory opinions in the next fiscal year.

The piling up of unsettled cases also means that dossiers get lost in the shuffle. In one important case the Visa Division in Washington claimed that it had requested the consul in Europe to send in the records but had not yet received them, while in Europe the consul asserted that he had sent them to Washington by diplomatic pouch about four or five weeks earlier. Both were probably right; an insufficient staff in Washington was doubtless responsible for the case having been mislaid.

This gives occasion for ridiculous situations such as that of Professor Peierls⁴ whose application for a visa to attend the University of Chicago Nuclear Physics Conference was held up for many months. During this period while the consul and the Visa Division were pondering or disregarding Professor Peierls' application, he

⁴ See his statement on page 229 of this issue.

was in the United States on a British diplomatic passport participating in an official Anglo-American conference on the declassification of atomic energy information, in which the information to which he had access was very highly classified. (At the conference in Chicago to which the State Department was reluctant to admit him, he would not have dealt with classified information at all.)

Role of the Attorney General

It is true that the McCarran Acts allow those who have been refused visas, usually after terribly long delays and inept interrogations, to appeal to the Attorney General for an exception to be made in their favor. The Attorney General must give a strict accounting to Congress for each single exception he allows, and naturally, given the readiness of extremists in Congress to seize on anything that might be distorted into sympathy for communism in the Administration, he will proceed very cautiously.

The Attorney General is not a court of appeal in the ordinary sense. Many of the victims who feel that their record does not deserve the implied condemnation of a refusal of the visa also feel that to ask for an exception to be made in their case would imply an acknowledgement of their guilt and an acceptance of the rightness of the law under which they have been found guilty. Many applicants, like honorable men anywhere, are unwilling to add to their humiliation by the request to the Attorney General.

III

The Internal Security Act and the Immigration and Nationality Act, both of which were vetoed by President Truman and sustained by Congress over his veto, must be revised in many respects. It is obviously necessary to protect the government from subversion by Communists or any other subversive group. This, however, must be done in a way which deals realistically

with the danger, which, though genuine, is both more specific and more subtle than the crude controls provided by these Acts.

Few of the critics of the McCarran Acts would object to the prohibition against the entry of agents of the Cominform or of particular European Communist parties, who wish to come to America to consult with and to concert their operations with the American Communist party. Obviously, agents of the MVD or the MGB should be prevented from coming into the United States.

But it certainly does not follow from this that signers of the Stockholm Peace Appeal, which was a Soviet propaganda device, and especially of the kind of peace appeals which a politically unsophisticated European, distressed by the condition of his continent after two world wars, might sign, should be prohibited from entry into the United States. The attitudes which underlie the signing of these appeals or the joining of peace groups are so varied, and so few of the signers or members are subversive, that a sensible American visa policy would not automatically refuse visas to anyone who even recently has signed some such document. The same is true of "front" organizations. Not all the members of front organizations, even at present, are Communists or subversives. Many are very naïve politically, but naïveté and subversiveness are certainly not identical.

It might be reasonably argued that scientists who are at present members of the Communist party, and especially important members, should be prevented from coming into the United States—although it is difficult to see what harm they could do if they are confined to scientific activities and are not admitted to laboratories where classified security-relevant research is being done. There is, however, no reason at all to prohibit the granting of visas to those who are members of organizations like the Association of

"The true scientist owes it to mankind to help the diplomat meet the problems we face in the political sphere. And the diplomat owes it to mankind to help the scientist carry on his work in an atmosphere of freedom and encouragement."

—JOHN D. HICKERSON, Assistant Secretary of State
in an address before the International Geographical
Union's Assembly in Washington, August 8, 1952

Scientific Workers, which have, of course, many Communist members, but which include many non-Communists as well. The only reason for banning anyone on political grounds is because it can be realistically expected that he will attempt to perform acts of espionage or subversion. To ban others is simply nervousness and ignorance to a degree unworthy of grown-up educated men or of a powerful government with a great tradition to maintain.

Need for Better Informed Staffs

It is above all necessary for the consular officers who make decisions about visas to be more realistic and better informed about the political spectrum of the countries in which they are living. They must learn to appreciate the shades of opinion and motive which characterize the various groups and movements on which they pronounce judgment. They must above all be able to evaluate in a more understanding way a casual temporary membership, such as Professor Polanyi's casual acceptance in 1942 of a short-lived sponsorship of the Institute for Free German Culture in which he delivered, as it happened, a lecture critical of the Soviet interference with the freedom of science.

A consul capable of doing his job at the level required by our world position and our own ideals should be able to assess, for what it is really worth, an inactive, brief affiliation with the Society for Cultural Relations between the Peoples of the British Commonwealth and Soviet Russia, in which there were many distinguished British authors, scholars, and scientists to whom only unreasoning ignorance could attribute communist or subversive intentions.

Refusals of visas based on this kind of crudity of judgment could be rendered less frequent, even if the law were not amended, by a better informed assessment of the concrete facts of the case. If in each embassy the security officer or the Central Intelligence Agency representative or the official charged with political reporting were capable of a fairly sophisticated understanding of the local political situation, instead of reacting to it with the slogans and labels of the lower levels of the American press, then the consul, who has much else on his mind, could have recourse to an expert in whose reliability he could feel confident. He would then be

able to make a more sensible decision than he is so often forced to make at present.

Vagueness of the Charges

There would also be less of a sense of grievance and more chance of a just decision if the applicant were actually confronted with the charges against him in some degree of specific detail. In its passport policy, the State Department has gradually moved to the position where it is now making provision for appeals to be made against its decision to withhold passports, after having disregarded earlier the right of the applicant to submit further information bearing on the charges.

The situation with respect to visas is, however, worse. The refused applicant is usually told very little beyond some general indication that he is too sympathetic with communism or that he is a member of communist organizations. As in the case of Professor Polanyi, he is even deliberately allowed to give false testimony about some trivial incident which he has long forgotten, and which he could easily explain, and then this is held against him. It would clear the air if the applicants were told just what is hindering a favorable decision on their visa application. They would then be able to try to refute it or to explain the special circumstances under which it happened. As it is, the ambiguous charges leave the applicant with the frustrated feeling of being opposed by a hopelessly obstinate, uncomprehending and immobile bureaucracy, which seems incapable or unwilling to give him a rational explanation of the decision.

Changes Needed in the Law

As far as the law itself is concerned, it is very definitely necessary to change that part (Immigration and Nationality Act, Sec. 212(a)(28) which declares that persons who "at any time have been members" of Communist parties or their affiliates, subsidiaries, etc., must not be admitted to the United States. This requires a consul to deny a visa to those who as long as ten to twenty years ago were members of some communist or quasi-communist groups even though they might now be completely apolitical or even wholeheartedly anti-communist.

In Europe in the 1920's and the 1930's, as in America in the 1930's, many young people—wrongly, but

with good and humane intentions and with the enthusiastic idealism of youth—embraced one sort of communism or another. They had been appalled by poverty and unemployment, by the disorder left by the First World War, and the menacing advances of Mussolini and of Hitler. Knowing nothing of the reality of the Soviet system, they accepted the propagandist view of that country as a land where justice prevailed and where there was no unemployment. Especially in France, where there was a great tradition for scientists and scholars to interest themselves in civic affairs from a humanitarian point of view, Communists were able to exploit the traditional attitudes. For the majority of those who joined the Communists before the Second World War, the relationship ended in disillusionment, bitterness, and even hostility against communism. Yet the existing American law requires that these past memberships and activities be treated exactly as if they were going on at present, when the applicants are mature men who have outgrown the romantic political enthusiasms of their youth.

The escape clause which the Immigration and Nationality Act offers [Public Law 414, Sec. 212(a) 28 (I)], and to which we have already referred, is insufficient. It enables the Attorney General to grant a visa to those who "since termination of such membership or affiliation" are and have been "for at least five years prior to the date of the application for admission actively opposed to the doctrine, program, principles, and ideology of such party, branch, or affiliate or subdivision thereof" when "the admission of such alien into the United States would be in the public interest." The Attorney General is required to make a prompt and detailed report to Congress in the case of each alien who is admitted into the United States under this clause.

This does not meet the requirements for a policy which will separate subversives and spies from those who will do no harm. It is too slow for those scientists and scholars who wish to make visits on fairly short notice, and its requirement of active opposition to communism does not apply to those whose political interests have either vanished or become a minor part of their lives. The law should be changed so that those who have not been members of communist groups for the past five years should be able to enter the country for scientific purposes

without any conditions. It should also be changed to allow consuls more discretion in the assessment of the significance of memberships in or association with communist groups over the past five years. Distinctions should be introduced into the law to allow some discrimination to be made between party membership and front-organization membership, between inactive membership, ordinary active membership, and leadership in communist activities.

Above all, we need more specific, more particularized defense against alien subversives, and less diffuse fear of foreigners and of scientists. We must be less preoccupied with the thought of subversion, while providing fully for counterintelligence and security services. We need laws and legislators who will allow administrators to free their minds from the constant and obsessive preoccupation with communist subversion whenever they deal with a foreigner or a scientist. We need administrative facilities and provisions which will allow consular offices and the visa division to get through their work with dispatch. We need laws and a legislative atmosphere which will allow consuls the discretionary power to grant as well as to refuse visas. We need the possibility for rejected applicants to appeal to some higher body than the consul, whether it be a Review Board within the State and Justice Departments or a Review Board, composed of eminent laymen, lawyers, scientists, political scientists, etc., who can tell the difference between a subversive foreign agent and foreign scientists, making its recommendations to the State and Justice Departments, without the need to report to Congress every favorable decision on an appeal. We need above all a return to common sense and to common humanity.

The preparation of proposals for the revision of the Immigration and Nationality Act is now the special charge of the Commission on Immigration and Naturalization appointed last month by President Truman. On the product of its labors, and on the speedy action of the new President and Congress early in 1953, rest the good name of America in Europe and the efficient growth of American science.

Finally, it makes no sense (and a lot of unnecessary work) to apply the same rigorous criteria to a visitor who comes to America for a few weeks or months as to a prospective permanent resident and citizen of the country—which is what the present law does.

Eminent American Scientists Give Their Views on American Visa Policy

The following statements have been supplied to the Bulletin by some of this country's most distinguished scientists. Albert Einstein, the world's most famous theoretical physicist, has been a U.S. citizen since 1933. He is a member of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton. Hans A. Bethe is professor of physics at Cornell University. Harold C. Urey, Nobel Prize-winner, is Distinguished Service Professor in the Department of Chemistry and the Institute for Nuclear Studies, University of Chicago. James Franck, Nobel Prizewinner in physics, is professor of physical chemistry at the University of Chicago. Samuel A. Goudsmit is senior scientist at Brookhaven National Laboratory. Cyril S. Smith is director of the Institute for the Study of Metals at the University of Chicago. Arthur H. Compton, another Nobel Prizewinner in physics, is chancellor of Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri. Dr. William P. Murphy, Nobel Prizewinner in medicine, is the co-discoverer of liver treatment for pernicious anemia.

ALBERT EINSTEIN

THE free, unhampered exchange of ideas and scientific conclusions is necessary for the sound development of science as it is in all spheres of cultural life. In my opinion, there can be no doubt that the intervention of political authorities of this country in the free exchange of knowledge between individuals has already had significantly damaging effects. First of all, the damage is to be seen in the field of scientific work proper, and, after a while, it will become evident in technology and industrial production.

The intrusion of the political authorities into scientific life of our country is especially evident in the obstruction of the travels of American scientists and scholars abroad and of foreign scientists seeking to come to this country. Such petty behavior on the part of a powerful country is only a peripheral symptom of an ailment which has deeper roots.

Interference with the freedom of the oral and written communication

of scientific results, the widespread attitude of political distrust which is supported by an immense police organization, the timidity and the anxiety of individuals to avoid everything which might cause suspicion and which could threaten their economic position—all these are only symptoms, even though they reveal more clearly the threatening character of the illness.

The real ailment, however, seems to me to lie in the attitude which was created by the World War and which dominates all our actions; namely, the belief that we must in peacetime so organize our whole life and work that in the event of war we would be sure of victory. This attitude gives rise to the belief that one's freedom and indeed one's existence are threatened by powerful enemies.

This attitude explains all of the unpleasant facts which we have designated above as symptoms. It must, if it does not rectify itself, lead to war and to very far-reaching destruction. It finds its expression in the budget of the United States.

Only if we overcome this obsession can we really turn our attention in a reasonable way to the real political problem which is, "How can we contribute to make the life of man on this diminishing earth more secure and more tolerable?"

It will be impossible to cure ourselves of the symptoms we have mentioned and many others if we do not overcome the deeper ailment which is affecting us.

HANS A. BETHE

THE frequent refusal and even more frequent delay of visas to scientists wishing to come to the United States, permanently or temporarily, will be increasingly detrimental to the development of science in the United States. That exchange of scientific information is beneficial was recognized even in the McMahon Act on Atomic Energy: While the Act establishes the strictest security regulations on military and industrial application of atomic energy, it specifically encourages free interchange of scientific information with other countries.

The great influence of European scientists on the development of science in this country is generally recognized. The development of atomic energy is the most familiar example. Without Fermi, the atomic pile almost certainly would not have been developed in time to have an influence on the last war. Under today's laws and practices, Fermi probably would find it difficult to immigrate as a former member of the Fascist party. Even greater difficulties would be experienced by men like Wigner, Teller, and Szilard, wherever they might have lived in the meantime, because their native Hungary is now occupied by Russia.

The great expansion of research in physics in the United States after the war may have given the impression to laymen that the United States is now self-sufficient in this subject. In reality, some of the most important discoveries after the war have been made abroad. Piccioni, and his collaborators in Italy, first demonstrated that the identification of the cosmic ray meson with the particle of Yukawa's theory was untenable. Powell and his group in England then discovered the pi-meson, which solved the mystery of mesons and is fundamental to present research in meson physics.

For the past four years, the United

States has enjoyed a monopoly in large accelerators capable of producing mesons artificially. However, the fact that mesons *can* be produced in a cyclotron was established first by Lattes on a scientific visit to the Radiation Laboratory at Berkeley. Lattes is a Brazilian physicist who had acquired the technique of using photographic plates for nuclear research during a prolonged stay at Bristol, England, in Powell's laboratory. Only by the collaboration of Lattes with the Berkeley group was this important field of physics opened.

This discovery is a particularly striking example of the need for the interchange of information by the actual travel of scientists rather than by the mere exchange of publications. But also in more everyday scientific life, personal contact cannot be replaced by the reading of publications. If I really want to know what is going on in physics in England, I go and visit the laboratories there. The different point of view is most stimulating, and many misunderstandings can be cleared up rapidly by personal conversation. Moreover, publications generally take a long time to appear and reflect only the results of scientific research after they have congealed. In the most interesting phase of the research itself, when the interpretation is uncertain, one can only participate by personal contact, and it is just in this phase that discussion is most fruitful.

Aside from the loss for American science, one should consider the psychological effect of the visa restrictions on the scientists, the intellectuals, and the people in general in other countries. In my travels in Europe, I had frequent occasions to speak to European scientists, including many who have the most friendly feelings for the U.S. and a few who don't. To the latter, the visa restrictions give a potent argument against the U.S. Our friends are bewildered and justifiably annoyed when they become the innocent victims of a bad law and its too strict execution.

By far, the majority of the scientists who are made to suffer from our visa regulations have no communist leanings. But is it really desirable to exclude Communist scientists? The visit of one prominent Communist scientist, a few years ago, did more than any newspaper articles to convince American scientists of the fallacy of communist arguments. But most scientists of communist leanings who would visit the U.S. if visas were

issued freely would not be interested in any political propaganda (if this were considered desirable, they could be specifically enjoined from making any political speeches in public). They would want to attend scientific meetings, and many of them would greatly contribute to the scientific discussion. In this connection, it cannot be stressed too much that *no* classified information is ever discussed at such meetings.

One international scientific society, the International Astronomical Union, has already taken action to have its meetings outside the U.S. so as to permit all its members to attend without difficulty. Other societies are likely to follow, and in this way the number of international conferences in this country will be greatly reduced. This will work to the detriment especially of the younger scientists who cannot too easily visit foreign countries and who are denied the opportunity to meet and to listen to the great scientists from abroad.

HAROLD C. UREY

THE difficulties in securing visas for foreign scientists who wish to visit the United States, and the annoyance that is suffered by some Americans in trying to get passports for traveling abroad seem to be getting worse with time, and, in fact, threaten to make all satisfactory contact between American and European scientists impossible in the near future.

The State Department of the United States has the power to refuse visas and passports. What appears to be the most essential difficulty in the whole problem is the inadequate opportunity for review of these decisions by the courts. The foreigner trying to get a visa finds it virtually impossible to have his case reviewed, in any court for, in a way, he can hardly claim he has any rights in the case at all; and the native American finds that to carry his problems to the courts is at least very difficult, if not impossible. The problem is further complicated by real or probably imagined secret security problems. A junior official especially is tempted to use these in order to avoid a decision in a doubtful case, and there is finally a tendency for all cases to become doubtful ones.

Whenever any government agency gets into a position where it is no longer subject to review by public

trial, it inevitably becomes arbitrary, unjust, and discourteous. This is not really a criticism of our State Department or of any particular individuals, but only an observation on the fundamental character of human beings. It seems to me that we should seek to bring the decisions of our State Department into courts, where officials are required to show cause why a passport or a visa should be denied. With such a threat of ultimate review, officials become more careful, more reasonable, and more just in their dealings with people.

We can hardly deny that a government should have the right to issue or refuse passports and to refuse or grant visas, though I can well remember the time when things of this sort were considered less important than they are now.

JAMES FRANCK

THE restrictions which our government has imposed in a number of instances on scientists entering or leaving the United States do not, in my opinion, serve the interest of our country. Rather they harm our reputation, are detrimental to scientific progress, and inflict personal hardship and irritation on men whom we have reason either to welcome as honored guests or to consider as fellow-citizens of outstanding achievements. I believe that this opinion is in full agreement with the judgment of the great majority of scientists and scholars. I cannot help but regard these measures as not only useless for our security, but perilous for our future because they are based on the concept that any suspicion raised, rightly or wrongly, against the political views of a person is sufficient reason to restrict his freedom and to undermine his reputation.

The slogan: "Why take chances if the security of the country might be at stake" may sound convincing and is seductive, but let us not forget that it is the slogan which helped totalitarian governments to come to power and to stay in power. It is in direct contradiction to the basic principles of democracy. The main reason for our ideological war with the Communists is the basic contradiction of the two principles of government: on the one side, the individualism of our democracy where every person is free to choose his own way of life and his work, and has the right to think for himself; on the other, the totalitarian system where everyone is told

what to do, how to do it, and what to think.

Let us be extremely careful not to fight communism and other totalitarian systems with methods which resemble theirs and which violate the principles for which we are fighting.

SAMUEL GOUDSMIT

IT IS not only unwise but dangerously irresponsible to curtail the free exchange of scientific thought by travel restrictions or choking secrecy rules which irreparably damage our scientific advances. Those who favor such restrictive devices are unfortunately totally unfamiliar with the world of science, with its need for openness. They confuse science with technology for which industrial experience has shown that free exchange of information is not so essential. They are unaware that restrictions in science will slowly lead to a complete halt in its progress. They do not realize that the true scientist is a pioneer trying to discover the laws of nature and that he must, above all, have an open and inquiring mind. Undue restrictions will discourage such adventurous seekers of new truths and keep the ranks of science filled with conformists who, by their nature, are unfit to discover new concepts, however diligent they may be.

Science can exist for its own sake, but technology cannot develop without science. Major advances in technology are always the result of new scientific discoveries. The basic ideas of radar and atomic energy were discovered in foreign scientific research, even though their applications are among the marvels of American technology. We would not have been able to attain these achievements if there had not existed a world-wide free-flow of scientific ideas before the Second World War. At present many of the most valuable scientific discoveries come to us from foreign countries.

No country is self-sufficient in science. Scientific progress depends upon ideas, upon efforts at understanding nature. No country, no one group of people, has a monopoly on new and fruitful concepts. We cannot afford to be cut off from this vital source of human progress. By their applications, new scientific ideas can lead to improved material welfare and, above all, they add to true civilization by helping us to understand our universe.

The printed word is a powerful disseminator of thought, but in the frontiers of science vigorous personal discussion has always been the most successful agent for spreading new concepts, and for helping to find the significance of new discoveries. The numerous traveling fellowships available to scientists in the 'twenties have, in proportion, contributed much more to solving the problems of atomic structure than the amounts spent on building laboratories. Every international scientific meeting marks a step forward in the development of science.

The present restrictive trend must be halted. But it is not enough that we reluctantly allow the free exchange of scientific ideas. Freedom of communication among scientists must be vigorously supported and recognized as a fundamental requirement without which we will eventually lose our standing among the world's leaders in scientific achievements.

CYRIL S. SMITH

THE present policy of virtually closing our borders to individuals who are in the slightest degree suspect of even chance contact with other suspect individuals is doubly harmful. It damages our prestige throughout the world, and it deprives us of the stimulation and the directly useful knowledge that results from contact with people from abroad. The United States, technically strong, is neither omnipotent nor omniscient. The authors of the restrictive legislation seem to have forgotten that the wealth, the religion, and the culture of this country would be nonexistent without either immigrants or ideas from abroad.

We cannot win the struggle against communism in splendid isolation and, as we will not conquer by force, one of our main objectives should be the winning of the support of other countries by the persuasion of our ideals. Our evident suspicion of foreigners and intolerance of our own intellectuals can lose friends more rapidly than our material aid programs can win them. We should demonstrate our belief in democratic freedoms. Communism is strong only if we arm it with our fears.

Espionage and sabotage are real dangers which call for a strong security system at sensitive points. If none such existed, if all United States resi-

dents were completely trustworthy, and if the entire border were guarded, there might be some argument for applying Q clearance (clearance for secret material) criteria to every visitor—provided we were willing to forego the advantage of contact with foreign business and intellectual life. Our present policy is hopelessly lacking in perspective, failing to see a large danger and magnifying a lesser one.

The scientists' characteristic willingness to toy with any new idea in their search for truth, and the political defection of two scientists, have made them suspect as a class. Yet the scientist's loyalty to his community and nation is generally deeper, more conscious, and less selfish than that of others whose activities are dominated by the desire for personal gain or political glory. Those who suspect scientists because of their insistence that science knows no national boundaries should remember that the material and cultural values that science brings can best be realized by those nations that encourage the broadest contacts for their intellectuals.

ARTHUR H. COMPTON

NO ONE who understands how science develops can doubt the detrimental effect of the present procedure on our scientific welfare. The chief stimulus to development in science is the free, rapid interchange of ideas; restriction on travel is one of the substantial barriers that can prevent such interchange.

One of the greatest assets of the United States in the century past has been the freedom of our scientists to move among those of other lands and our freedom to invite others to bring their ideas personally to us. It is in large measure this freedom that has made it possible for us to rise during this century from an almost insignificant position to a leading position in world science. In a period when our welfare and safety depend upon maintaining this leadership, it is of double importance that freedom in the exchange of ideas be maintained. An authoritarian state is much better able than are we as a democracy to develop its science in an atmosphere of secrecy, but such an authoritarian state is likewise retarded by barriers to interchange of ideas. Thus, one of our hopes for success in a period of intense competition is in the retaining of our scientific freedom.

Too often in the minds of those unfamiliar with scientific thought the freedom of exchange of ideas is confused with the release of technological information which may be applied directly to some military or industrial problem.

Though American industrial organizations have found it profitable to relax considerably their one-time tightly held industrial secrets, it nevertheless remains true that temporary advantage—and frequently an advantage over a considerable period of years—is retained by withholding such technological information. This is perhaps pre-eminently true in the military field.

This recognition, however, of the usefulness and necessity of withholding certain types of technological information must not be taken to mean that basic scientific facts and ideas should be withheld. Such facts and ideas nearly always require many years before they become practically important, and during these years the knowledge in any case becomes world-wide. The effect of retarding the flow of this knowledge is merely to discourage and make more difficult the scientific growth of those who are affected.

With this in mind, the scientist sees a loss to our country resulting from the barriers that recent political actions have imposed, which is many times greater than any possible competitive advantage that might result from compelling certain persons to keep their ideas and knowledge at home.

WILLIAM P. MURPHY, M.D.

THE bewildering list of accomplishments which have resulted from research particularly in the physical, chemical, and biological sciences during the past few years, has not only focused the attention of the public on these fields but also on those responsible for progress in them. Because of the speed with which these new developments are occurring, free and universal interchange of knowledge and thought between scientists has become increasingly important and physically possible. Dissemination of information through the medium of scientific publications has increased due to the multiplication in the number of journals now available. The greater interest of the lay-press and

the radio in scientific development and the availability of more rapid means of communication and travel have all helped to enhance the free exchange of thought between scientists, except, of course, in those countries in which freedom of thought and action is limited. All of this should be encouraged, and every means should be used, particularly to facilitate the gathering together of scientists in groups both at meetings for the discussion of scientific subjects and for more intimate private sessions.

The scientist, in part as the result of his own accomplishments and also as a member of a segment of society applying the methods of science toward improvement of existing facilities, is often accorded a place of high esteem in his community, his country, and perhaps throughout the world. Consequently, he must assume a degree of responsibility to society compatible with such a position. The esteem in which he is held allows him no unusual privilege or license not available to any other member of a free social order. In fact, by the very nature of his somewhat unique position in society, he must conduct his public acts, formulate his opinions, and accept decisions which affect the general welfare with greater restraint and discretion than is expected of other individuals or groups. If he oversteps the bounds of reasonable good judgment and misuses his position to further ideologies contrary to the democratic way of life; if his activities outside of his scientific research put him in the company of those whose aims are not in the interest of peace and good will among individuals or nations, or if his integrity is open to question, he alone is responsible and must therefore accept the same limitations and regulations as any other individual.

Although freedom of scientific intercourse, as is true of all freedoms in a democratic society, is fundamentally important to the scientific mind and to the unhampered progress of science, the question as to whether or not a scientist should be admitted to this country or any other must rest on the record of each individual concerned. Logical grounds for exclusion should be concerned with the question of the effect on national security. Except for the rare individual who might be excluded for that reason, there is undoubtedly more to be gained than lost by issuing of visas to men of accepted scientific ability and accomplishment.

Report on the Visa Situation

VICTOR F. WEISSKOPF

The following report was prepared by a committee of the Federation of American Scientists, with Victor Weisskopf as chairman. Dr. Weisskopf is a professor of physics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; during the war he was connected with the Manhattan Project at Los Alamos.

SINCE the end of the war it has been exceedingly difficult for foreign scientists to obtain visas to enter the United States. The difficulties are generally attributed to the McCarran Act which contains severe restrictions on the granting of visas. Actually, although the situation has deteriorated badly since the Act was passed in 1950, there had, in fact, been much difficulty obtaining visas before its passage. Scientists, as a group, have had a great deal more trouble than other groups. Among scientists, physicists, and indeed all those whose fields are believed "atomic" in the minds of non-scientists, are particularly affected. At present it seems that at least 50 per cent of all the foreign scientists who want to enter the United States meet some difficulties. The figure is higher for French scientists, when it may reach 70 or 80 per cent.

The difficulties experienced are as follows:

Delay

The time between application for and receipt of a visa has been at least four months, and in many cases as long as or longer than one year. It has been much longer than first predicted by the consular agent. This delay has made it very difficult for foreign scientists to attend scientific meetings in the United States, since invitations usually are not sent out more than six months in advance.

Refusals

In many cases, the granting of visas was not only delayed, but actually refused. In general, the reasons have not been given, although they

can be inferred from the type of questions which have been asked during the procedures. Political activity suspected of being unorthodox by present United States standards appears to be a frequent cause for refusal. There are many instances in which the scientists whose visas were refused are well known for their opposition to the communist ideology. For example, Professor Polanyi,¹ of Manchester, England, did not receive a visa although he is known to be an anti-Communist, and has written a series of articles against the communist ideology in science and economics.

In France, almost everybody who was or is a member of the "Association des Travailleurs Scientifiques" has consistently been refused a visa to the United States. Unfortunately, a large number of French scientists, about 70 per cent or so, are or have been members of this organization. It has never been subversive or communist and includes among its members all shades of political colors. The probable reason for blacklisting this association is the fact that F. Joliot was its president for one year after the war.

Questionnaires

Every scientist applying for a visa is asked to fill in a form in which he must list those organizations with which he has been associated for the last fifteen years as well as all his addresses and professional connections in this period. This is even required for a visit of only a few weeks duration to attend a meeting. The ques-

¹ Professor Polanyi's story is presented on pages 223-28 of this issue.



tionnaire is supposed to be signed under oath. Such procedure is repugnant for any applicant. Furthermore, it is very hard to remember every detail in the turbulent times of the last fifteen years, and any omission or any error could be interpreted as perjury.

Interviews with Consuls

Apart from this questionnaire, most of the applicants are subjected to a rather intense personal questioning on details of associations, of political beliefs, and political attitudes. Questions like: "What do you think of the United States' policy in Korea? What's your stand towards the NATO?" are not infrequent. Even inquiries as to which party the applicant has voted for have been reported.

Eminent Scientists Denied Entry

The total number of refused or indefinitely delayed visas which have come to our attention is about sixty, and the indications are that the actual number is at least three times as large. The following well-known names are a few from among the foreign scientists who have applied for visas and were refused:

Professor E. B. Chain, Nobel Prize Laureate, co-discoverer of penicillin, British citizen, member of the U.N. Health Commission. Probable reason: several trips to Eastern countries as an official of the Health Commission in order to promote penicillin production.

Professor A. Kastler,² physicist in France. Probable reason: membership in the Association des Travailleurs Scientifiques.

Professor Jean Lecompte,³ spectroscopist in France. Probable reason: membership in the Association des Travailleurs Scientifiques.

Professor H.S.W. Massey, physicist, England. Reason unknown.

² See pages 242-43 of this issue.

³ Professor LeCompte finally did receive a visa this summer, more than a year late.

There are a number of important scientists in Europe who have in one connection or another expressed sympathy for some ideas commonly associated with the radical left, or have participated actively in the Stockholm Peace Appeal. Among this group are quite a few who have contributed fundamentally to the progress of science, and an exchange of ideas with them would be a decisive help to our own scientific activities. From any rational point of view, the admission of these scientists to the United States cannot be a danger, since their attitude is well known, and effective measures can be taken to prevent them from access to secret material. At present, however, it is expected that they would be refused visas, and for this reason, they are in many instances no longer even invited to meetings in this country.

The Results of Present Policy

a) *It is contrary to the fundamental principles of our political philosophy which is based upon openness and freedom of information and movement. Any exclusion of people from this country on grounds of their political ideas should be kept to the absolute minimum and applied only when obvious danger exists of an abuse of the visit for conspiratorial purposes. The present restrictive visa policy goes far beyond this minimum and, therefore, runs counter to our own political standards. We are undermining our basic ideas and principles with these actions and they must be considered as a grave threat and a serious source of danger to our society.*

b) *It is harmful to U.S. science. Today it is practically impossible to hold international meetings in the United States. This deprives U.S. scientists of a very important medium for the cross-fertilization and exchange of ideas. These meetings and subsequent visits which foreign scien-*

tists make to American institutions are the only opportunities for exchange of opinions and ideas between foreign scientists and the bulk of our scientists. It is obvious to anyone who knows scientific life that the personal exchange of ideas is a most important way of productive work. The mere reading of foreign literature can never replace the personal give-and-take, seminars, discussions, and actual collaboration. International exchange of ideas and discussion is indispensable because details of scientific research are never written down in the actual publications. Frequently, only conversation can reveal a special technique or a special instrumental design which foreign scientists have used to make their experiments work. Only their presence can help our own scientists to put these experiments into use for discoveries for the development of our own programs. There is a long list of discoveries which can be traced directly to international gatherings. Indeed, some of these discoveries had direct application to the production of weapons such as radar or the atomic bomb.

c) *Scientific life in Western Europe is also harmed. The curtailment of visits of European scientists to the United States has an equally strong, if not stronger, damaging effect on the scientific life of Europe. The cross-fertilization is even more important for them than for us. It is an essential step in the education of a foreign scientist to spend some time at an American institution, to become acquainted with the type of instruments which we are using here and techniques which we have developed. It will enable him to understand American scientific literature and put the results to his own use. If the stream of visiting scientists from overseas is cut, the development of present European science will be seriously impaired.*

d) *The position of the United States abroad is seriously weakened. American scientific creativeness and productivity are two of the strongest sources of American reputation abroad. In spite of all attacks upon the USA abroad, American science is still considered to be the most rigorous, creative field of American culture. The present visa policy is strongly cutting into this reputation; not only does it prevent many foreign scientists from personal observation of American science, it also establishes a prejudice against it and a feeling of opposition. This effect has strong political implications. It is our policy to emphasize that the United States is an open country in contrast to Russia, that it has nothing to hide and that, in contrast to the Russian Iron Curtain, we are free and open to those who may criticize us as well as to our supporters. By means of the visa policy we are erecting on our side what French scientists have referred to as the "Uranium Curtain."*

We must not forget that the scientific and intellectual groups in Western Europe have relatively larger significance for the formation of public opinion than similar groups in American society. If these groups are alienated and given the impression that the USA is a closed country which does not permit visitors to represent their own countries, European opinion will be strongly influenced against the United States.

We are strengthening a growing attitude which considers America and Russia both equally evil powers to be feared. The type of questioning and the grilling which accompanies our present visa procedures has been compared by many foreign scientists to similar methods used under the Nazi occupation or used by the Soviet bureaucracy. It is this looking into the private lives and interfering with the personal beliefs of citizens which made the totalitarian regimes so hated in Western Europe.

In concluding, it may be worth mentioning that among the group of foreign-born scientists in this country who contributed decisively to the success of the atomic bomb development, there are many who would have great difficulties obtaining visas if they applied now. Most of these people have spent some time either in Russia or in an Eastern Europe country. Today, this fact alone has resulted in indeterminate delays in replies to visa applications and frequently in outright refusal.

"A Furtive Atmosphere"

"The principal danger of unnecessary restrictions lies in the creation of a furtive atmosphere in which the flow of information necessary to progressive science is brought to a halt."

—*Science and Foreign Relations*
Report of the International Science
Policy Group of the U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE (1950), page 85

Some British Experiences

I. MICHAEL POLANYI

Professor Michael Polanyi achieved eminence as a chemist before he attained his present status as a social philosopher. He was a moving spirit in the Society for Freedom in Science which in the 1930's and 40's combatted Marxist influences among British scientists. He was one of the earliest writers on the Soviet economic system to see through the myths created by Soviet propagandists, and his acute criticism in 1936 of the Webbs' Soviet Communism: A New Civilization? gave him the position of Britain's leading anti-communist scholar. His Logic of Liberty (1951) is an original defense of political, economic, and intellectual liberty; it contains severe criticisms of Soviet policy in the scientific sphere. When he was awarded an honorary doctorate by Princeton University on the occasion of its two hundredth anniversary celebration on October 19, 1946, the President of the University, in his citation, described him as "... a veteran campaigner against those who would take from science the freedom she requires for the pursuit of truth." The long delay, the inept procedure, and the final refusal of his application for a visa constitutes the most striking example of the utter irrationality of our present visa policy.

I APPLIED for an immigration visa to the USA on January 20th, 1951 on being elected to a Chair of Social Philosophy in the University of Chicago. The matter dragged on indefinitely, yet I persevered with my visa application in the firm conviction that officialdom is bound to find out its ridiculous mistake. Not even in my earliest youth have I had any left-wing leanings, and since 1917 I have been an active fighter against communism, both in word and writing. Surely the State Department must realize—I thought—that barring a man known for his anti-communist views is not a rational form of vigilance.

This is the detailed story of my curious case:—

I applied for an immigration visa on January 20th, 1951 to the Amer-

ican consul general in Liverpool and received on January 28th forms to be filled in for the purpose of a preliminary application. Form LV-2 contains as question 16:—

Where have you lived since birth? Give EXACT addresses (including street-name and house number) and EXACT dates. This information is vital to your case, so please be specific. Use a separate sheet and print information.

It was no mean task to answer this inquiry at the age of sixty.¹ After having dispatched the completed form to the consul in Liverpool (March 26th,

¹ The form LV-2, from which I quote, was obtained from the Liverpool consulate last April. I seem to remember that the original form required exact data only back to my fourteenth year.

1951), I waited for a month and then wrote to inquire about the progress of my case. I was invited to an interview on the 2nd of May and received the assurance that urgent steps would be taken to complete the investigation. On the 7th of June I wrote once more, offering to visit the consulate, but was refused any further information.

My appointment in Chicago was from October 1, 1951; hence toward the end of August I became seriously troubled about having yet no decision about the visa and asked the University of Chicago to intervene. A great number of attempts were made in consequence to trace my application which by September 30th had still not arrived in Washington, though the Liverpool consulate had assured the State Department that they had dispatched my papers by air courier as far back as September 13th, and on the 22nd had assured London that they had been sent from four to five weeks previously. A short time afterwards the application was actually located in the State Department, and again a number of interventions were made on the part of the University of Chicago as well as Senators Benton and Paul Douglas to speed up the proceedings.

By this time the delay of my visa had made me six weeks late for my appointment in Chicago. I had necessarily placed myself, through my preparations to transfer to Chicago, in a most precarious position. If, in the meantime, a successor had been appointed to my Chair, I might have found myself without a job and would have faced complete financial ruin. I had been saved from this disaster by the courtesy of the University of Manchester which allowed me to retain my position here, and so I decided now to withdraw, while it was still time, from my appointment in Chicago. Thereupon the University of Chicago invited me to a visiting professorship and I left pending my application for a visa, requesting a visitor's visa instead of an immigration visa.

On November 15th the lawyer who had been appointed in the meantime as representative of the University of Chicago in this matter asked me through the acting secretary of the Committee on Social Thought for further clarification concerning "organizations in which I have had membership which might be regarded by the authorities as questionable, with a brief statement of their purposes and activities." The only such affiliation I could think of was a membership during one year (June 1946 to June 1947) in the Writers Group of the Society for Cultural Relations with the USSR, which I had recently heard had been listed as subversive by the State Department. I gave full particulars of the members of this group, forwarding letters on the original notepaper of the group on which their names were printed. I added that the reason that I joined the Society for Cultural Relations at all was the desire of their Council to demonstrate by inviting me that they were prepared to admit even a man who had accepted the dedication of Koestler's *Yogi and the Commissar* and was thus stamped as an extreme opponent of the Soviet policies. I thought I should comply with this suggestion in which I saw a possibly genuine desire to work for a true understanding with the critics of the Soviet Union. I quote from my reply (November 21, 1951):—

I suppose what is meant here are communist organizations and, of course, the Communist party itself. I have been in active opposition to communist activities since 1919 when I first came in touch with them under the regime of Bela Kun in Hungary. From 1936 onwards I have taken a strong public stand against communist institutions. There was, therefore, hardly any occasion for me to become associated with communist organizations, even by inadvertence. However, I do think there is a society which has gradually fallen under communist domination in which I held membership for a short time. This is the Society for Cultural Relations between the Peoples of the British Commonwealth and the USSR. I am sending you enclosed a prospectus indicating their activities and chief public supporters at the time when I was a member, which was from June 1946 till June 1947. The Society did some useful work in getting documents translated, which helped me in my studies of Soviet Russia, but I found that their discussions were biased in a manner with which I would not be associated. This induced me to resign from the Society.

The translations mentioned here had been very useful to me for two

studies of the manner in which scientific research was conducted in the USSR. References to these are included in two essays which have had a considerable circulation and have recently been published in a collection of my papers in *The Logic of Liberty* (London & Chicago, 1951). The following is a complete list of the members of the Writers Group, as printed on its notepaper in June 1947, when I resigned from the Society.

J. B. PRIESTLEY, *President*
F. B. WALKER, *Hon. Treasurer*
MRS. JANET JACKSON, *Secretary*

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EDGELL RICKWORD
KEIDRYCH RHYS
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A. J. CRONIN
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ARTHUR J. CUMMINGS
ACATHA CHRISTIE
W. T. PENNAR DAVIES
TOM DRIBERG
ELEANOR FARJEON
DAVID GARNETT
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ROBERT HENRIQUES
BEATRICE KEAN-SEYMOUR
CECIL DAY LEWIS
ROSAMOND LEHMANN
ROBERT LYNDE

ERIC LINKLATER
ROSE MACAULAY
PROF. GILBERT MURRAY
ELIZABETH MYERS
DAPHNE DU MAURIER
REV. T. E. NICHOLAS
PROF. V. DE S. PINTO
STEPHEN POTTER
ERNEST RAYMOND
MARGERY SHARP
FRANK SWINNERTON
HOWARD SPRING
G. B. STERN
L. A. G. STRONG
OLAF STAPLEDON
RAFAEL SABATINI
REX WARNER
SYLVIA T. WARNER
FRANCIS BRETT YOUNG

There are hardly any Communists or left-wingers among them, but many prominent Conservatives.

On November 25th I was asked from Chicago for information about an affiliation with the League for Free German Culture, which I had not mentioned in my letter of November 21st. To this I replied that I had nothing to do with this League, apart from having given an address to them which was most adversely received. In fact, I would have completely forgotten about this trivial event but for the acrimonious correspondence which I had had with the officers of the League as a sequel to my address. I had not been able to discover the original correspondence with the League (which, after nine years, was not surprising), nor did I succeed in turning it up until after my interview with the consul general in Liverpool, when this matter was once again discussed with me in great detail.

About the middle of December the State Department transferred my documents back to the American consul at Liverpool, instructing him to obtain certain additional information. At his invitation, received toward the end of January, I went to see him on January 28, 1952.

The consul general opened the interview by saying that this conversation should decide whether my visa should be granted or withheld. I was then seen by him and the vice-consul for about two hours, which included the time for copying out documents which I showed them and my sworn statement made before them. The interrogation was conducted very courteously by the vice-consul while I sat in front of the consul general, who looked hard into my face all the time without uttering a word. I was questioned about my connections with the Society for Cultural Relations and the

League for Free German Culture. What I said in reply is substantially summarized in my sworn statement, from which I shall quote the relevant two paragraphs:

I arrived in England during September 1933. In 1946, so far as I recall, I met a member of the Society for Cultural Relations with the USSR (London). He informed me that not all of the members of the organization were Communists or even favorably disposed towards communism. He suggested that it might be worth my while to join the organization in order to express my views to the members. I joined the above Society sometime during the year 1946; I did this by letter. However, I attended no meetings of the Society, but presumably I paid the required dues. I never held any office in the Society. I resigned after approximately one year, probably during 1947, since I found from a circular addressed to members that a meeting discussing the position of literature in the Soviet Union was conducted with a bias in favor of an oppressive Marxian conception of the social functions of literature.

During December 1942 I was invited to address a meeting in London of the Free German League of Culture. I accepted this invitation. However, I did so without knowing either the aims or purposes of the League. I gave my address during December 1942, the topic being "The Self-Government of Science."² This address was not favorably received by the League. As a result, there was sent to me an official letter from the League stating that the Council had passed a resolution of censure against me for the sentiments expressed in the address. That meeting was the only contact I have ever had with the Free German League of Culture.

During the conversation on this subject the vice-consul expressed uneasiness when I said that, while I had no idea that the Free German League of Culture was a communist organization, I would still have addressed them if I had known it. It appears that in his view trying to convert them would have been a subversive activity! In general, I found both officials quite uninformed on the subject of the communist movement which they were supposed to investigate. Neither of them had heard of Koestler's *Yogi and the Commissar*. Nor had they ever looked at any of my writings and asked me such questions as on which side my sympathies were in the World War, and whether in any of my publications I favored

the Soviet system. This, after nine months investigation of my political views and activities!

I found it revolting that they questioned me on the political opinions of my brother, who is a professor at Columbia University, New York. I answered that he had no doubt sincerely expressed his views in his writings—which placed the matter beyond the ken of my questioners.

Though I came back from Liverpool to Manchester with a feeling of having allowed myself to be led on by official courtesies to submit to a humiliating intrusion, I was prepared to forget my resentment of what might have been no more than a bureaucratic oddity. However, the episode did spur me on to make one more effort to unearth my correspondence with the Free German League. When at last I did find it, I saw something the discovery of which after nine years had completely slipped my memory and which deeply aroused my indignation against the proceedings to which I had been subjected. On the notepaper of the League my name was printed as one of their patrons.

This explained in a flash how the State Department and the consul had known that I had ever been in touch with the League. It became clear as daylight that all the time while they were questioning me under oath about these nine-year-old contacts, they held in their hands documentary evidence which proved that some of my statements were inaccurate. I was being deliberately induced to make a false statement under oath.

I wrote to the consul general on January 31, 1952 in protest against these proceedings. I said that I was deeply disturbed by the thought that I may have been allowed to make a mistaken statement under oath in front of the consul which he could have prevented by a disclosure of what he knew about the matter. I asked for an assurance that this was not the case. Assuming that his purpose was to receive from me a statement of the facts, I asked him whether he would help me on his part by letting me have the information in his possession. The evasive reply to these requests, which I received on Feb-

ruary 4th confirmed my suspicions to the full.

At the same time I sent a photostatic copy of my correspondence with the Free German League of Culture to the consul general. It appeared from it that while writing to me about the arrangements for my lecture, the League had asked me to become a patron of their institution. As they were Anti-Nazis, I apparently agreed to this without giving it much thought and soon forgot all about it in consequence. But the correspondence produced also the clearest evidence of where I stood at that time. Here is what I thought and said of Soviet Russia in 1943, at a time when many Englishmen and Americans were tumbling over each other to whitewash the regime of Stalin and to appease his hostility:—

(From) FREE GERMAN INSTITUTE
OF SCIENCE AND LEARNING (Affiliated
to the FREE GERMAN LEAGUE
OF CULTURE IN GREAT BRITAIN)
FREIE DEUTSCHE HOCHSCHULE
LONDON N.W. 3

January 7, 1943

DEAR PROF. POLANYI,

Your lecture on "The scientific community" has unfortunately led to some controversy. In view of the fact that our Institute is pledged to work in close collaboration with all scientists of the United Nations fighting fascism your attack on Soviet scientists has therefore created rather an unfortunate impression. This is particularly unfortunate at the moment when the contribution of the Soviet Union to the defeat of fascism is one of the outstanding facts of the present situation, and it is not opportune for us as anti-Nazi Germans to indulge in any form of controversy which might have a political repercussion on our Institute in one way or the other. I felt it my duty to inform you of this fact and to put quite frankly to you the opinion of the committee responsible for the Institute.

Yours sincerely,
J. G. SIEBERT
Hon. Secretary

DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY
UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

January 13, 1943

DEAR MR. SIEBERT:

Your letter of January 7th reached me with some delay owing to my absence from Manchester.

I can discover no reason why you have felt it necessary to inform me of the opinion your committee formed of my lecture. Your action is insulting to me and discreditable to your committee.

There should be no more important sub-

² This essay was reprinted in *The Logic of Liberty*, pp. 49-67, and seems to a rational mind to be incontestable proof of Professor Polanyi's antipathy to communism.—The Editors.



ject to an Institute of Free Science (as you call yourself) than my allegation that the principles of scientific freedom are insufficiently observed by the government of a great country. Your proper duty is not to show disapproval of such allegations but to encourage their investigation. Instead, you show yourself quite uninterested in the truth of the matter—and by your present action you show that you are yourself ready to suppress the progress of free inquiry. Fortunately, your kind of free science and learning does not prevail in this country, and hence the paper which I gave at your meeting is already in the course of publication. I hope yet to be able to attach to it an account of the action taken by you in this connection, which represents so clearly a case of the evil I am trying to expose.

Yours sincerely,
MICHAEL POLANYI

I resume my story: At my visit in Liverpool on January 28, 1952, I had informed the consul general that I was no longer seeking an immigration visa but merely wished to visit the United States for a short time. After some further exchanges this led to the transfer of my case to the American consul in Manchester. However, on the 21st of February the consul in Manchester informed me that he had to await advice from Liverpool regarding my "admissibility" into the United States.

I guessed from this that my papers had been returned from Liverpool to the State Department and on February 22 asked the lawyer of the University of Chicago to intervene once more on the spot.

On the 13th of March he wrote to me (in extract) as follows:—

Since receiving all of the information which you sent me I had two additional conferences with Mr. Robert Alexander, deputy chief of the Visa Division of the Department of State.

He talked with me at some length and finally explained that the only important questions which they wished to discuss concerning your application for a visitor's visa concerned two organizations with which you had been associated. The first is the Freie Deutsche Hochschule, and the second is the Society for Cultural Relations with the USSR. I then explained to Mr. Alexander at some length the nature of your dealings with the Freie Deutsche Hochschule. I gave him the photostatic copies of your correspondence with the Hochschule which you had sent me. After reading this correspondence and further discussion, he seemed satisfied so far as Hochschule is concerned.

We then entered into a discussion of the Society for Cultural Relations with the USSR. I had filed with the Depart-

ment the photostatic copies of your letter from this organization showing your penciled notation asking that your subscription be cancelled. I also showed him the letter which you had written to me concerning your association with this organization. In this letter you suggested your principal motive for joining was the availability of certain translations. It has been suggested that you send me a more detailed statement on this point, as I believe it will be most useful with the Department.

"Freie Deutsche Hochschule" mentioned here is the institution I previously talked about under the name "Free German League of Culture" in Britain. So this incriminating affiliation seems now to have been excused. But while it must have become clear that in 1942/43 I was violently anti-communist, I was still suspected of having become a secret supporter of communism three years later (through my association with the Society for Cultural Relations with the USSR)—strangely enough precisely at a time when public opinion was moving at long last in the direction in which I had been heading against bitter opposition before!

However, I decided to comply with the request of the State Department for fuller information on my affiliation with the Society for Cultural Relations and wrote to the lawyer supplying him with the following further particulars:—

I certainly thought that the service rendered by the Society for Cultural Relations in providing translations of Russian documents was important. Two sections of my book *The Logic of Liberty* are based on such translations, and acknowledgment of this is to be found on page 63 and page 84 in footnotes. These translations, however, were only part of the information which the Society provided. They arranged visits of Soviet authors to this country and conducted discussions with their participation on the position of literature in the Soviet Union. Much other interesting information was provided. I am of the opinion that this was altogether desirable, and I hope that the time may come when such activities can be once more resumed.

You will appreciate that I do not feel like apologizing to the State Department. Actually, I do not think that they distrust me or seriously criticize my action. Their concern is with the fulfilment of certain legal criteria imposed upon them by statute. But it may be useful to point out how totally remote from reality is the application of these criteria to the Society for Cultural Relations. It is sheer nonsense to class people like Somerset Maugham, Walter de la Mare, G. M. Trevelyan, Cecil Day Lewis, Rose Macaulay, Gilbert Murray, Daphne du Maurier, Arthur Bryant,

A. J. Cronin, Howard Spring, Graham Greene, Compton Mackenzie, B. Ifor Evans, Storm Jameson, and others, as in any way having identified themselves with communism because they were supporters (and in some cases officers) of the Society for Cultural Relations in 1946 or 1947. I think it would evoke most adverse reactions throughout the world if these people were questioned, as I am now, as to their reasons for accepting an association with the Society for Cultural Relations. I would venture to surmise that the American authorities would refrain from any such patent violation of international relationships, and think that they ought accordingly to stop this line of inquiry in my case too.

The lawyer replied on the 27th of March informing me that he had just had a letter from Mr. Alexander stating that he was awaiting the receipt of further information before considering my case. He gave various reasons to induce me to expand still further the statement I had given him.

By this time my visa application had been running for twelve months. It was clear that the State Department could think of nothing more to ask me, but for some reason were urging me to plead with them and explain my supposed disloyalties. I thought that the moment had come to refuse to submit to further indignities. I wrote therefore that "There is nothing I can add on my part to the information given previously about my relationship to the Society for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union, but I remain prepared to answer any specific questions Mr. Alexander would wish to put to me on the subject."

In reply I was pressed once more by the lawyer in Washington to elaborate my statement. He accompanied this by suggestions as to points on which further information might be submitted to Mr. Alexander. To this I replied on May 29 by stating specifically the previous documents in which the answers to the questions raised had been given before, and declaring myself once more ready to answer further questions while refusing to plead my case.

On June 13 the lawyer wrote to Mr. Alexander asking for a decision on the record now in his possession and adding that I would be delighted to answer any specific questions or supply any specific information which might be asked or requested by the Department of State.

On June 30 I received the following letter from the consul general.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
AMERICAN CONSULATE, LIVERPOOL

SIR: June 26, 1952

Reference is made to the preliminary application for an immigration visa submitted by you to this consulate on March 25, 1951.

After careful consideration of information offered by you in connection with your application and acting on the basis of other available data, the consulate has reached the conclusion that you are ineligible to receive an immigration visa as a person inadmissible into the United States under the provisions of the Act of October 16, 1918, as amended and as clarified by the Act of March 28, 1951. These relate to certain political beliefs or activities; and to membership in, or affiliation with, certain organizations.

Very truly yours,
(signed) J. F. HUDDLESTON
American Consul General

The letter mistakenly refers to an application for an immigration visa which I had withdrawn and replaced by an application for a visitor's visa many months before. But the operative part of it is his decision that I am inadmissible into the United States on account of "certain political beliefs or activities; and . . . membership in, or affiliation with, certain organizations."

It has transpired since, that on receipt of the communication from the lawyer of the 13th of June, the State Department requested the consul general in Liverpool to decide my case and report back to them, and as a result the consul general refused me.

This account gives the whole story so far as I know it. Whether anything went on behind the scenes in the State Department or the FBI, I cannot tell. One rumor did reach me which I have not been able to confirm, that they had objected to my association with a student society in Hungary, the meetings of which I attended occasionally in 1908 and 1909, that is, between the ages of seventeen and eighteen—just 45 years ago. Actually that society was definitely non-socialist and its interests were cultural and academic rather than political. In the Russian Revolution (which occurred nine years after I had ceased to attend its meetings), the society could hardly have taken any part at that time.

The rumor is nevertheless interesting because the information mentioned in it could come only from Hungarians who are now living in emigration in the United States. It would appear that a former Com-

munist might have given information to arouse suspicion against me, with a view to revenging himself on me for my invariable hostility to communism.

Americans will be able to judge better than I the mechanism behind these proceedings, but there is one point which I can perhaps see more clearly from this side. It is the relative position of Europe and America in their mutual intercourse across the ocean. Americans are free to enter the countries of Western Europe without even being required to have a visa. They are heartily welcome here. But it is a shame that Europeans who would visit America in return should have to undergo a political investigation extending over many months by officials without any knowledge of European affairs and should be eventually rejected by such persons with a blast of libellous accusations against their political honesty. This is bound to poison the friendship between Americans and Europeans.

The remedy lies in a simple act of imagination. Let any American go carefully through the whole list of conditions imposed upon West European visitors to the United States and imagine himself to be subjected to the same conditions when he travels to Europe—while at the same time West Europeans could enter the United States without let or hindrance. He would be horrified to realize that such a position exists today in reverse.

ADDENDUM

January 31, 1952

The American Consul General
American Consulate
Liverpool, England

DEAR SIR:

Yesterday I wrote a letter to the Vice Consul, Mr. Lundgren, in which I said that I could not find my correspondence with the Free German League of Culture in Britain. Soon after my secretary discovered the file. I am having photostatic copies made of the whole correspondence and shall send them on as soon as possible.

In the meantime will you please send me a copy of my sworn statement of the facts, would you help me on your part by letting me have the information in your possession?

I confess to being deeply disturbed by the thought that I may have made a mistaken statement under oath in front of you which you could have prevented by a disclosure of what you knew about the matter. I should be glad to have your assurance that this was not the case.

Yours faithfully,
MICHAEL POLANYI

LIVERPOOL
February 4, 1952

(From): The American Consulate,
To: Professor M. Polanyi
File ref.: 211-Polanyi, Michael

SIR:

I have received your letter of January 31, 1952, in which, with reference to your visit at the consulate on January 28th last, you state that you intend to forward photostatic copies of correspondence in your possession conducted with the Free German League of Culture in Britain.

In accordance with your request, there is enclosed an unsigned copy of the statement subscribed and sworn to by you when you called at the consulate.

With regard to the further statements in your letter under acknowledgment, it is perhaps unnecessary to point out that under immigration law of the United States, American consular officers are directly responsible for the issuance or refusal of visas, and must base their decision upon a careful consideration of all the facts and circumstances surrounding an individual case. By calling at the consulate and supplying information you have, therefore, been of assistance in determining action to be taken upon your application for an immigration visa.

Very truly yours,
J. F. HUDDLESTON
American Consul General

Enclosure:
Unsigned copy of sworn statement

★ ★ ★

February 6, 1952

The American Consul General
American Consulate
Liverpool, England

DEAR SIR:

I thank you for the copy of my sworn statement. I shall examine it carefully by comparing it with the correspondence, the discovery of which I announced to you in my last letter.

Please note that I am not seeking immigration to the United States. As I told you on 28th January, I gave up any intention of settling down in the United States some time ago and am applying now only for a visitor's visa. I desire to travel to the United States under the grant of the Rockefeller Foundation of which I gave you evidence, as soon as I can find time for the journey.

I well know that you have full powers to accept or reject my application. The fact that you left the suggestions and questions stated in the third and fourth paragraph of my letter of 31st January unanswered, is the more distressing.

There is no earthly power, however high and unfettered, that is not subject to scrutiny by the humblest of men in the light of natural justice.

Yours faithfully,
MICHAEL POLANYI

February 7, 1952

J. F. Huddleston Esq.
American Consul General
American Consulate
Liverpool

DEAR SIR:

I have completed my comparison of my sworn statement with the documents which I discovered a few days after making the statement. I have come to the conclusion that my statement was materially correct, though had I remembered the fact I certainly would have mentioned it that in the course of the correspondence concerning the lecture delivered in December 1942, I accepted to become a patron of the Free German Institute of Science and Learning which was affiliated with the Free German League of Culture in Great Britain.

Yours faithfully,
MICHAEL POLANYI

★ ★ ★

February 25, 1952

Guy Martin Esq.,
Attorney at Law
The Ring Building
Washington 6, D.C.

DEAR MR. MARTIN:

I sent you last Friday by air a collection of carbons which represent my recent correspondence with the consul general in Liverpool. My lawyers, March Pearson and Green, have promised to send you today a photostatic copy of the correspondence which I had from September 1942 to January 1943 with the Institute of Free German Culture in London. It is these contacts which apparently have preoccupied the State Department and the consul general, and on which they induced me to make a sworn statement at the interview on the 28th of January. As you may have noticed from my letter to the consul general, written immediately after the discovery of this old correspondence in my files, I was very much disturbed by some discrepancies which I found between these documents and my sworn statement made the day before. Later, I consulted our professor of law and was persuaded by him that these discrepancies were actually of a minor character and not material to the truth of my statement. I wrote in this sense to the consul general on February 7, 1952.

May I put the whole matter to you once more in its proper perspective, which the proceedings of the State Department and consulate have distorted beyond recognition: In September 1942, in the depth of our desperate struggle with Nazi Germany, I was asked by an organization describing themselves as a German Institute of Higher Learning and an Institute of Free German Culture, etc., to take part in a course of instruction which they were organizing in London. I naturally agreed

to do this. In the course of the correspondence the officers of the Institute asked me to become a patron, to which I also agreed. Again, on the face of the evidence before me, this was my obvious social duty. On December 12th, 1942, I went to London to address the Institute and chose as my subject the freedom of science and its infringement by the suppression of genetics in the USSR. This was the first time this subject was publicly discussed in this sense either in Britain or in America. After my address a number of adverse comments were made from the floor, but I was used to this kind of treatment since at that time any criticism of the USSR evoked such responses from any audience. However, I was surprised when—after my return to Manchester—I received a letter from the Institute expressing their disapproval of my views expounded in my lecture. I realized then that this organization was under communist domination and wrote back, in a letter which you will find in the files, condemning their attitude in the sharpest terms.

But for this curious interlude, I would have probably forgotten by this time about ever having anything to do with the Free Institute for German Culture in London. But, even so, I had no recollection that I had accepted to be a patron at an earlier stage before they had revealed their true colors.

The fact is that all during the period in question my views on Soviet Russia were sharply opposed to the current valuation as reflected by the whole of the British and American press, and as guiding the policies of their rulers. This fact must be obvious to anyone who takes the trouble to look up my relevant publications and contrasts them with the contemporary literature. However, after ten months investigation which the consul general in Liverpool was supposed to bring to a conclusion under his own responsibility, this official and his assistant had never seen a single page of my writings. As to their knowledge of the subject within which they were required to take a decision, I should mention that they had never heard of Koestler's book, *The Yogi and the Commissar* (which I mentioned, as it had been dedicated to me in 1945).

To characterize the level on which they made their inquiry, I may mention that they asked me on which side my sympathies were in the last war and whether my writings were concerned with justifying the regime of communism in Soviet Russia.

I do not say this in criticism of the unfortunate officials in Liverpool, but of the procedure which requires them to take a decision in a field with which they are completely unfamiliar, basing their decisions on criteria prescribed by law, which are essentially irrelevant to the issue. I am also complaining about the public danger involved in asking people to make declarations under oath on trivial matters going back ten years, which are magnified today into sinister actions by

legal rules having no concern with reality.

Yours sincerely,
MICHAEL POLANYI

★ ★ ★

May 29, 1952

Guy Martin Esq.
Ring Building
Washington 6, D.C.

DEAR MR. MARTIN:

I thank you for your letter of May 12th and the accompanying draft which you wished me to elaborate and address to the State Department. In this you mentioned four points on which you wished me to make statements.

1. Translations obtained from the Society for Cultural Relations. I gave you exact references to these in my letter of March 19, 1952.

2. The suggestion that I should join the Society was made to me by the novelist, Mr. Robert Neumann, whom you find on the Committee of the Society in 1946/47. The reasons given by him and accepted by me are described in my sworn statement made before the consul in Liverpool on January 28, 1952. The occasion for the conversation arose from the fact that I had accepted in the previous year the dedication of Koestler's *The Yogi and the Commissar* (which you will find printed in the English and American editions). Since neither the consul general in Liverpool nor the vice-consul, charged with the investigation of communism, had ever heard of this book, I do not know whether it is worth your while mentioning my connection with it to the State Department. At any rate, I have nothing more to add to this point. As it happens I know, or knew, a good number of the persons on the letterhead of the Society which I received after allowing myself to be elected to it. It is true that some of them are well recognized in the United Kingdom, and indeed the world over; and consequently they do not need any recommendations from me.

3. I have said already in my aforementioned sworn statement that I never attended any meetings of the Society. It has its seat in London and not in Manchester.

4. I have described the reasons why I resigned from the Society in my sworn statement of January 28th. I cannot remember further details of this microscopic event.

I remain ready to answer further questions, but I am not prepared to satisfy the desire of the State Department for another extensive document repeating all that I have said before. I hope and expect that they are seeking information and not merely trying to wear me out by admittedly futile requests for humiliating asseverations of my loyalty, innocence, etc.

With best thanks for your trouble,

I remain,
Yours very sincerely,
MICHAEL POLANYI

Two Opinions on Professor Polanyi



PROFESSOR Michael Polanyi and I have been in touch with one another since 1939. There has been one purpose, and one only in our very close association—opposition to communism. With Professor A. G. Tansley and myself, he founded the Society for Freedom in Science in 1940–41. We founded the Society to oppose communist tendencies in science, and the Society has continuously maintained that object ever since. Professor Polanyi is one of the three vice-presidents of the Society today.

When the Nazis invaded the USSR, Great Britain became sympathetic to communism to a degree that is not understood in the USA. Anyone who would speak, broadcast, or write in favor of communism was sure of a favorable audience, while it was very difficult to get a word of adverse criticism broadcast or published.

Many shallow thinkers turned with the tide, and told the public what it wanted to hear. Very few indeed had the courage to oppose communism openly in those days, and every opportunity was taken to attack and ridicule those who did, and especially to ascribe low motives to them.

One of these few was Professor Michael Polanyi, who continued openly to oppose communism throughout those years. He has never deviated from that course. These facts are open to verification by anyone who can read. The Society for Freedom in Science published several of his papers. I should be happy to send copies to any reader of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, till the supply is used up.

I measure my words carefully when I say that I know of no one else in any country who has devoted so much energy and thought to the cause of anti-communism as Professor Polanyi. His writings on the subject are profound, and make those of most others appear trivial by comparison. Long after we are all dead, they will still provide a solid basis for anti-communist thought.

—JOHN R. BAKER

*Reader in Cytology
Oxford University
Secretary, Society for
Freedom in Science*

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

I have known Professor Michael Polanyi for more than twenty-five years. I first met him in Berlin when he was working at the Reichsanstalt, a post which he later left voluntarily because he found the Nazi regime intolerable. He is of Hungarian origin, but one of his grandmothers, I believe, was English and he has always spoken English. His scientific eminence and competence are universally recognized.

In addition to acquaintance with his scientific activities I also know of some of his other activities. From the first he has been a prominent figure in the British Society for Freedom in Science, an organization founded and maintained for the express purpose of combating the pro-Marxist, pro-Russian tendencies of the left wing of British scientists as represented by Bernal, Crowther, Hogben, and Huxley. He wrote several influential pamphlets given extensive circulation by the Society for Freedom in Science, and has been more or less an official spokesman of the Society in trying to neutralize the effect of the left-wingers. This work has been so thoroughly accomplished that the Society is now rather inactive, but there is no question but that in the few years centering around the end of the war it essentially modified the views of an important part of the British public. I know of few people whose fundamental philosophy and sympathies can be regarded as more on the side of the democracies in the present struggle against Russia, and I believe it would be a grievous mistake not to admit him to this country, and that this should be done at once. Every delay puts us in a more unfavorable light.

—P. W. BRIDGMAN

*Higgins University Professor
Harvard University*



II. R. E. PEIERLS

Professor Rudolph E. Peierls is head of the Mathematical Physics Department of the University of Birmingham. He is a Fellow of the Royal Society and was awarded the order of CBE in the King's Honors List for his services to science.

I RECEIVED in March, 1951, an invitation to the International Conference on Nuclear Physics to be held in Chicago in September of that year and soon afterwards applied for a visitor's visa for this purpose. This did not materialize, and in July I was told informally that there appeared to be some objection to my being given a visa under some clause of the McCarran Act. This, however, was only a rumor, and the only statement I had from the consulate was that no reply had been received from Washington. At an interview in the United States consulate, of all the questions I was asked, the only one that did not seem to be routine concerned my membership in the council of the Atomic Scientists' Association, and the question whether this organization was to be regarded as communist dominated. My description of the nature, activities, and membership of this council appeared to satisfy the vice-consul.

No reply was received by the time I was to depart, but in the meantime it had been arranged to hold a conference on declassification in Washington, on which I was to be one of the representatives of the United Kingdom, Division of Atomic Energy. For this purpose, therefore, a visa was requested for me as a government official, and this was obtained in due course. I do not, of course, know what obstacles, if any, were encountered in this, since this matter was handled through government channels. While in the United States for this meeting, I was also able to attend the conference at Chicago.

On my return, I requested the consulate to keep my application for a visa on the files, since I had also been invited to spend the spring semester at the Institute for Advanced Study at

Princeton. For this purpose, I could not use the official visa, as for that trip my status would not be that of a government official. One might have expected that since I had been permitted to attend a conference dealing with secret information in September, the visa to go again in connection with purely academic work would now be a matter of course. However, there was considerable further delay. I imagine that friends intervened on my behalf during this period, though I do not know what precisely took place. Ultimately my visa was issued on November 21, about eight months after my first application.

III. M. L. OLIPHANT

Professor M. L. Oliphant, FRS, is the director of the Research School of Physical Science, Australian National University. The contributions of his laboratory in Birmingham to microwave radar have been described in an official U.S. publication as "probably the most important single item of reverse lend-lease." He was the first British scientist to make official contact with the early U.S. atomic energy project in 1941, and in 1943 he visited America with Sir James Chadwick to arrange for British teams to join in the U.S. project. Later in 1943 he led the British team which joined E. O. Lawrence in the Electro-Magnetic Separation project.

ON MARCH 16th, 1951, I received an invitation from the director of the Institute for Nuclear Studies of the University of Chicago to attend an international conference on Nuclear Physics and the Physics of Fundamental Particles to be held at the University from September 17th to 22nd, 1951. The Institute offered to pay the whole or part of the expense of a round trip from Canberra to Chicago, and this generous gesture enabled me to accept the invitation. I looked forward with great pleasure to the opportunity of meeting my American colleagues again and of hearing something of the great advances in nuclear physics which were being made by them. I hoped also to be able to tell them of our plans for the Research School of Physical Sciences in

this new graduate university and to discuss critically some new and favorable conceptions in the field of thermonuclear reactions.

Inquiry at the United States embassy in Canberra indicated that a visa to visit America would be issued on application, but when it was found that I was travelling as a private citizen and not as a government official, I was referred to the United States consulate in Sydney. On July 10 I received a letter from the consulate stating: "This office does not anticipate any difficulty in the issuance to you and Mrs. Oliphant of visas enabling you to proceed to the United States in September... we shall complete the necessary preliminaries and can arrange for issuance of your visas shortly before your departure for the United States." Several inquiries were made of the consulate between receipt of this letter and the beginning of September, and on each occasion I was informed that all was well. In the meantime, I had booked passages by Pan-American Airlines for September 23, half my fare being paid for by the University of Chicago and half by our own University. Since my wife was to accompany me, and we were to go on to Great Britain, I had to arrange for the letting of my house, accommodation for my children, and so on. On September 8 the American vice-consul advised me that if I called at the U.S. consulate in Sydney at 11 A.M. on September 12, the visas would be ready for us. Late in the evening of September 11, when we were packed and ready to leave early next morning, I received a telephone message from the embassy saying that it was regretted that permission to issue the visas had not been received from Washington. A telephone call next day to the consulate produced the suggestion that I postpone departure till September 15, since it was not unusual for permits to come through at the very last moment. This did not happen, and it was necessary to cancel all arrangements, involving considerable expenditure on cables to the United States of America and the United Kingdom. Pan-American Airways were most helpful and agreed to cancel the passages and refund money paid without the penalty they were entitled to charge.

I did not allow the matter to rest there. Representations were made on my behalf through the Australian embassy in Washington, and they were met with the usual silence. The consulate, from that day to this, has con-

tinued to emphasize that the visa had not been refused, but that there were administrative delays. I was pursued vigorously by the press, but under the circumstances could say nothing. A scientific correspondent of the London *Daily Express* cabled to his paper that he had obtained information in Washington that my exclusion was not due to any accusation of communist affiliations or sympathies, but that my criticism of American policy in the field of atomic energy had "given Communists bullets to fire." Indirect inquiries made in Washington gave me no definite reasons for refusal of my visa, but I was assured that "the action was taken on an unbelievably inconsequential and petty point."

I wrote to Senator Brien McMahon, whom I had met in Washington, and received the following cable from him on October 17: "Am investigating. Will reply further. Nice to hear from you." No further communication has been received.

The above is a factual account of what happened. I am asked to give also an account of my own personal reactions to the incident. Naturally, I was extremely disappointed that I was unable to attend the conference or have the opportunity of discussion with physicists in America. I have been still more distressed that it is now clear that the ban on my entry to the United States will continue indefinitely. The prospect that I can no longer keep in touch with the physicists of America will handicap me greatly in my work here. At times I feel very bitter about the situation, since I believe that in the fields of radar and atomic energy I have been of some help to the United States.

There is one aspect of the results of the refusal of a visa which may be of interest to your readers. I have received charming and helpful letters from many of my American friends and colleagues; others, whom I had arranged to see and who had been close friends, may have been afraid to write to one who is no longer *persona grata* with the visa officials of the State Department.

In conclusion, I would like to state emphatically that I have no political affiliations whatsoever, least of all with the Communist party. Neither have I any sympathy for communism or for Russian policy. My sympathies at all times are with humanity as a whole and with the British Commonwealth of Nations in particular. I have the greatest admiration for the United States and for the people of America.

IV. PAUL ERDOS

Professor Paul Erdos teaches mathematics at University College, University of London. The re-entry permit which he had applied for in good time was finally granted, but only after it was much too late for him to give the Cole Prize lecture, which he had been invited to deliver. The following letter describes his situation just before the re-entry permit was granted.

I LIVED in the U.S.A. from 1938 to 1950 and acquired the status of a permanent resident in 1948. In 1950 I came to Britain to take up a research post for one or two years. I then held a re-entry permit to the United States, valid until September, 1951. I applied in August, 1951, for the renewal of this re-entry permit, but even at the present time, I am still without any reply from the Department of Immigration and Naturalization.

In September, 1951, I was informed by the secretary of the American Mathematical Society that the Cole Prize for number-theory would be awarded to me at the December meeting of the Society and that it has been customary for the recipient of the prize to give a lecture at the meeting. When, in November, I had still received no reply from the Department of Immigration and Naturalization, I wrote again (enclosing the letter from the secretary) requesting that my permit should be renewed in time for me to attend the meeting. No reply has come, and I am therefore prevented from attending the meeting. It is difficult to believe that my inability to get any reply is due to administrative inefficiency, and I am concerned lest it indicates a change of policy about the renewal of re-entry permits. If this is so, grave hardship will be inflicted on individuals, and formidable new obstacles will have been placed in the way of the movement of scientists.

V. R. E. DAVIES

R. E. Davies is a member of the Department of Biochemistry at the University of Sheffield, England.

ON MARCH 14, 1950, I received an invitation from Dr. H. W. Davenport, chairman of the Department of Physiology, University of Utah, to go to his department as a visiting professor for the next academic year. I was to take part in the departmental teaching and to continue my researches on the mechanism of hydrochloric acid production by the stomach and of gastric ulcer formation. This invitation was accepted, and I received an official contract confirming the appoint-

ment dated May 8 from the secretary of the Board of Regents.

On March 24, I had written to the American consul, informing him of the proposed visit to the United States and inquiring about the formalities necessary to allow my wife and me to enter the country. I also applied for a Fulbright travel grant and thus had to be vaccinated, have T.A.B. injections, and be medically examined. My wife and I were given a provisional passage on August 11. I was informed that an application for a visa was not possible until the arrangements over this travel grant had been completed, but the delays were so long that I was advised on June 14 by the United States Educational Commission in the United Kingdom to make formal application for visas to the American consulate in Manchester. I did so and was told to go to Manchester with my wife for an interview on Friday, July 14, with passports, three loose photographs of ourselves, and vaccination certificates. This was less than a month from the sailing date.

At the consulate we signed the photographs, and details were recorded of our next of kin, our age, date of birth, etc. We then saw the consul who first asked us to swear that this information was correct, and then, even before we had time to sit down, he told us that our applications for visas were being rejected.

No questions of any sort were put to us. We asked for an explanation, but the consul said that in accordance with United States law, no reasons could be given, but that we might understand if we looked at Section 3 of the Immigration Act, 1917. We asked to see this but were told that he had no copy. We asked for a statement of the relevant clauses, but this was refused. We asked if we had any means of contesting this decision and were told that we had not. After asking for our photographs back, we were told that they were part of the application and were needed for the files here and at Washington. During all these negotiations for a Fulbright travel grant, visas, etc., neither my wife nor I were ever asked about our political views or affiliations. On July 15 I informed the secretary of the Board of Regents that I would be unable to get to Utah. This letter still remains unacknowledged.

By this time, and in expectation of leaving, considerable expense had been incurred. Seventy letters had been written; I had resigned my position at the University, and my wife her teaching appointment at the Technical College, and we had arranged for others to live in our home for a year.

I am 32 years old and was graduated from Manchester University in 1941. Until the end of the war, I was engaged in secret work for the Chemical Defense Research Department at Manchester and Sheffield. It seems strange that after this I should be considered a danger to the security of the United States if I were

allowed to accept an invitation to do research on problems of medical interest in Utah.

It may be relevant that the McCarran Act had not yet been passed, and that I am not, nor was then a member of the Communist party. I had been a member during 1943 and for a few months in 1942 and 1944, during my early twenties at the time following the Battle of Stalingrad. There were only three of us at the University, and we disbanded after studying Marxist economics for a short while, our only activity. My wife has never belonged to any political party. My last political act had been to work publicly against the Communist party candidate standing in my Parliamentary Division during the 1945 general elections, many years before there was any question of my being able to go to the United States of America.

VI. E. A. GUGGENHEIM

Professor E. A. Guggenheim is a widely acknowledged authority on thermodynamics. He is chairman of the Department of Chemistry at the University of Reading, England.

HAVING received invitations to take part in the 16th Conference of the International Union of Pure and Applied Chemistry in New York and to attend also the Jubilee Celebrations of the National Bureau of Standards in Washington, I applied on April 20, 1951, to the visa section of the American embassy in London for a visa to enable me to leave England on or about August 20. I subsequently received an invitation to take part in the conference at Boston, sponsored by the United States Air Force, commencing on August 21. This invitation was accompanied by an offer of transport to the United States by its Military Air Transport service. I informed the visa section of the American embassy of this on June 16.

On August 2 I wrote to the vice-consul at the visa department as follows:

"You may remember that you were good enough to receive me at your office on April 20 and introduce me to Mr. M. whom you asked to attend to my request for a visa. I was told by Mr. M. that the application would be referred to Washington, and that the expected time required for authorization was three or four weeks. Fourteen weeks have now elapsed, and I have heard nothing further. As I should be leaving in a fortnight's time, I am naturally wondering what has happened. The most favorable and reasonable interpretation I can think of is that some junior official in Washington has lost my papers. Perhaps you would be good enough to inquire

whether this has happened, or if there is some other explanation of the unforeseen and surprising delay. I shall be extremely grateful for your help."

I received a reply dated August 7 worded as follows:

"The receipt is acknowledged of your letter dated August 2, 1951, in which you refer to your visa application now pending at this office.

"I regret that the necessary investigation of your application has not as yet been completed, but I can assure you that every effort is being made to expedite final action thereof.

"You will be promptly notified when to take further steps in this connection."

On August 9 I called at the visa department and saw two of the vice-consuls. I told them that according to the plans for me to be flown to the United States by bomber, I should have to leave my home on Friday August 17, and that if I did not receive my visa by Monday August 13, I should not go. I eventually received a visa on Wednesday, August 15, by which time I had cancelled the arrangements for my visit.

VII. E. A. PRINGSHEIM

Professor E. A. Pringsheim is a distinguished botanist on the faculty of the University of Cambridge. He is an outstanding authority on algae. Before the Nazis came to Czechoslovakia, he was professor at the Charles University in Prague.

ON INVITATION from the Department of Plant Science and the dean of the Faculty of Advanced Studies, Yale University, I wished to come to the United States for the Spring term, 1952, in order to give a course of lectures and to establish there a center of algal research. This is a specialty to which I devoted many years, and some of my colleagues in the United States believed my experience might be valuable for the advancement of this line of research, which had aroused more interest than I have ever hoped to stimulate, particularly in the United States.

It was also the intention of Professor P. R. Burkholder, chairman of the Department of Plant Science, to initiate at Yale a collection of algal cultures on the model of the one I have organized at the Botany School, University of Cambridge, England. Another such culture collection was to have been established at Johns Hopkins Marine Station, Pacific Grove, California, and some funds had been granted by the biological branch of Unesco for that purpose.

In consequence of the expectation that I would come to America, I received more invitations, for instance, from the Oceanographic Institution at Woods Hole,

Mass., to spend the summer there and to collaborate in research on marine organisms and from Vanderbilt University to take part in the summer session by giving lectures to the Scientific Society and the Biology Department. More invitations and inquiries arrived from the heads of the Biological Laboratories at Harvard University, from the Bacteriological and Botanical Departments at Indiana University, from the Department of Zoology of the University of California, and from others.

In October, 1952, I was to give the introductory address at a joint meeting of the New York Academy of Science and the Society of Protozoologists, and I was also invited to attend and to read papers to meetings of the Bacteriological and the Phycological Societies of America.

This comprehensive program had been prepared in good time when I asked the passport division of the American embassy in London for a visa. I expected no difficulty, particularly as I knew that several recommendations from American colleagues had arrived there. After seemingly satisfying requests for documents, some of them not easy to produce for a former refugee, I travelled to London and went through the various further requirements. These were partly unpleasant—an elaborate system of fingerprints, filling in from memory of forms which I had already answered in previously submitted questionnaires, and so on. Yet I was still naively unaware of the trouble ahead. A last interview, concerned with my moves from Berlin University to a university in Czechoslovakia and then to Britain, ended with the remark of the official that I might be pretty certain to receive the visa in a few days' time. Instead, I had a letter saying "your entry is deemed to be prejudicial to the interests of the United States."

It was a shock! I had engaged in no political activity. I had, it is true, belonged to an all-party organization connected with the Dr. Benes Czechoslovak government-in-exile in London which assisted German refugees from Czechoslovakia, who had fled from the Nazis. This organization was in alliance with

Britain, the United States, and the other Allies. Since I was a Czechoslovak citizen and had been professor and head of a department of the German University of Prague (a Czechoslovak state university) before I took refuge in Britain in 1939, I felt it my duty to take part in this organization. I left it, however, before the end of the war when it became too leftist for my taste—long before the general disappointment with the politics of the nations of Eastern Europe—and applied for British naturalization, which I was granted in 1947.

Being convinced that there must have been a misunderstanding which only needed clearing up, I asked for and was conceded another interview, which was performed with cordiality by two vice-consuls. No clue was given to the suspicion I must have provoked, so that I could not clear up anything, nor defend myself against the implicit accusation of being a dangerous person. The visa was refused again with about the same expressions, taken, I suppose, from the McCarran act of which I heard only later. I received during these proceedings four letters from the embassy, each signed by a different consul or vice-consul.

I have been a biologist during the whole of my adult life, that is, fifty years, mainly interested in science, art, and my family, and devoting to politics only the minimum of time I believed my duty. In Czechoslovakia I had kept away from politics altogether. In Britain I had voted three times, twice Liberal, the last time Conservative. I am and always have been opposed to communism. What the refusal meant I cannot guess, nor could the science attaché of the United States embassy tell me the reason. As I am convinced of the absolute necessity of international collaboration and personal contact in science I had hoped to give as well as to take by teaching my methods, and also by seeing a life's work crowned by the certainty that it would be continued in the United States, I was grievously hurt by a decision which I cannot understand.

In spite of this disappointment, I remain, as a warm friend of your great country.

"With a feeling of humility, I say: We Americans recognize how directly our own progress and well-being are related to the scientific achievements of other nations, and we are ever ready to give others the understanding and the respect which we ourselves seek to merit."

—JOHN D. HICKERSON, Assistant Secretary of State
in an address before the International Geographical
Union's Assembly in Washington, August 8, 1952

The British Reactions to the McCarran Acts

MARCUS CUNLIFFE



Mr. Cunliffe is a Lecturer in American Studies at the University of Manchester.

THIS is for several reasons a difficult subject to talk about. First of all, "reactions" are hard to gauge; the best of polls is likely to be a gross over-simplification of an issue, and the opinions of one individual—as expressed here—are equally open to question. By the British response, I mean the sort of attitude that emerges from the conversation of my friends and colleagues. Though they represent only a small fraction of the British public, as academic and professional people they are the ones most affected by the McCarran Act and its attendant folklore, and their remarks upon it help to form the attitudes of a much wider segment of the population.

A second difficulty is that their opinions are not always based upon accurate knowledge or sympathetic understanding of America's problems. The people I have in mind begin, it must be admitted, with slightly "anti-American" feelings. In part, these feelings seem to me unimportant; even in normal conditions, no nation is particularly fond of another, and Britain today can be forgiven for indulging in a little harmless criticism of the United States. For it is bad enough to owe money with no hope of repayment: to be defeated on the tennis courts, the golf links, and the Atlantic Ocean is even worse.

The mild resentments of one great power compelled to yield place to a newcomer are, however, fertile ground for still more resentments, and my colleagues are perhaps excessively prone to find weaknesses in America. Their comments at times are ungenerous; some could be called irresponsible. When Bertrand Russell wrote in the *Manchester Guardian* that there was

virtually no academic freedom left in America, many of my acquaintances were ready to believe him.

This would not matter much if there were no real grounds for uneasiness. But there *are* grounds, and the situation does not seem to be improving, as far as the British observer can tell. The McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950 has been followed by the McCarran Immigration Act of 1952. The unreasoning dread of communist machinations—as distinct from a healthy distaste for communist ideology—seems to increase rather than abate in America, despite all the admirably sane comment that is appearing in American books, magazines and newspapers.

The sort of Englishman of whom I am writing has some justification when he speaks exaggeratedly of American "witch-hunts." He is convinced that Americans betray a hysterical fear of communism and are, as a result, yielding to childish chauvinisms. They regard communism (he thinks) as a foreign devil to be exorcised, somewhat as the Chinese are reacting to a notion of a Western capitalist devil.

What is his evidence for such a belief? The American writings referred to; and—more important—the cases that come to his attention of Europeans excluded from the United States for their supposedly subversive tendencies. Almost everyone in British academic life has heard of such cases, and feels that they touch him nearly.

Perhaps the best-known case in Britain is that of Michael Polanyi, a professor at Manchester University. This brilliant scientist-philosopher, whose writings make abundantly clear his long-standing antipathy to communism, has been offered a permanent appointment at the University

¹ See Professor Polanyi's article, pages 223-29 of this issue.

of Chicago, but has been refused a visa by the State Department, because—it appears—of his brief and entirely innocent membership during World War II of one or two organizations now considered subversive. These organizations listed among their membership,¹ it may be added, dozens of eminent Englishmen whom it would be farcical to relate to communism: for example, the historian G. M. Trevelyan.

I need not enlarge on the absurdity of the Polanyi decision; I am concerned only with the ways in which it and others affect my acquaintances. It persuades them that America is in the grip of foolish and frightened men who can no longer distinguish friend from foe, let alone realize that even honest and intelligent men make mistakes.

Where, asks the critical Englishman, is the difference between a Russian purge of leaders held guilty of deviationism, and the American attempts to victimize, say, a Lattimore or an Acheson? Are men who may have been proved wrong, though acting from the best of motives, to be punished equally with men who have been criminally motivated?

It is true that the Hiss affair and the defection of the atomic scientists Fuchs, Nunn May, and Pontecorvo have somewhat nonplussed my acquaintances. But they still maintain—and here I agree with them—that the principal problem for the Western powers, in this context, is one of security of information. Valuable information must be safeguarded from the spy just as household property is to be protected from the burglar. But the dream of keeping America pure of ideological contamination is as impossible as it is unnecessary.

Communism as a movement is dead

(Continued on page 256)

American Visa Policy

RAYMOND ARON



Professor Raymond Aron is the leading French political analyst. He is also a distinguished sociologist who teaches at the Institut d'Etudes politiques and L'Ecole des Sciences administratives. He is the main protagonist of the North Atlantic-anti-communist policy in French journalism, and through his column in Figaro as well as through his numerous books and articles, he exercises a wide influence.

EVERY time the democracies take measures against totalitarian parties or against individuals who belong to these parties, the adversaries of these measures—who are either sympathizers of the totalitarian parties or sincerely alarmed democrats—express their criticism in terms of general principles. At what point are democratic states entitled to deny to their opponents the personal liberties which are their justification and their greatest claim to respect?

Now, in my view and contrary to what is currently believed, discussion solely in terms of principles is futile. The right of democratic states to take defensive measures against individuals or parties who abuse the laws of constitutional parliamentary governments and who would be tyrants if they were in power and who in opposition preach and organize the violent overthrow of institutions, seems to me to be very obvious. Democratic states, like all political regimes, have the right, or more correctly, the duty of self-defense. But measures of defense or suppression must be taken in accordance with the law; and the courts, not the police, should have authority over their execution. Between the two extreme formulae: "No liberty for the enemies of liberty," which in the last analysis could justify every tyranny, and "The enemies of liberty are entitled to the same liberties that democracy grants to everyone else," there is a reasonable solution, consistent with both principles and common sense at the same time.

I shall not discuss here the right of the United States government to deny entry visas to such and such classes of foreigners. I shall consider

only the appropriateness of such measures at the present moment. Is it consistent with American national interests to refuse to admit persons who at sometime in the past were associated with totalitarian parties, who have lent their names to some front organization or to some party activity? (I have not studied the text of the McCarran Act. I, like most Europeans, know it only from summaries which have appeared in newspapers or from its application by the consular authorities.)

The Consul as Judge and Jury

The refusal of visas might be interpreted as a sort of penalty imposed for activities of which the American government disapproves morally. I do not, however, think that anyone looks at the matter in this way. Why should the American government decide to set itself up as a court with the responsibility of punishing those who committed the error of supporting a totalitarian party by refusing to grant them visas? Moreover, even if this were so, the procedure by which guilt is decided and the penalty is determined, would be absurd. How could consular officials judge the gravity of the error committed by the accused, the exact circumstances of his connection with the totalitarian party, his conduct since he committed that error?

Let us drop this fragile hypothesis which views the McCarran Act as an effort to pass moral judgment and to distribute benefits and disabilities in the light of that moral judgment. Let us rather assume that these denials of visas aim solely—for this would be the only reasonable aim—at preventing the entry into the

United States of persons who are suspected of totalitarian sympathies and who are capable of endangering the security of the United States.

But when we take this latter line of interpretation of the intentions of the McCarran Act, a doubt immediately arises. The persons who are most dangerous to the security of the United States certainly must have a faultless dossier in which there is never any trace of affiliation with a Communist party. Really dangerous Communists belong to underground networks, and they are probably inaccessible to the powers of the McCarran Act.

An objection to this line of argument might be put forward to the effect that the law permits the exclusion of at least the Communists and fellow-travelers who would attend meetings of the Partisans of Peace and who would be entering the country to participate in such communist propaganda. This is a valid objection, but it gives rise to two questions: first, should foreign Communists or communist sympathizers be denied entry into the United States? If one were to say "yes" to this question, there is the second one: is it indispensable, in order to stop Communists and fellow-travelers, to refuse entry to persons who are neither, or who, if they once were, have not been either Communists or fellow-travelers for many years? Is it absolutely necessary to require applicants for visas to give a complete history of all their past activities? Is it really necessary for consular officials to become judges with full powers of interrogation and decision?

Should the U.S. Bar All Communists from Entry?

I will refrain from giving a dogmatic answer to the first question. The British government, without any special legislation, denied entry visas to a number of persons who wished to participate in the Sheffield Congress of the Partisans of Peace. The Congress had at the last moment to shift its site. It seems to me just and

proper that governments should have the right to refuse visas to present members or even to present sympathizers of totalitarian movements. But I regret that governments, in addition to having the right to refuse entry, should also be disposed to make use of that right. What is my reason for this last statement? It is because certain foreign scholars and scientists who are Communists, have nonetheless, remained faithful in their scientific work to the universal principles of their profession. When a scientific conference is held in the United States, the American government stands to lose much more than it gains by refusing to grant visas to certain very famous scientists on the grounds that they are Communists.

The result of the refusal is that in the first place, the Communist scientists are strengthened in their convictions. The absence of liberty in the Soviet Union sometimes troubles the consciences of these men, but as soon as the United States appears to follow the Soviet Union in this regard, they can say, to reassure themselves: "You see that as far as liberty is concerned, the West is no better than the East." As a result, scientific and scholarly societies hesitate more and more to hold their conferences in the United States. A further result is that everyone who dislikes the United States seizes the opportunity, unjustly but with a semblance of reason, to compare the Iron Curtain with the Paper Curtain which the United States is in process of establishing.

In other words, it seems to me very desirable that the consular officials, the State Department or, in the final instance, a committee of distinguished citizens should have a greater freedom to decide in accordance with the merits of each case and to be able to authorize, if they think the concrete facts of the case permit, the entry into the United States of Communists and communist sympathizers on condition that they do not participate in any political activities while there.

Should Ex-Communists Be Barred?

But whatever the answer to my first question as to whether Communists should be barred, there can be no doubt about the right answer to the second question. An enemy of the United States could scarcely conceive of a more effective means of damaging the reputation of the Unit-

ed States among educated people in Europe.

I, who by accident, good fortune, or repugnance for extremist doctrines, have never been either a Communist or a communist sympathizer, nor a Fascist nor a fascist sympathizer may be permitted to enunciate the following proposition: The number of educated persons who have been tempted in one totalitarian direction or the other is large among those who have lived through the tragic period between the two wars, even in a country like France which has never had a communist or fascist revolution. In Germany, the number of those who have been associated with a totalitarian party is obviously even larger. Why should one of my friends, an eminent sociologist who was close to communism in the 1920's and later, who has conducted sociological investigation in the United States and who is very genuinely sympathetic to America—why should such a man be refused a visa under present conditions?

American Prestige in Europe at Stake

The case of the ex-Communists is all the more striking because they are usually the most ferocious enemies of the Communists, who, in their eyes, have betrayed them, deceived them, and left them without a faith. More than once it has been said, perhaps exaggeratedly, that the ex-Communists should be in the very front line of the battle against communism. The case of the ex-Fascists or ex-fascist sympathizers is just as clear. Why should some one who supported the Fascist party of Doriot in 1935 be penalized today? What danger does he constitute for the United States?

It is possible that American opinion is unaware of these difficulties which American visa policy is precipitating. The European friends of America are, however, well aware of them, and they deplore them. Pres-

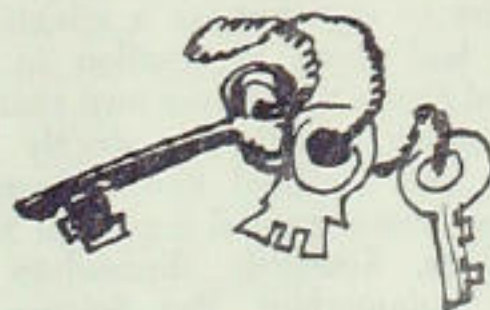
tige is a factor in the Cold War. The present visa policy of the United States is harmful to American prestige—first of all because it makes America appear indifferent to the principles of a free society to which the West has committed itself. Secondly, and more importantly, it makes the United States appear to be frightened, meddling, and obsessed. The world understands that the United States must defend itself from the fifth column. But it grieves and worries the friends of the United States and gives ammunition to its enemies when it thinks that it defends its security by refusal of a visa to a physicist who signed the Stockholm Petition or to a sociologist who was associated with the communist youth groups when he was twenty years old. The friends of America grieve and worry about this policy because it is stupid and ineffective.

Revision of McCarran Act Required

The revision of the law which requires that American consular officials act in this manner is urgently needed. I am incompetent to give exact details about just how the law should be revised, but the general direction seems to me to be quite clear. It should prohibit entry to those persons who in one manner or another would be able to damage American security. As for those who are not dangerous to American security, it would be better to welcome them out of respect for human freedom than to penalize them for their past errors or their present bad conduct.

The first time I came to Washington, a high official of the State Department, who at the end of an official lunch made a brief speech to welcome me, thanked me for having understood American policy so well without having ever lived in America. He expressed the hope that contact with the reality of American life would not lead me to change my opinion. I replied that it would be better if the opponents of the United States rather than its friends were invited and helped to visit the United States.

This remark, which was intended to give a light touch to the situation but which was a bit out of place, has remained in my mind. But all in all, now that I look back at it, it certainly was not more frivolous than what the United States is doing today in its visa policy.



Some French Experiences

I. JACQUES MONOD

Jacques Monod is a member of the famous Institut Pasteur in Paris.

TO:

MONSIEUR LARKIN
United States Consul
United States Embassy
2 Avenue Gabriel
Paris, France

MY DEAR MR. LARKIN:

This letter is meant as a conclusion to the conversation which we had last Wednesday on the matter of my application for a U.S. visa. I have considered this problem very seriously in the light of the information which you gave me that, under the provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950, I must be considered an "inadmissible alien" because I had belonged to the Communist party from 1943 to 1945. To my regret I have come to conclude that I could not follow the course, which you suggested I should take, of applying to the Attorney General for special permission to enter temporarily the United States.

In view especially of your extremely courteous and helpful personal attitude in this matter, I feel that I should explain in some detail the reasons which have led me to this negative decision. These are twofold.

To begin with, my proposed trip to the United States was planned, you may recall, in answer to invitations extended to me by the American Chemical Society and by the Harvey Society. However much I appreciate the honor entailed in these invitations, as well as the pleasure and fruitfulness of a scientific visit to the United States, I cannot put these in balance with the extremely distasteful obligation of personally submitting my "case" to the Department of Justice and of having to ask for permission to enter the United States as an exceptional and temporary favor of which I am legally assumed to be unworthy.

The second reason is that I am not willing to fill in and swear to any

"biographical statement" of the type apparently required for this application. This refusal is not based on abstract principles only, but on a sad and terrible experience: this kind of inquisition was introduced into the French Administration under the Nazi Occupation. I will not submit myself to it, if I can possibly avoid it. Furthermore I feel quite sure you realize that such questions as: "state name of all organizations of which you have been a member since 1918 or to which you have given financial or other support, giving dates of membership and dates of contributions" cannot be answered both *fully* and *truthfully*. It is unfair to demand a detailed sworn statement when the slightest omission such as the "date of a contribution" might make one technically liable to a charge of perjury. You will also realize, I believe, that such statements, should they fall into the wrong hands, might conceivably be used as a source of information. The mere possibility of this would make it impossible for me to submit one, even though I knew that mine would be most uninteresting. The fact that I have been completely estranged from my former political affiliations makes this even more impossible.

This being said, I should like to add that I did not reach this decision lightheartedly, as I fully realize that it means cutting myself partially away from a country which I love and to which I am attached by very strong links. Not only am I half-American, but I have many very close friends in your country. I have learned by experience to respect and admire American science. Indeed, I owe much to several American scientific or other institutions such as the Rockefeller Foundation, and I may perhaps venture to say that, as a scientist, I have had more recognition in the United States than in my own country.

However, all this is strictly personal, and I would like to mention another more general aspect of these problems. Scientists themselves are quite unimportant. But Science, its

development and welfare are overwhelmingly important. Isolation is the worst enemy of scientific progress. (If proof of this statement were needed I would point to the strange and profound deterioration of Russian biology in recent years.) Measures and laws such as you are now obliged to enforce, will contribute in no small extent to erecting barriers between American and European science. I do not pretend to know whether or not such measures are justified in general, and in any case I have no right to express an opinion. But I can say, because it is a plain fact, that such measures represent a rather serious danger to the development of science, and that, to that extent at least, they must be contrary to the best interests of the United States.

Thanking you again for your courteous help, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

JACQUES MONOD

II. JEAN LERAY

Professor Leray is one of the most eminent French mathematicians and has made important contributions to algebraic topology. He is a member of the French Académie des Sciences and a professor in the Collège de France. He is at present a visiting professor at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton.

AFTER the International Congress of Mathematics in 1950, an invitation was extended to me to spend several autumn terms at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton. The Institute has the same aims of disinterested research, the same methods, and the same tradition of international contacts as the Collège de France, and the invitation seemed to me to be very desirable. The French government, which is very favorably disposed towards Franco-American intellectual coopera-

tion, received the proposal with great enthusiasm.

Difficulties in obtaining the visa seemed inconceivable. I had just obtained one valid for two years with no trouble at all. When he handed it to me, the American vice-consul said, with a smile, that I should not forget that I had written an article in praise of Russian mathematics. I was very surprised by this, but then I recalled that in 1947 one of my colleagues had asked me about recent developments in the USSR in my special branch of mathematics at that time, algebraic topology. I wrote a rather hasty summary, a few pages in length, in which I described very objectively the contemporary developments in algebraic topology. I told how this science, created in France by Henry Poincaré at the end of the nineteenth century, was taken up again and advanced after World War I by the joint efforts of American, Russian, and Swiss mathematicians. I emphasized the originality of the Russian contribution, the breadth of the American contribution, and the importance of international cooperation for the progress of science.

I told the vice-consul right then and there that such an objective summary could not have been regarded as controversial if it had been printed completely as an article. I thought the incident closed. I had never seen the printed article either in proof or in final form, and I looked for it in vain. I even asked the American consulate for the reference in order to find out whether my text had been respected or whether my name had been improperly used.

At the beginning of 1951, I learned that all American visas were rescinded. A long time after I had made a new application and supplied the numerous required documents, I was surprised to be summoned by a new vice-consul. In a rude tone, he harried me with questions of a generally stultifying nature. It is improper and fruitless to ask a citizen of a democratic country which political meetings he has attended, to assert incorrectly to a French professor that all his colleagues are immersed in politics and that he too must therefore be. It is naïve to be astonished that a mathematician should know Russian mathematics, that he should be interested in topology, and that he should give information about it to colleagues who ask for it. I explained to him very calmly that as a young professor before the war I was ex-

tremely busy with my own work. I explained also that during the five years of the war I was a prisoner of war in Germany, and at that time I founded and directed a very active prisoners' university—one of the rare European universities during this period courageous enough to include our Jewish colleagues. After the war I had certain responsibilities for *épuration*, and in this work I had to maintain very strict political neutrality.

I saw that the vice-consul to whom I was speaking confused topology and topography and he thought that I was "someone who would tell the French Communists about Russian topography." Without embarrassing him, I disabused him of this error. Finally, the intolerable interrogation came to an end. The next day he returned my passport without a visa, and with it he sent a new questionnaire. I went back several times to ask for a decision: a visa or a refusal. It was hopeless. I informed my own government, the cultural attaché of the United States, whose courtesy and intelligence were admirable, and the Institute for Advanced Study, from which I wished to resign in order to settle the matter. I had to cancel the reservations that I had made for the boat. At last Washington sent the order for a visa to be granted to me. I had to make new reservations to depart behind schedule, unprepared for my trip.

What had happened? In 1951 a stricter immigration law had prohibited the entry into the United States of contributors to certain magazines. The American consulate, fearing that I was one of them, preferred not to take the responsibility for granting me a visa. He used the procedure which he ordinarily applied in such cases and about which all Frenchmen are now informed, namely, subjecting the applicant to such an intolerable interrogation that he will refuse to submit to it and will withdraw his application. Knowing about this device, having got used during my years of captivity by the Nazis to the most dangerous interviews, I kept calm. The consulate had then to refer my case to Washington where cases were so piled up that they could not be dealt with in time. My case had the privilege of being dealt with rapidly.

If one wishes to analyze the effects of the present immigration law in Europe, it is necessary to distinguish the principle from the manner in which it is applied.

Its very principle prevents perfectly honest, objective scholars whose statements have been cleverly utilized by certain propaganda organs from benefiting from invitations to cooperate actively with American scientists. Not only is this very serious in itself but, as a result, whoever obtains a visa to enter the United States is now suspected of not having dared to tell the whole truth and of having fore-sworn the intellectual honesty of which so many Europeans are so proud.

As for the men who are charged with the application of this immigration law, some of them are afraid to take any responsibility and do not dare to refuse certain visas but simply suspend action on them, giving the applicant false hopes and exposing him to serious embarrassment and loss. Nor, finally, do they dare to avow what often trivial suspicions and naïve confusions govern their conduct. They sink into the arbitrariness of police states. While proclaiming the wrongfulness of the interrogations in the police states, they try to prevent certain persons from making trips to the United States. As a result they have implanted in more than one honest, educated, and influential person a deeply rooted hostility toward the United States.

III.

LAWRENCE SCHWARTZ

Professor Lawrence Schwartz is one of the most eminent modern abstract mathematicians. He is professor of mathematics at the University of Nancy, France.

FOR the purpose of delivering a series of lectures on mathematics, I was to visit the University of Chicago in July 1949, the Canadian Mathematical Congress from August 1 to September 10, and finally the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton from September 18 until December 15.

Having encountered no difficulties in obtaining a Canadian visa, I applied in March 1949 to the American consulate in Strasbourg for a visa to enter the United States. After waiting several weeks, I was informed that there were technical difficulties. A temporary visitors visa would not allow me to draw the honorarium which had been promised me in Chicago. Several letters from Professor M. H.

Stone to the consul in Strasbourg tried to resolve this problem which turned out, as later events showed, to be entirely fictitious.

It was only at the end of June, when the date which had been set for my departure had already passed, that I was informed of the real difficulty. I was summoned to the consulate and questioned at length on my political opinions and activities.

I described them in detail. I had been a member of the Trotskyite party and had left it in 1947. Since that time I have not been connected with any political organization whatsoever. The consul told me that they had requested Washington to render a decision on my application. This statement was confirmed by a high official in the United States consulate in Paris.

When I told the latter that my journey was entirely unconnected with politics in any way and that I was ready to swear that I was going to the United States for mathematical purposes only, he replied, "But even if you don't take part in any political activities, you might make propaganda on behalf of the Negroes, and we do not want any of that sort of thing."

Finally the University of Chicago, through Mr. Stone, intervened energetically and pressed the State Department to render a positive decision in this matter which involved the freedom of international scientific relations. Despite this, I was notified of the official refusal of my application in August when I was in Vancouver.

Further intercessions, particularly by the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton and the French embassy in Washington, were unable to change the situation, and I returned to France in September 1949 having been unable to enter the United States.



The problem then took another form. In September 1950 the International Mathematical Congress was to take place at Harvard University. I was to read a paper there. But without a change in the situation, I would not be able to enter the United States.

The Mathematical Society of France and the American Mathematical Society soon found themselves confronted with the problem in a general form. The Mathematical Society of France informed the American Mathematical

Society that it would be unable to participate as an official body in the Congress unless the visa problem were satisfactorily settled and that, if the favorable solution were not forthcoming, the French delegates would very probably decide not to come to the Congress at all.

The American Mathematical Society immediately communicated with the State Department. For seven months, until April 1950, the American Mathematical Society pressed the matter with the State Department. In April 1950 Professor J. R. Kline, the secretary of the American Mathematical Society, sent me a copy of the decision which finally granted me a visa. It stipulated that the visa was good for thirty days, "for the sole purpose of attending the International Congress of Mathematicians."

A new problem soon emerged concerning the visa of Professor Jacques Hadamard who was the honorary president of the Congress. New negotiations had to be undertaken, and Professor Hadamard's visa was granted only on July 27, just a few days before the last date beyond which the Cunard Line would no longer hold our reservations for the ocean voyage.

Despite the solution of the visa problem, for a long time it still seemed as if I would encounter further difficulties in getting into the United States. Several European mathematicians who were coming to the Congress were interrogated about me by the immigration officials upon their arrival in New York. One of them heard it said that the International Mathematical Congress was a political congress since I was participating.

I arrived in New York by sea on the 29th of July. I had been told that I was to obtain the exact details as to the conditions of my sojourn in America from the Immigration Service. Professor Kline obtained the information for me. I had the privilege of normal participation in the Congress but, once it was over, I could not undertake any formal activities. I could go wherever I wished provided that I gave written notification of my change of address, which, of course, I did very scrupulously. But I could not appear officially in any university either to give or to hear mathematical lectures. I left America at the end of September.

I should add that the American university people received me with warmth and cordiality which moved me deeply.

IV. DANIEL CHALONGE

Daniel Chalonge, a leading French astronomer, is a member of the Institut d'Astrophysique in Paris.

TOWARD the end of 1947, Dr. Otto Struve, then director of the MacDonald and Yerkes Observatories, proposed that I come to work for several weeks at the MacDonald Observatory, comparing the new spectroscopic observations which we had just made in Paris with observations made with the 82-inch *pouce* telescope at the American observatory.

This invitation, coming as it did from so famous an astronomer as Dr. Struve, was extremely flattering. It was an unexpected opportunity to make observation in a short time with the aid of one of the most important and most refined reflectors in the world—observations which none of the instruments in use at present in France could provide. Moreover, it would have enabled me to make a series of outstanding scientific contacts. Hence I accepted this generous proposal with pleasure.

The project was set in motion and finally took the form of an official invitation from the University of Chicago. I was to be a research associate at Chicago for three months at \$300 per month. I was to spend most of my time at the MacDonald Observatory, where the 82-inch reflector could be used during January 1949 to continue research projects I had begun in Paris. In addition, all my traveling expenses were to be paid. I also received invitations to visit several other observatories, those at Climax, McMath, Yale, etc.

But these fine prospects were soon darkened by bad omens. In July 1948 I learned that an entry visa into the United States had been refused to Professor Jean Wyart of the Sorbonne, who was to represent France at an International Congress of Minerology at New York. The motive of the refusal—a motive which was never avowed by the American consular authorities but which emerged clearly in the interrogation to which Mr. Wyart was subjected—was his membership in the France-USSR Society and on the editorial board of the rationalist review, *La Pensée*, founded by the well-known physicist, Paul Langevin. Now, like my friend Jean Wyart, I had been both a member of the scientific committee of the France-USSR Society and a member of the

editorial board of *La Pensée*. The police investigation which the American consular services could not fail to make when I submitted my application would certainly bring these facts to light, and I became rather doubtful as to the prospects for my projected trip.

When I met Dr. Struve and some American colleagues at the beginning of August at the International Astronomical Congress at Zurich, I told them of my fears. They promptly began to intercede with important American officials in order to forestall any difficulty.

Toward mid-October, I went to the American consulate to apply for a temporary visitor's visa, and I was given an appointment for two weeks later—October 27—the period necessary for a police investigation. On October 27, after having fulfilled all the formalities necessary for the granting of a visa, I was presented to the consul who had asked to see me. His request was certainly prompted by facts which the police could not have failed to provide.

The consul, Mr. Charles Gray, received me with the friendliness that a police official would show toward a criminal. He asked me rudely what I was going to do in America. I told him that I was an astronomer, and that I had been invited to work in an observatory in Texas; indeed, the letters which I saw spread out on his desk—laudatory testimonials and recommendations from several American astronomers—made my purposes and my sponsors perfectly clear. He interrupted me to reject contemptuously the letters of my eminent colleagues, declaring, "Scientists will invite anybody," and then he began an astonishing series of questions which I reproduce here very precisely:

Are you active in politics?

Are you a member of the France-USSR Society?

What do you do there?

Do they give you any money?

Do you meet Russian diplomats there?

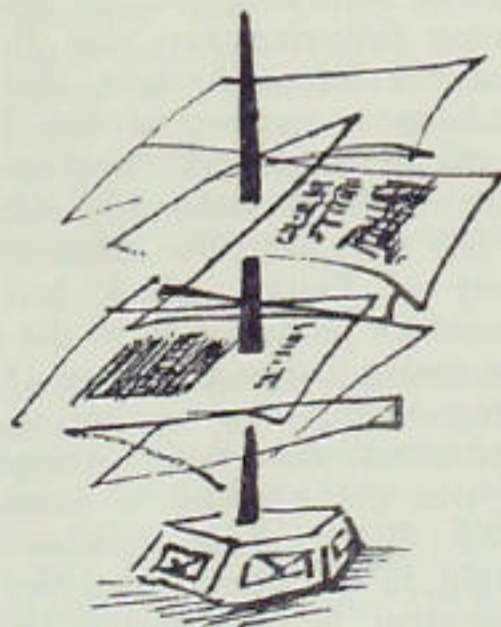
Have you thought of what might happen to you in the event of a war between France and Russia?

I had applied for foreign visas on a number of occasions, including one for Hitlerite Germany, but I have never yet been questioned on such occasions about my private affairs, nor, it is needless to add, had I ever been subjected to such an insolent and stupid interrogation. Nonetheless, I replied calmly. Mr. Gray did not

give me time to reply to his last question, the cynicism of which seemed to embarrass him, and he said, "I see that you don't like these questions." He went on: "We will try to take care of your case. In any case, you defend yourself very well." In the eyes of this narrow-minded creature, I had to defend myself. I was the accused—a friend of the Russians. That was enough.

He kept his word, nonetheless, at least formally, and I was summoned two days later to the consulate. I was received by a young vice-consul, Mr. James A. May, who took up the same investigation, more politely and with more forms. This France-USSR Society really worried them. There was, nevertheless, nothing clandestine about it. I explained that it was only a cultural body under whose auspices lectures were given, films shown, etc. The journal *La Pensée* was of secondary importance and intrigued them less.

I also supplied very detailed information on the purposes of my projected trip to the United States. I laid particular stress on the fact that the vital part was to be my stay at the MacDonald Observatory, where the 82-inch reflector, which was in very great demand, had been reserved for me for the whole of the following January. It was therefore absolutely necessary that I be in Texas at the end of December at the latest in order to enjoy the benefit of the reflector, since on February 1, the apparatus was scheduled to be made available to other astronomers. Mr. May recorded these facts very carefully, and promised a prompt reply.



I waited, but nothing happened. The end of December arrived. All seemed hopeless when, on the 26th of January (i.e., five days before the date on which I was to leave MacDonald Observatory), a letter from Mr. May hypocritically informed me that the visa had been granted and that "in the event that I should wish to visit the United States" I must present myself at the consulate.

It seemed to me very likely that the consulate authorities had decided to refuse me a visa but, being reluctant at that time to do it openly, they granted it under conditions which seemed to them to render the voyage impossible.

Nevertheless, the visa having been granted (at least in my naïveté I believed that it had been), I thought perhaps the trip could be made a bit later. I wrote to Dr. Struve, telling him the news, and he replied to the effect that the voyage could be put off until the following year. He said that he would need several weeks to organize the new plans for the period from July to September.

During this time Mr. May, impatient at the lack of news, called me and told me that if I did not reply to his letter soon I would have to go through the whole process again in order to get a visa. From this I concluded that as of that date, i.e., Friday, March 18, I was in possession of the said visa. I visited Mr. May, who could not hide his surprise in learning of the new arrangements that were being made for my trip.

"I thought," he said, "that you could not go after January."

He pretended nonetheless to be very satisfied with this new arrangement and the interview ended very cordially. Three days later, however, that is, on the following Tuesday afternoon, a special delivery letter arrived, asking me to come to the consulate as soon as possible to discuss my visa.

On the next morning, March 23, I was again ushered into Mr. May's room. In a severe tone, he quickly began to reproach me for "carrying on political activities," and I knew that this time, all was over. Before him lay the October 1948 issue of the monthly periodical *France-USSR*, which had appeared at the time I had made my original application for a visa. In this issue had been reprinted a letter of protest against a particularly unjust and insulting article which *Le Monde* had published at the end of September



against the Soviet Union. My signature was at the bottom of this letter, along with the signatures of about fifty other persons. My signing of this letter was in no way related to the United States, but it was used as the pretext for a new interrogation which revealed once more the mixture of cynicism and naïveté which is characteristic of these strange consular policemen.

Mr. May asked me which newspaper I read, what I thought of the American government, of the Marshall Plan, of the American army, etc. Curious to see just what he was aiming at, I answered him point for point, very frankly, and my replies obviously did not satisfy him. But he refused to tell me that my visa had been cancelled and it was only a month later that his secretary gave me this news on the telephone.

It is thus quite certain that I am one of a category of persons who are undesirable in the United States and, as Mr. Gray revealed to me by his indiscreet and threatening questions, one of a category which should be kept under surveillance. The visa I had been given on the 25th of January was a fictitious visa which he had thought I would not be in a position to use. But, between the 18th and the 23rd of March, poor Mr. May had had to go to the trouble of finding a reason to justify its withdrawal. His performance of this task was pitiable since the reason, obviously valueless, which he finally found should have been invoked much earlier, for example on the 25th of January or following the interview which had taken place the preceding week.

This has been the story of my experiences. It does not affect in any way my friendly sentiments for my American colleagues, whose tireless devotion I cannot praise too much. Nor does it affect my warm feeling for the American people. But it represents nonetheless one of the numerous incidents which contribute to the "deterioration" of the relations between our two countries and it generates unfortunate repercussions. Many much more serious experiences than my own are being added at present. Our two nations must overcome these difficulties and they must strive to realize their common hopes for a peaceful and confident cooperation from which no one will be excluded.

V. JACQUES HADAMARD

Professor Jacques Hadamard of the University of Paris is the dean of contemporary French mathematics. He is a member of the Académie des Sciences.

I APPLIED at the American embassy on March 17 for a visa in order to attend the International Mathematical Congress to be held at Cambridge, Massachusetts, from August 31 to September 6, 1950. The consul whom I saw went in to another office and came back with two rather large cards covered with information concerning me. Of course, I did not know their content, but I could not help being surprised at the fact that the embassy had collected such an amount of data about my activities. Looking at those cards, he asked me:

"Have you been in Poland?" Answer: "No."

"Do you belong to the Communist party?" Answer: "No, I do not belong to any political party whatever."

"But you signed a protest against the condemnation of eleven Communists in New York City and you also signed one against the events in Greece." The answer to both questions was the same: "I have belonged, since 1910, to the Central Committee of the French League for the Rights of Man, which released both resolutions."

Then I was told that the answer concerning my visa would be given to me later. After this, weeks and months elapsed without an answer. This attitude is not very agreeable to a Frenchman who knows that an American citizen needs no visa at all to come to France. The delay was the more surprising because just the morning following my visit to the embassy I informed them that the organizing committee of the International Mathematical Congress had chosen me for its honorary president.

A few days later, the Mathematical Society of France, which had announced its participation in the Congress, seeing that no answer was forthcoming to my visa application, resolved to withdraw their participation if I was not allowed to enter the United States. The decision was brought to the attention of the Administration in Washington on the initiative of the organizing committee.

Nevertheless, the answer was still

delayed—as a matter of fact, for four months. The answer came just *one day* before I had to pay for my berth on the Queen Elizabeth or give it up. I was phoned to come and get the visa, and I had just time to leave the embassy and go to the Cunard Line.

I landed at New York just in time for the Congress, which was a very important one. I shall never forget the moving welcome I received from the large audience of over 2,000 of my American colleagues at the open meeting.

But I had been warned both by the embassy in Paris and on landing at New York that my visa permitted only attendance at the Congress in the city of Cambridge.

Now there arose a question as to lectures in America. I had been asked, a long time before, to deliver three of them, and I had to ask for a new permit in order to be able to keep my word to the inviting universities.

I could not get the permit, in spite of the intervention of our French ambassador in Washington. More exactly, in a fashion remarkably similar to, and even worse than, the way with which my crossing the Atlantic had been handled, this permit came on the exact day when it was too late to reach the universities in question. No reason was given to me for the excessive delay.

VI. J. WYART

Jean Wyart is the leading French mineralogist and crystallographer. He is professor of mineralogy at the University of Paris and vice-president of the International Union of Crystallography.

THE first Congress of the International Union of Crystallography was to take place at Cambridge, Massachusetts, from July 27 to August 4, 1948. I had been officially selected by the Academy of Sciences and by the Office of Cultural Relations of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs to represent France at this Congress.

I already had in my possession all my documents, i.e., passport, air ticket, etc., when I learned with great astonishment that difficulties in obtaining a visa to enter the United States were beginning to arise. In the end my application for a visa was turned down. At that time such refusals were rare, and the action of the U.S. government in refusing to allow me

to enter the United States gave rise to protests, many of them very strong, in France and abroad.

I was personally deeply embarrassed. I have never been interested in politics and have never been a member of any political party. In view of these facts, it is possible that I was being judged guilty of a concern for international cooperation, in which I had always been interested.

I was also greatly astonished since I was on excellent terms with the Office of Cultural Attaché of the American embassy in Paris, with which I had collaborated closely in matters of professional interest to me. Thanks to this office I had obtained for the library of the National Center of Scientific Research all the scientific periodicals which had appeared in the United States during the war. It is of course true that the British Council had done the same thing for us with respect to British periodicals, and the France-USSR Society had supplied us with all the periodical publications of the Soviet Academy of Science.

At the time, the prohibition of my attendance at the Crystallographic Congress certainly had disturbing results for my students and myself. During the four years of the German Occupation we had been deprived of all communication and contact with our American colleagues, and we had much to learn. We are deeply aware of the enormous influence of personal contacts in our kind of work.

Science will cease to exist as soon as scientists are no longer able to communicate their ideas and their results to one another directly and face to face and to discuss those ideas with full freedom. The fact that science has come to play a more and more important social and economic role is not a good reason for supervising scientists and keeping them under strict surveillance.

But if this does happen, then scientific progress will come to a halt. Hence it is desirable that scientific societies in agreement with Unesco should hold their future congresses only in countries which commit themselves to granting visas to all scientists who are officially designated by their governments as participants.

Governments may wish to require that the foreign scientists to whom they grant visas give their word that they will confine themselves, while in the country where the congress is being held, strictly to those matters with which the congress is concerned. This precaution, however, seems to me, to be superfluous.

VII. J. COULOMB

Professor J. Coulomb is director of the Paris Institute of the Physics of the Globe, president of the International Geodetic and Physical Union, and professor of seismology at the University of Paris.

THE story of my application for a visa is very simple. About a year ago I had to travel by air to Martinique and to Guadeloupe, whose observatories are part of the Institute of Physics of Paris. I had to go through New York, and I intended to stop in the United States for a few days in order to visit various colleagues and to see their laboratories. The French government granted me the necessary foreign currency and I applied for a visa.

After the usual formalities, I was received by the vice-consul. He asked me about the Association of Scientific Workers, which was listed on my application for a visa as one of the associations of which I had been or was a member. He then told me that this body was officially regarded as quasi-communist, although certain members were, he knew, neither Communists nor communist sympathizers. In this situation only the Attorney General of the United States would take the responsibility before Congress of granting me a visa. He suggested that a dossier of my case be prepared and sent to Washington, and he warned me that an answer would take a long time.

As I had to perform my duties in the Antilles without delay, I decided not to stop in the United States. I passed through New York in transit without a visa. It was simple enough going, since I did not leave Idlewild Airport. On the return journey I had to travel under surveillance from Newark Airport to Idlewild.

I do not attribute great significance to this affair as far as I personally am concerned. I was able to meet certain of my colleagues whom I wanted to see at the meeting of the International Geodetic and Geophysical Union which was held at Brussels last year. Much more serious, however, are the obstacles which are encountered in the organization of international scientific congresses in the United States. I hope very deeply that it will be possible to reduce some of these obstacles.

★ ★ ★

I am sending you the names of the presidents of the Association of Scientific Workers in the order of their incumbency: J. P. Mathieu (Physics, Sorbonne), Bauer (Physical Chemistry, Sorbonne), myself, Lutaud (Physical Geography, Sorbonne), and Le Grand (Physics, Museum). As to whether certain of them have some sympathy for certain aspects of communism, that is really too subjective and subtle a matter for me to speak

for them. But I am quite certain that none of them is a Communist, a "fellow-traveler," or anti-American. When I was president, the Association of Scientific Workers had some very anti-communist members, particularly in the Geology Division, and I am not aware that they have resigned. It is true that they were in the minority.

There is no difficulty in principle in landing in New York with a passport but without a visa. If one does not have to make a change at airports, then there is no difficulty at all. If one has to change airports, it is done on the responsibility of the airline on which one is travelling. The shift is made in an automobile under escort. A receipt had to be signed for my delivery at the airport to which I was changing. It is disagreeable but not very serious.

As I wrote you, I was able to meet certain of my American colleagues whom I wished to see at the Brussels Congress which came a little after my trip. I regret very much that I was unable to visit their laboratories where I certainly could have learned a great deal. But I regard my own case as much less important than those of my colleagues who have been prevented from attending congresses which are international in their essential character.

VIII.

CHARLES BRUNEAU

Charles Bruneau is an internationally famous philologist. He is professor of the history of the French language at the University of Paris.

I WAS invited by Professor Kurath of the University of Michigan to lecture during the summer session on the study of style and dialects. I accepted the invitation to return to Ann Arbor, where I had previously lectured in 1950.

I have twice been in the United States for substantial periods, once in 1929-30 when I was visiting professor at Bowdoin College and again in 1950 when I was visiting professor at Yale. I had also obtained a transit visa in 1939 to go from Paris to Montreal via New York and once again to return from Montreal to Paris in 1940.

In May 1951, as soon as I found out that my application for a visa was running into difficulties (I did not know anything about the McCarran Act), I asked the American authorities for as prompt a decision as possible since only a month remained until the time of my departure. It was necessary for the director of the summer session at the University of Michigan to take whatever steps were necessary to find a substitute for me in case my application were refused.

The visa was finally granted about two weeks before the end of the summer ses-



sion, when my trip to Ann Arbor was no longer of any interest to the University. I am sorry that the American authorities do not take into account the inconveniences which such delays cause to American universities.

I have no doubt that facts of this sort will seriously damage the exchange of professors between France and the United States. I should add that I do not belong to the Communist party. In view of this fact, the marked distrust which the American authorities have shown toward me has surprised all my French and American colleagues.

IX. EUGENIE COTTON

Madame Eugenie Cotton, widow of the late Aimé Auguste Cotton, who was a member of the Academy, is a research fellow of the French National Center of Scientific Research. She was formally director of the École Normale Supérieure at Sevres and is now its honorary director. Mme. Cotton is the president of the International Democratic Federation of Women.

THE recurrent measures taken to deny visas to European scientists seeking to visit the United States is really damaging to science and to cultural relations generally.

My late husband, Aimé Cotton, who was a member of the Academy of Sciences of Paris, was greatly benefited by his sojourn at the Mount Wilson Observatory in 1910, and the spectograph which he had built in 1916 in a shaft under the great electromagnet of Bellvue was inspired by what he learned at Mount Wilson.

Personally, I would have been happy after the recent war to visit American laboratories devoted to the study of the properties of rubber. During 1942 and 1943 I noticed, in the course of my investigation into the behavior of crystals in a magnetic field, that stretched rubber possesses a strongly magnetic anisotropy, the magnitude of which depends on the state of stretching. I would have liked to see what has been done in the United States on the subject. As a matter of fact, although my reasons for wishing to go to the United States were strictly scientific, I did not apply for a visa because the trip was too expensive.

But in 1946 and again in 1949 I was invited to come to New York and it was then that I planned to take advantage of my stay in the United States in order to enter into contact with those scientists who were interested in magnetic anisotropy.

In 1946 I was invited to attend an International Assembly of Women organized by sponsoring committees of which

Mrs. Roosevelt was chairman. The American consulate in Paris refused to grant me a visa because of my "communistic activities."

I must stress here that I am not a member of any party. Having had the misfortune of seeing my husband arrested twice by the Gestapo when he was seventy-two years of age (together with four other members of the Institute—P. Langevin, G. Borel, Charles Manguin, and L. Lapicque), I resolved to use all my strength in working with women of all parties in France and abroad in order to keep the peace.

Later, on March 25 to 27, 1949, a Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace was held at the Waldorf Astoria in New York. Dr. Linus Pauling was a member of the sponsoring committee of which Dr. Harlow Shapley was chairman. I was invited to this conference together with the poet Paul Eluard and Abbé Boulier. All three of us were refused visas in accordance with the law of October 16, 1918 and its subsequent amendments, and my word was again disregarded when I declared that I was not a Communist party member. Mr. Elie Cartan, a member of the Institute, sent a letter, fruitlessly, to protest this action to the American consulate.

I regard these refusals of visas as profoundly discourteous and regrettable. As former directress of the Ecole Normale Supérieure, I have often looked after American students who had been entrusted to my care and responsibility. No one has exclusive possession of the truth or the right answers in any sphere of life, and arbitrary limitations imposed on cultural and scientific exchange impoverishes humanity.

X. ALFRED KASTLER

Professor Alfred Kastler, an authority on magnetic resonance, is a member of the Faculté des Sciences at the world renowned École Normale Supérieure which is now part of the University of Paris.

I HAVE never been in the United States. However, I planned a visit in 1951, for the following reasons: A former student of mine had been working at Massachusetts Institute of Technology for several years on magnetic resonance in the excited states of atoms. I was interested in the method and in the experimental aspects of the problem, and we had worked in close cooperation for some time. I wanted to join the MIT team, for a few months, to get acquainted with their methods and techniques.

Accordingly, I decided to apply for the Fulbright and Smith-Mundt grants for a period of five months during the spring and summer of 1951. My plans included

visits to several universities and laboratories as well as visits of a less formal character to many of my American friends and colleagues whom I had met in France after 1945 and at international meetings in Europe.

The secretary of the Conference Board of Associated Research Council's Committee on International Exchange of Persons advised me, on July 19, 1950, that my application had been favorably considered and the grant given.

In the meantime I had received a formal invitation from MIT, and I was given the privileges of a visiting scholar for the period May–September, 1951.

Arrangements were subsequently made for me to take part in some of the activities at MIT and at Harvard, and I was invited to give a talk at the Schenectady meeting of the American Physical Society in June 1951. Later on, in September, I was to attend the sessions of the Section of Physical Chemistry at the Jubilee Meeting of the American Chemical Society. I was to take part in the Conference on the Physics of the Upper Atmosphere to be held in London, Canada, in July. Visits to the University of Montreal to see Professor Rouault and to Ottawa to see Professor G. Herzberg of the National Research Council had been arranged for the last weeks preceding my return to France.

The whole project fell through owing to the denial of my application for a non-immigration visa by the American embassy in Paris on May 21, 1951.

I had got in touch with the U. S. embassy in December 1950. I was asked to come back a few weeks before my sailing date and was given a few forms to fill out. I was requested, among other things, to give a complete list of all professional and political associations of which I was, or had been, a member since 1935. (I should point out here that I am writing from memory—I did not keep any copies and did not make any notes about these things at the time.)

A new call at the embassy in April 1951 resulted in new forms to be filled out and more details requested. I was asked to come back a few days later. This call had very little result; they kept my passport, and an appointment was made for me to meet the consul on May 8 or 9.

This particular meeting was supremely unpleasant. I had not expected anything of the sort and was deeply shocked. It is not at all the way in which the questions were asked. All this was done with some tact and even, at times, with some sense of humor, and with the exquisite detachment that a consular official can have when nothing of a personal nature is involved.

It was the fact that questioning of this nature could take place at the hands of the representative of a foreign power; the fact that abundant files seem to exist on a great number of people and about activi-

ties that the French constitution considers legitimate; the fact that foreign scientists coming to France, among them Americans, are not subjected to such treatment and that, in this respect, complete reciprocity, which is essential on all grounds, is not assured.

Here are a few of the questions I was asked:

Have you ever been sent to jail?

Have you ever been in trouble with the law?

What professional associations do you belong to?

Are you a member of a political group?

Have you signed a petition against the Atlantic Alliance?

Have you signed an appeal against the atomic bomb?

Were you ever present at political meetings? Did you take any active part?

What do you think about communism?

In what foreign countries have you traveled in the last few years?

Did you endorse a protest when the director of the French National Center of Scientific Research was dismissed? Why did you sign this protest?

The whole thing took about an hour. At the end, to relieve the tension, I suppose, the consul expressed the belief that I "would not have to wait that long to get permission to go to the United States." (In one of my answers I had mentioned that it took me three years to get a Polish visa in 1949.)

On May 21 I received a letter advising me that I had been found "inadmissible into the United States, under the act of October 16, 1918, as amended, which relates to membership in, or affiliation with, certain totalitarian organizations."

I then took all the necessary measures to have the grants and travel arrangements cancelled and to let my American and Canadian colleagues know about the incident.

In my opinion the "totalitarian organizations" referred to are probably:

a) The French section of the Association of Scientific Workers, founded in France in 1945 after the British section, with the purpose of defending the interests of French scientists.

b) The so-called "Movement of French Scholars against the Threat of a Third World War." I signed the declaration of this association (text below) and became a member in January 1951.

I did not take any of the special steps which are possible to have the Attorney General of the United States take exceptional action to permit my temporary entry into the country because I felt that my motives were being questioned and because I have never felt that exceptions to the law should be made on my behalf. Moreover, I did not want to create unpleasant situations or embarrassment for my American colleagues.

I shall refrain from commenting at length on the consequences of the Mc-

Carran Act or expressing my personal feelings about it. It is a thing Americans, first of all, have to deal with. Let me add, though, that most of the things we could say have already been said by Americans.

A most undesirable aspect of the McCarran Act, should it prevail, will be in

the long run the isolation of Western Europe from scientific exchange and development with America. Since relations with the East are already at a standstill, there is great risk of a situation arising similar to the one I experienced a few years ago in Poland. Who will benefit?

A DECLARATION BY FRENCH MEMBERS OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION IN VIEW OF THE MENACE OF A NEW WORLD WAR

Reprinted below is the Declaration, together with its covering letter, of the Movement of French Scholars against the Threat of a Third World War, which has seemed to figure importantly in the decisions of the American State Department to deny a visa to Professor Kastler and others. Professor Kastler believes that readers of the Bulletin will be interested in learning at first hand the nature of the text of this Declaration.

HAVING learnt by the painful experience of two world wars—which is a superabundant proof—that an armaments race always ends in war;

Appalled as men and patriots at the idea that the progress of science would render particularly atrocious the ills born of a war which, in point of fact, could by no means be humanized, and that our country, at all events, because of its strategic situation might be wiped off the face of the earth as a consequence of a war that would turn it into a field of battle and ruins;

Aware of the responsibility that rests upon us who are entrusted with the spreading of knowledge, while the finest discoveries of science are being used for the destruction of mankind;

Seeing that the part we play as educators is becoming purposeless in view of the threat of a world war and that we are giving way to despair at the idea that the youth to whom we impart culture might be doomed to wholesale slaughter;

Convinced, however, that war is neither inevitable nor necessary and that there is at present no task more noble than to make every possible effort to prevent it;

Resolved to remain faithful to our old and proud humanistic tradition, we will not remain idle in the face of the startling catastrophe that is threatening every single human being without any exception, and in the hope of saving our country and the forms of civilization to which we are attached, we consider it our duty to make the following declaration in the face of the French public opinion and in the face of the world, and we ask members of the teaching profession in all countries to circulate it, urging them to gather round it or round similar ones:

We, members of the Teaching Profession in France,

Believe that different economic and social systems, particularly those with a socialistic or capitalistic economy, can co-exist peacefully and we consider that peaceful competition alone enables peoples to judge these regimes objectively:

We claim the liberty for every people to choose their own regime and we condemn any armed intervention in their internal affairs.

We proclaim our loyalty to UNO and we believe that any difference arising between nations can be settled peacefully.

We denounce as illusive any view according to which the rearmament of any part of Germany might be a substantial and lasting contribution to the restoration of peaceful relations between peoples.

We vigorously condemn any propaganda in favor of wars of aggression and particularly any propaganda in favor of a preventive war.

As a consequence, we ask for:

—the immediate cessation of all military operations now in progress and the peaceful settlement, within the framework and in accordance with the spirit of the United Nations Charter, of all existing conflicts and of any that might arise;

—a disarmament that should be directed against every kind of weapon, applied everywhere and permanently controlled in every country; a disarmament that would at last enable the various countries to devote their resources to works of peace and to public education in particular;

—the immediate opening, on the initiative of France, of general negotiations preceded with a preliminary conference of the greater powers with a view to universal disarmament, which necessarily implies that no part of Germany shall be armed;

—the intensifying of cultural and economic relations between countries different in social structure, and the revival of

the international liberty to travel and to circulate writings, in order to facilitate the disarmament of spirits through mutual understanding.

—the planning of a campaign among the youth of all countries, to denounce unwearingly the horror and inutility of a new world war and to fight against the fatalistic acceptance of war.

January 1951

DEAR COLLEAGUES,

The text that we have the honor of sending you herewith has been approved by a very large section of the French teachers (Professors; secondary, elementary, or technical school-teachers).

We fear that we should needlessly importune you if we went into the detailed history of our movement. Anxious to avoid any possible misinterpretation we shall however point out that it sprang in October and November 1950 from the spontaneous initiative taken in several Parisian lycées by colleagues supporting or sympathetic to all kinds of opinions, parties, or trade-unions, who were brought together by their common concern at the increasing peril and by a desire to contrast the thoughts born of that concern. This implies that our movement is absolutely independent and that it neither is affiliated nor owes allegiance to any organization whatsoever. It is our present wish that we might give it, as far as possible, a wide international scope.

Appealing today to our foreign colleagues, as we did yesterday to our French colleagues (who have answered our appeal in such numbers), we confidently rely upon their vigilant sense of the special duties that educators of all lands should fulfill when confronted by the threats that are hanging over man and peace.

We do not ask you in the least to do what we have strictly refrained from doing, *i.e.*, to form a judgment (always liable to be narrow, incomplete, even one-sided) on the responsibilities that peoples and their governments may have shared in an evolution of international relations that has culminated in the present situation.

We just ask you to realize this situation with ourselves and to devise the means to face it with us. No one can deny that it is characterized by a violence which has already broken loose in several parts of the world and which may eventually extend its dominion over the whole world. And if it is true to say that physical violence always goes along with an inner violence most deeply set in our soul and today takes its source, poisoned moreover by all the propagandas of hatred, in the misunderstanding and intolerance of peoples towards structures and institutions that are not theirs, you will undoubtedly admit as we do that there is no task more necessary or more urgent than to work, according to our means,

but with all our strength, for the pacification of spirits.

Such are the outlines of the joint action that we suggest on the basis of the text that we are submitting you. It goes without saying that our aim to develop our movement on an international scale precludes any dogmatic adherence to the letter and to every detail of the present text: the help that we solicit from you requires the mere acceptance of its principles and spirit.

As a consequence *we ask you to set up, on the basis of our Declaration, a national committee that should get into touch with us in order to prepare International Sitzings.*

During these International Sitzings the different national viewpoints will be fully and freely contrasted and agreement reached on the final drafting of a teacher's doctrine and policy for the maintenance of peace.

We thank you in advance for the trouble you will take to read this circular and the text of our appeal, to call attention to and diffuse them as widely as you can among all the teachers of your own country, and to help to gather in a group all those who, sympathizing with our effort, may further it.

Our mail address is

Monsieur POUGET
Professor au Lycée Buffon
16 Boulevard Pasteur
Paris XV, France

XI. CHARLES SADRON

Professor Charles Sadron is professor of physics at the University of Strasbourg and director of the Centre d'Études de Physique Macromoléculaire of the Institut de Physique at that University.

THE International Union of Pure and Applied Chemistry held its 12th Congress at Washington and New York from the 10th to the 13th of September, 1951. As I am a member of the Committee on Macromolecular Chemistry of the Union, I naturally had to attend. I was furthermore, with about ten of my colleagues, designated by our Academy of Science to be one of the members of the official French delegation.

It was under these auspices that my visa was applied for, together with those of the other French delegates, at the American embassy in Paris. The embassy, however, informed us that we must apply for visas in our purely personal capacities at the American consulates in the cities in which we lived.

Hence, on the 11th of May, 1952, I requested the American consul at Stras-

bourg to grant me a visa so that I could attend our Congress.

The consul replied, requesting me to fill out an official form, which I did at once. This form contained a great number of questions, certain of which were intended to determine my identity and my activities during the war. It included, among others, two additional questions which events were to show were fundamental. The first related to groups and associations, political and nonpolitical, to which I then belonged or to which I had belonged in the past. The second required me to state in precise terms the purposes of these organizations.

I answered these questions frankly, indicating that I was a member of the Union of Higher Education, a member of the League for the Defense of the Rights of Man and Citizen, and finally a member of the Peace Movement. I added that, in my view, the aims of these associations were respectively to protect my profession, my personal liberty, and the independence of my country.

Some days later I was invited to come to the American consulate, where I was received by a courteous and friendly young secretary. After asking me for a certain number of supplementary details to establish my identity, he immediately began the important part of the discussion by saying that, having signed the Stockholm Appeal and by belonging to the associations that I had mentioned in writing, it was obvious that I must harbor the most violently anti-American sentiments.

I can tell you that it was at that moment that I became clearly aware of a misunderstanding. It seemed obvious that this young American official, who spoke French fluently and was well-informed about French political life, felt that I could not belong to these associations which disapproved of the policies of my own government without at the same time being hostile to the Americans.

The fact that I had spent eighteen months in an American scientific organization, eighteen months which I regard as the happiest of my life, the fact that I have had friends in the United States for more than twenty years, the fact that I have maintained with my American colleagues relations with a cordiality which goes beyond the purely scientific level and finally the fact that in the same month that I requested my visa, I was visited in the most friendly fashion by four or five American university scientists and by the same number of American businessmen who had come to ask me, among other things, to send my students to work for them, all this seemed of no importance whatsoever.

It seemed much more important to learn what my opinions might be, probably in order to put me into some definite administrative category. This was clear from the conversation which followed and which I think would be superfluous to summarize here.

In order to simplify matters for my interrogator, I asked him to be kind enough to record the following declaration:

I am not and never have been a member of the Communist party.

I do not desire the entry into power of a communist government in France.

I am in no way an enemy of the American people.

I am entirely in disagreement—as is my right as a citizen in a democracy—with the policy of the French government.

This declaration marked the end of the interview. The secretary at the consulate took leave of me in a very pleasant manner, but he explained that my case was a difficult one and that for its solution it would be necessary to have a decision from the State Department in Washington. Since I stressed the necessity, in view of my situation, of knowing as soon as possible whether the visa was granted in order to be able to make the necessary arrangements for the trip, he told me that it would be done as quickly as possible.

Two weeks later, having heard nothing, I asked at the consulate whether there was any news about my case. Nothing was forthcoming. I did not insist, especially since my declining health made me think that it might not be possible for me to make the trip even if I were permitted to do so.

Since then I have heard nothing. I have not had the honor of any official reply, not even of a refusal. It seems as though my request for a visa has been regarded as nonexistent.

These are the facts in summary form. I am sorry to have had to enter into certain aspects of my political views, but it is essential that you should know about them since it is political opinion rather than moral or scientific reputation which determines whether or not one can obtain permission to visit the United States.

Since you have asked me about the effects of this experience on my attitudes and opinions, I will say the following:

1. I fail to understand, first of all, why I have heard nothing from the consulate. I try to understand why they have not even taken the trouble to answer me. Since I was officially designated as a delegate by our highest national scientific body, I leave you to infer what an impression such lighthearted and irresponsible behavior makes on me.

2. I cannot understand why, if the International Union of Pure and Applied Chemistry was authorized by the American government to hold an international congress in America, certain officials of this Union should be officially prevented from carrying out their official obligations. It seems to me that it would have been proper for the American government to have notified the secretariat of the Union in advance that delegates would not be admitted if their political opinions were not acceptable to the Department of State.

It is true that it would be difficult to

take such an official position since, I have been told, a full Czechoslovak delegation was able to attend the conference and it is reasonable to believe that the political opinions of our Czechoslovak colleagues are much more subversive than my own.

3. I am forced to ask myself why a French citizen, who has always behaved like a true democrat, who has fought honorably and suffered for the liberation of his country during the German Occupation, and who survived the rigors of German concentration camps should be deemed an undesirable as far as American democracy is concerned.

Needless to say, I have not found a satisfactory answer to this question. On the contrary, I am more and more uneasy. It is impossible, especially after the intense investigation which must have been made of my affairs, that I should be considered capable of being a spy in Bolshevik pay and ready to take advantage of the opportunity presented by the meetings of the International Chemical Union to do harm to the domestic and foreign security of the United States.

The only alternative then is to conclude that my opinions—or rather those which the consular officers attribute to me—constitute such a grave danger to American democracy that I may not be admitted into the country. It is as if I were a carrier of infectious germs.

As far as I personally am concerned, this is absurd. But my personal fortune is not so serious a matter. From a more serious point of view, it is very disquieting.

The McCarran Act lowers an iron curtain on the United States. I think it is

unnecessary to insist here on the disquiet which the existence of the Soviet iron curtain causes in order to describe the disquiet which an American iron curtain can cause us.

I should add that I have been greatly comforted by the decision of the Committee on Macromolecular Chemistry, taken at the congress which I could not attend, to confer upon me the honor of organizing an International Conference on Macromolecules at Strasbourg. This is precious evidence that American scientists are not yet ready to allow democracy to die.

There is no doubt in my mind that, if it were not for the signs of personal friendliness and solidarity which American scientists show for their European colleagues, European scientific opinion would be much more severe even than it is at present toward American administrative procedures. It is moreover very clear that it will be difficult in the future to imagine an international congress taking place in America.

For my own part, with some pain, I believe that it will no longer be possible for me to visit the United States in the future, since I do not wish to submit again to the humiliation imposed by the officials of the Department of State.

Everything that is conducive to mutual understanding among men interests us not only from a purely intellectual and theoretical viewpoint. Please do not forget that we are aware in this corner of Europe that what is at stake is our lives, the lives of our wives and children, and the survival of France itself on the map of the world.

The Council of the American Association for the Advancement of Science is profoundly disturbed over the present world conditions which so severely impede the free interchange of knowledge even among friendly nations. Danger to the future of our nation is implicit in such restrictions.

The Council recognizes the need for measures which will effectively safeguard our security, but expresses its troubled concern over the manner in which such measures, in particular the McCarran Act, are being administered, to prohibit American citizens from coming here to interchange knowledge of science which does not affect security.

The Council strongly urges that the administrative procedures under the McCarran Act be reviewed and modified so as to minimize injustices and to increase both our internal strength and our prestige abroad.

The Council further urges revision and improvement of the relevant portions of the Act, to retain the objectives of necessary security, but with adequate provisions to maintain free interchange of knowledge that has no security implications.

—RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT AAAS COUNCIL MEETINGS
Philadelphia, Pa., December 27-29, 1951

XII. GEORGES FRIEDMANN

*Professor Georges Friedmann is professor of history of technology at the École des Arts et Métiers in Paris and is one of the leading industrial sociologists in the world. He has done more than any other European scholar to make European industrialists aware of American ideas in the study of the social aspects of industry. His last major work, *Où va le travail humain*, contains a long and sympathetic account of the social aspects of American industry based on his intimate observation of American factories and his wide knowledge of American culture.*

PROFESSOR Friedmann was invited in the name of the American Council of Learned Societies, by a letter dated March 14, 1951 and signed by Mr. Charles E. Odegaard, executive director of that body, to participate in the Corning International Conference, sponsored by the Corning Glass Company, to be held from the 17th to the 19th of May. All expenses were to be paid by the sponsors. He was to depart by air on May 15.

He began his application for a visa on April 2. He was received first by the consul general of the United States, Mr. Gray, and then by the consul, Mr. Clyde Larkin.

He was called to the consulate only on May 7. At that time detailed notes were made on his application and several series of finger prints were taken. Then Professor Friedmann was told that he would be seen by a vice-consul, Mr. Converse Hettinger, who was in charge of his case.

On the 9th of May he was received by Mr. Hettinger. It was a long meeting, lasting two hours. The interrogation was unpleasant from every point of view. It took place in a small room where there was constant interruption by telephone calls and by the coming and going of secretaries.

Professor Friedmann had to give details of all his travels since he was ten years of age, all the associations, athletic, cultural, scientific, trade union, etc., of which he had ever been a member, regardless of their nature, the development of his political and social opinions since his youth, etc. He was asked questions such as: "Are you a proponent of the violent overthrow of the high officials?" Mr. Hettinger was only moderately at home in the French language and it is likely that certain of the information given him by Professor Friedmann was misunderstood and resulted in errors in the dossier.

At the conclusion of the interrogation Professor Friedmann was informed that his case could not be cleared up in time for his departure on May 15.

The Office of the Director of Cultural Relations of the French Foreign Office got into contact with the cultural attaché of the American embassy. On the same day, the Minister of National Education had a personal letter delivered to the ambassador of the United States declaring himself a guarantor on behalf of Professor Friedmann. Nevertheless, on the 11th of May, Professor Friedmann was telephoned by the consul general, Mr. Gray, who informed him that the visa had been refused. Mr. Gray proposed that Professor Friedmann have recourse to the Attorney General of the United States Department of Justice in Washington.

From information obtained subsequently, it seems that the ambassador and the Cultural Relations Section of the embassy were inclined to grant the visa, but that the consulate thought that Professor Friedmann came under the provisions of the McCarran Act.

Professor Friedmann did not think that he should become involved in an appeal to the Department of Justice in order to be placed on the "list of exceptions." At the same time, he requested that his case be reconsidered by the American authorities in order that he should, if he wished, be able to accept new invitations which might come to him from the United States.

During his student years, Professor Friedmann, who is a graduate of the Ecole Normale Supérieure, where he took the highest honors in philosophy, was completely inactive politically.

From 1930 to 1936 he did take an active interest in Marxism and in the educational and industrial development of the Soviet Union. In 1932 he received from Mr. Bonglé, then director of the École Normale Supérieure, a fellowship to conduct investigations in the Soviet Union. His first trip to Russia took place in the summer of 1932. He went there twice more, in 1933 and 1936. Each of these three trips lasted from six weeks to two months.

Professor Friedmann has never been a member of the Communist party. Dur-



ing the period 1930 to 1936 he was a member of a variety of groups of Marxist and pro-Soviet tendencies, such as the "New Russia Circle," which included as members many non-Communist figures in the world of arts, literature, and science. He also at this time contributed articles to publications of the same political tendency.

Professor Friedmann's third trip to Soviet Russia marked the turning point in his attitude. Ever since his second trip he had been disillusioned by the trend of the USSR toward the personal dictatorship of Stalin and toward the formation of a new privileged class. He recorded his observations in a work written in 1937 and published in March 1938, *From Holy Russia to the USSR*. This book, and in particular the chapter devoted to Stalin and entitled "The Cult of the Chief," was very violently attacked by the Communists (for example in G. Politzer's article in *Cahiers au Bolchevisme* May-June 1938, and *L'Humanité*, July 3rd and 4th, 1938). This campaign definitely marked Professor Friedmann's complete break with the Communists.

In August 1939 Professor Friedmann was mobilized as lieutenant of the reserve and fought in the Battle of France. He was demobilized in August 1940 and entered immediately into contact with the earliest underground resistance groups against the Nazis, the Hault-Vildé Network of the Free French Forces. He was one of the promoters of the combat group in the southern zone and he contributed to the underground resistance press. He was a member of the Commissariat of the Republic in the Toulouse region. Selected by the Committee of National Liberation, he was, after the liberation, in charge of the committee responsible for the general affairs of this region. He was recalled to Paris in December 1944 by the Minister of National Education to be made Inspector-General of Technical Education, and was decorated for his activity from 1940-1944 with the Medal of Resistance "with the rosette."

Since 1945 Professor Friedmann has devoted himself entirely to his scientific and university work. He did not sign the Stockholm Appeal or any other manifesto. One half of the book which he published in February 1951, *Où va le travail humain*, dealt with the United States and recorded his observations and interpretations made during his American trip in 1948. There is no trace whatever of any ideological or political partisanship in this book.

French Physicists and U.S. Visas

M. LOUIS LEPRINCE RINGUET

M. Louis Leprince Ringuet is a distinguished French physicist who is famous for his work in cosmic rays. He is a member of the French Académie des Sciences, director of the Refuge Laboratoire des Bossons, and a professor at l'École Polytechnique, Paris.

FOR the past months the requests for visas to go to the United States made by French physicists have not been granted in a reasonable length of time, that is, in a time compatible with a schedule organized reasonably in advance.

Thus, a French physicist planning to go to a scientific congress in the United States, which meets at a specific date, starts making preparations several months ahead and requests a visa, reserves a place on a boat, and makes all the necessary arrangements, but his visa does not arrive on time, and he must cancel everything.

Another example: A physicist is invited to visit an American university for several months or a year; this visit can occur conveniently at one particular time determined by the various commitments imposed by the work or teaching in France and also by the nature of the academic year in the United States. The visa does not arrive, although requested some months ahead.

Hence, many French physicists who would like to have contact with their colleagues in the United States are no longer willing to make the request, since the resulting formalities will complicate their lives with a problematical result for the desired date.

We are often ignorant, moreover, of the reasons for these delays; in general they are not indicated to us. If it were a question of a very long delay, but a sure outcome, one could, if absolutely necessary, take the appropriate measures despite the difficulties of planning a very long time ahead.

But this is not the case: Conversations with the American officials often raise hopes that visas will be granted after a short period, and this impression is repeated at each request

for a complete inquiry. The result is quite disagreeable, and the applicant has the real feeling of being a suspect who is put off from week to week; the more so because he receives a long interrogation as if before a police magistrate. This state of affairs seriously impedes the possibilities of contact with scholars in the United States and is most detrimental to science.

Some Other European Experiences

I. BRUNO FERRETTI

Professor Bruno Ferretti, a member of the Marconi Institute of Physics in Rome, is a leading Italian theoretical physicist.

I HAD been invited in December 1950 to come to the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton for the academic year 1951-52. I was of course very pleased to have such an opportunity, and was looking forward to my stay in Princeton as a good chance for devoting myself exclusively to research work for a long period. This is impossible for me in my own country because of my teaching duties and academic engagements. In addition, as I am presently doing research on problems connected with electrodynamics, the prospect of talking with many physicists now living in the United States and working in the same field was extremely important to me.

I therefore answered affirmatively

One can specify that among the well-known physicists the Professors Jean Lecompte (infrared), Kastler (magnetic resonance), and Mademoiselle Perey (discoverer of Francium) were not able to go to the United States last year. It seems, in particular, that the fact of membership in the Association des Travailleurs Scientifique is a serious obstacle; but I can say that the very great majority of French physicists belong to this group, quite irrespective of their political opinions.

Lastly, the multiplicity of instances of delay produces a deplorable effect on French opinion: There is talk of it in the newspapers, and the substance of the comments can only be injurious to the opinion that the great majority of French people hold of American democracy. I have even had occasion to see the expression "Iron Curtain of the West" quite widely applied to the United States, although "semi-permeable wall" might be more appropriate when speaking of physicists.

the very kind offer of Professor Oppenheimer and applied on December 28, 1950, for a grant under the Fulbright Act for my travel expenses. I was advised by the Fulbright office in Rome to apply for the visa in March 1951. My departure being fixed for six months later, it was considered that this was sufficient time in which to get it. Following their advice, my first visit to the American embassy in Rome was on March 4, 1951. I asked for a visitor's visa for myself, my wife, and my children, and felt rather optimistic about getting it, as I could not see any difficulty.

In the meantime, the Institute for Advanced Study was designated by the Department of State as a sponsor of the Exchange-Visitor Program, and I was advised by the Institute to apply for this kind of visa if I had difficulties with the visitor's visa. I notified the American consul in Rome of this. The answer I got from him was that my application was still under consideration.

The consular office confirmed my opinion that it seemed sensible to make reservations on a ship in order to be able to arrive at Princeton by October 1. In May 1951 I obtained five reservations on the "Atlantic" sailing from Naples on September 17th. It was already too late to find space on a better or a quicker ship.

In July 1951, when I still had not received the visa, I told the American consul that I was willing to defray the expenses of a cable in order to have all information concerning my visa sent to Washington as quickly as possible.

On September 3, 1951, I was still told that perhaps the visa would arrive in time. But on September 5th they advised me at the consulate to cancel my reservations on the ship since it was unlikely that my visa could arrive before September 15th. In order to cancel the reservations I had to pay about \$100, which is a large sum for an Italian professor.

I was never given a reason for the delay of my visa, but I was always told that in my case there were no special difficulties.

Now, in June 1952, I am again being told that the thing is still going on, without special difficulties having thus far been encountered by the authorities. *Fourteen months have elapsed since my first application was made.*

I sincerely confess that I cannot understand why it is so difficult for me to get an American visa. There are no special political reasons since I do not belong to any political party. I am a member only of the Federal Europe Movement, an organization to which people of every party, or of no party at all, belong, with the exception only of Fascists and Communists. On the other hand, everyone sees that general questions on quantum electrodynamics are hardly dangerous for the security of any country.

The delay in obtaining a visa has caused many difficulties: (1) Another physicist had been called here from abroad in order to replace me during my stay in the United States, with a considerable financial effort for the Italian organizations involved; (2) I have incurred financial losses, in addition to the loss for the reservation on the ship, due to the fact that I had given up some engagements, thinking I would be in the United States this year; (3) My research work has been slowed down because of the change in plans necessitated by the visa difficulties.

In view of this experience I will never be able to make any definite plan for coming to the United States without being assured beforehand that I will receive the visa on time.

II. F. E. BORGNIS

Dr. F. E. Borgnis is a member of the staff of the former Edgenossische Technische Hochschule of Zurich. He is at present research associate in the Norman Budge Laboratory of Physics, California Institute of Technology. It will be noted that he experienced a delay of eight months during the relatively happy pre-McCarran-Act days, and there was apparently no question of his having been suspected of subversive inclinations.

IN September 1949 I was asked by Professor W. G. Cady, director of an ONR project at Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut, to join his group in its research work. At this time I was connected with the Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich, Switzerland.

Since I desired to get acquainted personally with American research and with American university life and since it was comparatively easy for me at that time to arrange for a leave of absence from the Federal Institute, I informed Dr. Cady in September 1949, that I was ready to accept his offer and to come to the United States as soon as I secured my visa to enter the country.

Therefore, at the end of September 1949, I called at the American consulate general in Zurich in order to apply for the visa. After having explained my case, referring to the correspondence with Dr. Cady, I was told that I must apply for an immigration visa in order to be permitted to work in the United States since it would be against the law to accept work under a visitor's visa. I was also informed that I had to deposit a sum of approximately \$6,000 in order to prove that I would not become a public charge in the United States.

I submitted an application of registration and was told to wait until further notice. Some time later I received a form asking me for a set of pertinent documents, such as birth certificate, police records, statements concerning my connection with the

Federal Institute, and so on, which I submitted to the consulate without delay.

In the meantime a letter was sent by Dr. Cady to the U.S. consul general in Zurich explaining my case and asking for the granting of the visa as soon as possible.

On December 14, 1949, I was informed by the consulate that I could enter the United States either on a quota number or under special non-quota provisions. In the first case I would have to wait probably for several years because, although a Swiss citizen, I was born in Germany and the German quota was oversubscribed. In the second case I would have to prove that I could comply with the special provisions for a nonquota visa.

I immediately informed Dr. Cady about this request and asked for a statement of my duties at Wesleyan University. This statement was sent promptly by the president's office to the consul general in Zurich.

On January 12, 1950, I was invited to call at the consulate and on January 13 I had a conversation with a consular official. I was informed that the statement of the University was not regarded as sufficient to grant me a nonquota visa because my main duties there were to be connected with research work and not with teaching.

However, I was told at this time that the consul would now agree to grant me a visitor's visa which would enable me to do the research work in question. Still, it was added that my case had to be submitted first to the State Department in Washington, and I was asked for a statement concerning my professional background and experience, which I submitted the following day.

On March 14, 1950, Dr. Cady received an application form from the State Department concerning the issuance of an exchange-visitor's visa to me. A letter from Dr. Cady with the statement that such an application had been promptly sent by him to Washington was forwarded by me to the consul general in Zurich.

On May 22, 1950, I received by telephone a summons to appear before the American consul as quickly as possible in order to obtain my visa.

On May 23, 1950, I received a non-immigration visa for single entry. On June 22, 1950, I embarked, and arrived in New York on June 29, 1950.

I may add that in all my conversations with the consulate in Zurich I was treated with perfect courtesy.

III. M. MINNAERT

M. Minnaert is professor of astronomy at the University of Utrecht, Holland.

I FEEL more or less embarrassed in complying with the request to report the difficulties that I recently experienced in connection with a visit to the United States. Though the reader is, of course, only interested in the main line of the story, I still shall be obliged to give a rather detailed account of the facts because I wish to avoid a personal and perhaps unjust interpretation.

It will be seen that two questions are involved which are probably connected with each other: the question of a Fulbright travel grant and that of the visa for the United States.

January 1951.—In the beginning of the year I received an invitation from Dr. Goldberg to come to the United States to give a series of lectures at the summer school of the Observatory of Michigan; from Dr. Bowen, to stay some weeks at the Mount Wilson Observatory for research and for scientific discussions; from Dr. Greenstein, to give a course of solar physics at the California Institute of Technology. This visit would also have given me the opportunity to be present at the meeting of the Astronomical Society of the Pacific, where the Catherine Wolfe Bruce Gold Medal would be presented to me. Finally, this would have been an opportunity to discuss with Mrs. Sitterly and Dr. Babcock several important questions concerning a joint program on Fraunhofer lines, which we have been carrying out in the past few years and about which personal contact was much needed. To my regret, I could not make available more than three months for this stay in the United States. I should have to sail about July 15, and in no event later than July 24.

February.—In order to cover the costs of ship and railway, I applied for a Fulbright travel grant via the U. S. Educational Foundation in The Netherlands, at The Hague. After a considerable delay, due to numerous formalities and misunderstandings, I was informed on May 18 that my application had come in rather late but that full attention would be given to it nevertheless and that the Foundation would do its best to expedite the procedure.

June 17.—In the meantime I applied for a visa at the U. S. consulate

in Amsterdam, where I was courteously received. I informed the vice-consul that I had to sail about July 15 and that the possibility of the voyage depended on the Fulbright grant.

July 3.—I obtained the visa, about two weeks after my request and without difficulties.

July 14.—Time was now pressing. At my telephone request, the Educational Foundation at The Hague answered that there was no news about the Fulbright fellowship and that they were still unable to give me a decision.

July 17.—About the same time, after some long distance calls to Washington, Dr. Goldberg was able to reach the State Department and was informed that The Hague Fulbright Foundation office had not endorsed my application. The Department was surprised that I had not been notified and promised that they would directly cable the U. S. embassy in The Hague to ask for explanation. Dr. Goldberg wired this to me. I immediately asked the Foundation at The Hague, which told me that my application had been sent to Washington on May 22, duly approved by the screening committee in Holland.

Quite remarkably, the same day the U. S. consulate at Amsterdam informed me by telephone that something was not quite right with the visa which I had received two weeks earlier and requested me to come to the consulate again and to bring my passport with me. This I did, delivering my passport to the vice-consul.



July 19.—Dr. Goldberg, with the energy of decision and the generosity which are his, cabled that the University of Michigan offered an additional grant for the necessary travel expenses. I telephone the U. S. consulate in Amsterdam and explained that now my voyage was assured, provided the visa were definitely granted. A decision was necessary, since the last ship was to leave Antwerp four days later, and since I had to book a cabin, draw money from the bank, etc.

The vice-consul replied that he could not tell whether I would get

the visa at all, nor when there would be a decision, nor could he tell why there was a delay. I asked frankly whether my political opinions were suspect and offered to give additional information; but he told me this was of no use. The situation in my opinion was now sufficiently clear. I told him that I decided to give up the voyage, that I would report the events to my American colleagues, and I asked him to send back my passport.

July 20.—The consul general returned the passport with the cancelled visa and informed me that I could call again at the consulate if I wished to proceed with my application for a visa.

August 6.—The Educational Foundation at The Hague informed me that they had received a communication from the State Department to the effect that I had not been selected for a Fulbright travel grant.

I have simply tried to report the facts. I leave it to the reader to picture the mental strain I have been under during these weeks in which I had also to prepare the lectures which I intended to give, to plan the work at my institute for the months of my absence, and to make travel preparations. That I persisted up to the very last day to do everything possible was simply due to my feeling of obligation toward my American colleagues.

I also leave it to the reader to give an explanation of these events. I have never been a member of the Communist party nor a Communist. I have visited the United States twice before, in 1932 and in 1946. Apparently something must have occurred afterwards which changed their attitude toward me.

Personally, I have the following hypothesis: It may be remembered that the International Astronomical Union had accepted the invitation of the Soviet Union for a meeting in Leningrad in 1951, official assurance having been given that astronomers of all nations would be welcome. However, at the end of 1950 the executive council changed its mind and did not dare take the risk of holding such a meeting in Leningrad. This decision was deeply regretted by many members of the Union. Several of them expressed their regret in a very mild and polite letter to the executive council, which letter was published. I was one of these who signed.

(Continued on inside back cover)

The Treatment of Good Neighbors

I. MANUEL SANDOVAL VALLARTA

Dr. Manuel Sandoval Vallarta, Director of the National Institute of Scientific Research of Mexico, is the leading Mexican physicist. He was the Mexican representative in the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission where he played an important role as a physicist-statesman in the adoption of the UNAEC majority report. In the following letter to Professor V. F. Weisskopf he describes the incidents which caused the Mexican delegation to refuse to attend the 1951 meeting of the American Physical Society. The detailed statements of Dr. Oyarzabal and Dr. Moshinsky are printed on page 251.

THE following resumé is submitted of the events leading up to our trouble about attending the meeting of the American Physical Society in Houston last November.

I was invited by the Society to deliver a lecture at the meeting and to be one of the after-dinner speakers at the banquet. Further, I was asked to choose among my students and collaborators a few who had papers ready for presentation. Upon inquiry it turned out that three of them, all members of the Society, had papers ready, so titles and abstracts were sent in due time and printed in the *APS Bulletin* of November 30, 1951, as follows: "On the Anomalous Magnetic Moments of Nucleons," by Fernando E. Prieto; "Time Dependent Description of Resonance Reactions," by Marcos Moshinsky; "Fourth-Order Effects in Vacuum Polarization," by Juan de Oyarzabal; "The Energy Spectrum of Primary Cosmic Radiation as Determined from Neutron Intensities," by myself. The title of my invited paper was "Recent Research in Cosmic-Radiation and Radio Waves Emitted by the Sun."

Of the four of us who prepared to attend the Houston meeting, two, Oyarzabal and Moshinsky, were unable to get their travel visas at the U. S. embassy here. Upon learning of this, the third, Prieto, who had obtained his without difficulty, made up his mind that he would not go without his friends and colleagues. For my part, I felt very strongly that I could not leave all three of them behind and go all by myself, particularly because

all three of them are working with me and I know nothing derogatory of them.

So far as I know, their cases are as follows:

1. Juan de Oyarzabal, a Spaniard by birth and a naturalized Mexican citizen for about ten years, was a naval officer during the Spanish civil war. As you may remember, the Spanish fleet remained loyal to the Republic during the war and so did he. At the end of the war the fleet surrendered to the French at Bizerte and the crews were interned at a concentration camp in Southern Tunisia, he with them. His aunt, Mrs. Isabel de Palencia, was at that time the Spanish Republic's ambassador to Sweden and she prevailed on the Swedish Prime Minister to do what he could with the French Government to secure her nephew's release.

In the summer of 1939, Oyarzabal was freed and proceeded by way of France and Denmark to Sweden, and thence to Mexico by way of the United States. He has lived here since and, except for an Association of Former Spanish Combatants, which was reported to be infiltrated with Communists and to which he belonged for a time just after he came to Mexico, he has not been affiliated with left-wing organizations of any kind, political or otherwise, has not attended any peace congress or signed any peace declarations.

He has worked with me in cosmic rays and quantum electrodynamics since 1944. When he applied for his

visa, he was asked the purpose of his trip. When he answered that he was attending a meeting of the Society, the next question was whether he had anything to do with nuclear physics. Upon his affirmative answer the visa was denied.

2. Marcos Moshinsky, a Ukrainian by birth and a naturalized Mexican citizen, came to Mexico at the age of three together with his parents, more than 25 years ago. His father's relatives had had to flee because of the revolution of 1917 and his mother's became lost during the German invasion in 1941, so that he and his family have no relatives at all left in Ukraine.

He held a State Department fellowship in Princeton for three years and got his doctor's degree in physics with Wigner, who knows him quite well. He was there again early in 1949. He has never had anything to do with left-wing organizations of any kind whatever, political or otherwise. The rest of his story is identical with Oyarzabal's, except that he started doing research with me in July, 1951.

3. Fernando E. Prieto, a Mexican citizen by birth, was not asked any questions similar to those mentioned in the two cases above when he applied for his travel papers at the U. S. embassy here. He obtained his visa without any difficulty.

As soon as the denial of the two visas became known to me I took up the cases, unofficially and off the record, with the proper officials at the U. S. embassy here and was assured that everything would be done to straighten them out. At all times I was treated with the greatest courtesy and friendship. In a few days I learned through a telephone call from the embassy that Moshinsky would be granted his visa, but that Oyarzabal's case would have to be referred to Washington. So far as I know, neither of them has actually got his visa up to the present.

I had planned, in my after-dinner address in Houston, to invite the Society to hold another meeting in Mexico, D.F., in 1954, as it had once done in 1950. That invitation still stands and, as I understand, has been accepted. It is our desire to keep close scientific and personal relations with the American Physical Society and with American physicists in general and to allow nothing to interfere with this. We know only too well that open and free scientific discussion is the basis of science and its progress, but of course we are also fully aware of the difficulties of those trying times.

II. JUAN DE OYARZABAL

Juan de Oyarzabal is a member of the research staff of the Institute of Scientific Research of Mexico.

I TAKE pleasure in giving you the information you request regarding the incidents that led to the refusal of the consular employees of the United States in Mexico, D. F., to extend to me an entry visa into your country.

My purpose in visiting the United States was to attend a meeting of the American Physical Society that was to be held in Houston, Texas, at the end of November, 1951. I have been a member of that Society since June 1950 and had already been present at a previous meeting held in Mexico City in 1950.

A group of Mexican investigators, led by Dr. M. S. Vallarta, were to go to the Houston meeting, and we had to that effect submitted the papers we intended to present. These abstracts were published in the *APS Bulletin* with reference to the regional Houston meeting I have mentioned.

In view of our approaching trip to the United States, I requested that the necessary visa be extended to my passport. My visit to that country was only to last a few days, but I was extremely and disagreeably surprised to find, after spending several days in tiresome bureaucratic proceedings, that for the moment my request could not be granted.

When I asked the reason for this decision, Mr. Coster, the employee who was attending me, most discourteously refused to give me any explanation, and after I insisted upon knowing what the matter was said that my case came under the Code of Regulations P.P. 53.33(k), after which he sent me out of the office in a rather rude fashion.

A few days later I was asked to call at the office again and Mr. Coster once more submitted me to a prolonged questioning, asking me about things that were strange and even puerile, and in particular insisting on knowing whether I was doing research work in nuclear physics and also if I belonged or had at some time belonged to the Communist party or to some other association related to it. He finally told me that my case would have to be carefully studied and that if it were favorably accepted I would be informed. This time I was not told the reason for this strange decision.

Greatly disappointed, and bearing in mind that the meeting was very close at hand, I informed Dr. Vallarta that I would not be able to attend it, and since Dr. M. Moshinsky, also a member of our group, had met with the same difficulties the rest of the Mexican delegation decided not to go to Houston. Dr. Vallarta informed Dr. K. K. Darrow, secretary of the APS, who had always

proved to be our good friend, of what had happened.

Notwithstanding the time that has elapsed since then, I have not received any news from the consular authorities regarding my visa, and I must confess that this attitude has disconcerted me, for I never thought that I would meet with such opposition to my entering the United States.

I am a Spaniard by birth and my profession heretofore was that of officer in the Spanish navy, in which I had obtained the rank of Lieutenant Commander. I took part in the Spanish civil war in defense of the government of the Spanish Republic, which then enjoyed the diplomatic recognition of the United States government.

When in 1939 that war came to an end, I settled in Mexico and in 1941 became a naturalized subject of this country. Later on I studied in the Faculty of Science of the University, after which I entered the Institute of Physics as investigator, and later became a member of the National Institute of Scientific Research. The major field of my research is the quantum theory of fields, and I have published several papers on this matter as well as on cosmic radiation.

In Mexico I have always met with the greatest consideration and friendship as well as the heartiest desire to promote my scientific activities. This fact is in strong contrast with the unexplainable and demoralizing attitude adopted by those who provoked the incidents herein described.

On previous occasions, in 1935, 1936, and 1939, I entered the United States freely, and since then I have in no way changed either in my inner self or in my way of thinking.

I have never belonged to any political party, and my ideas have always only been directed toward the progress of culture, liberty, and a friendly understanding between nations.

III. MARCOS MOSHINSKY

Dr. Marcos Moshinsky is a member of the research staff of the Institute of Physics, Mexico City.

EARLY in October, 1951, Professor M. S. Vallarta, President of the National Institute of Scientific Research of Mexico, informed me of an invitation from the American Physical Society for a Mexican delegation to attend the Houston meeting of this society. I gladly accepted the invitation to become a member of this delegation.

At the beginning of November, I went to the American consulate to request a visa to attend the Houston meeting. I was asked to fill out a standard form in which, besides stating the purpose of my trip and my professional interests

(physics), I gave the information that is summarized below:

I was born in Kiev, Ukraine, in 1921. My family left that country when I was three years old, and after spending three more years in different countries of Europe and the Middle East, we settled in Mexico City in 1927. In 1933 I became, together with my parents, a Mexican citizen. I have been living in Mexico City since the date of our arrival, except for three years (1946-49) that I spent as a graduate student at Princeton University. I have had no connection with any political party. Those of my relatives in Ukraine that did not emigrate in the twenties disappeared during the Second World War. Finally, I pointed out that during my stay at Princeton University I was partly supported by a fellowship from the U.S. State Department.

After handing in the form, I was interviewed by a consular official. This official was only concerned with one point: What were the fields of physics in which I was interested, and what relation had they with "atomic energy." The knowledge that the official had of atomic energy was limited, and the questioning did not go very far. The official then told me that my papers would have to go to Washington and that in due time I would receive an answer.

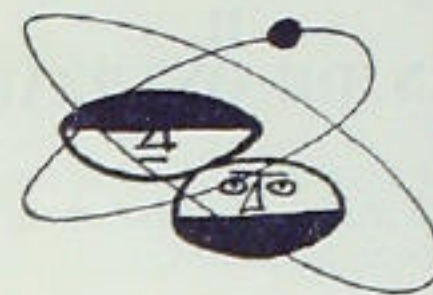
Another member of the Mexican delegation, Juan de Oyarzabal, had a similar experience when he went to apply for a visa. We both waited all through November in the hope of getting a visa before the Houston meeting on November 30. When the visas did not arrive, Professor Vallarta sent a letter to Professor K. K. Darrow, informing him that the unjustified denial of visas for two of the members of the Mexican delegation made it impossible for the other members to attend the Houston meeting.

I would like to add that two weeks ago I received a call from the American consulate informing me that my visa was ready. The visa is useless to me at the moment, but I was told that I would have no trouble in obtaining a visa in the future. I do not know whether this visa was issued through normal procedures or was the result of pressure from American scientific organizations.

Finally, I would like to mention my feelings about the matter. While I was, of course, irritated at the time, I was more saddened at the thought that personal meetings with my friends in the United States would be impossible in the future. From what one reads concerning scientists that have been denied a visa, or whose visa has been delayed, it appears that many, like myself, had spent some time in the United States. The fund of good will that these scientists have developed through personal contact with Americans is one of the greatest assets the United States has abroad. Repeated incidents of the visa type could quickly dissipate this fund of good will and transform active friends into indifferent ones.

IV. LEONARDO GUZMAN

Dr. Leonardo Guzman is Professor of Medicine in the University of Santiago. He is a former Prime Minister and Minister of Education of the Chilean Republic.



I AM very willing to write for the *Bulletin* about the difficulties that I experienced last November in trying to obtain a visa to enter the United States because I am interested in seeing the United States in an invulnerable position spiritually, as well as morally and materially.

My elder brother lived in the United States during 1909 and 1910, and his letters of admiration for your way of living left a marvelous and lasting impression upon my mind. That is why, after my graduation as M.D., I did not go to Europe, as was customary in Chile at that time. I preferred to travel to the United States, where I took post-graduate instruction in New York, Boston, and Baltimore, during 1917 and part of 1918. I had the most unforgettable and gratifying experience there.

While I have travelled to Europe only five times in thirty years, I have visited the United States nine times during this same period. In 1943 I went there as guest of the State Department. Each visit brought me a deep conviction that human society should be organized, with only few modifications, on a similar basis to that which has served your constitutional and industrial development.

As far back as 1917 I wrote in the Chilean press about all this, and since 1933 I have been one of the most active antifascists and enthusiastic pro-Americans in Chile, so much so that in 1941 Mr. Pedro Aguirre Cerda, then President of Chile, appointed me as his Prime Minister in order to stop a Nazi movement which was dangerously growing in this country. Your ambassador in Santiago, Mr. Claude Bowers, has shown me letters in the late President Roosevelt's own handwriting commenting enthusiastically on my activities as minister and as a leader of antifascism.

In order to foster the acquaintance of North American and Chilean people, by personal initiative I convinced the Rockefeller Foundation to expand its activities to Chile. I have a letter of acknowledgment of this written to me by Dr. Strode, head of the Foundation, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Chilean Rockefeller Foundation. In this way, many professors of the Chilean Medical Faculty were able to visit the United States and many distinguished Americans have visited this country; in this way the Rockefeller Foundation and the Inter-American Institute have been able to contribute to the progress of poorer countries.

In my capacity as director of the Radium Institute of Santiago I felt it

necessary to get a more thorough knowledge of nuclear physics. I went to Berkeley, California, where through the kind introduction of Dr. Robert S. Stone I was able to get in touch with Drs. Lawrence, Low-Beer, Tobias, etc. I was the first to apply P32 in leukemias in South America, and believe I am one of the few men who have used Au 198, according to the present indications and techniques, with good results. In 1949 I was in touch with the Argonne Laboratory of Chicago, where I was introduced by my friend Dr. Charles Huggins. In 1947 I spent a great many hours with Dr. Aebersold of Oak Ridge.

As I have had the "habit" of periodically visiting the northern hemisphere, I prepared a trip in order to learn more about isotopes and about my specialty, cancer. Dr. Nieburgs, Professor of the Georgia Medical School in Augusta, had invited me to attend a symposium on cytology and endocrinology and insisted on this invitation because we had been corresponding on these problems.

Because I was Prime Minister, I have a diplomatic passport, and I obtained an immediate visa from the British embassy to visit the Royal Cancer Hospital of London, where I have such friends as Drs. Mayneord, Haddow, Smithers, and Lederman; the Hammersmith Hospital to talk with that wonderful lady, Miss Constance Wood, and her collaborators; the Holt Radium Institute of Manchester, to visit Dr. Paterson and Miss M. Tod, M.D., and the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh to see Dr. R. McWhirter, who has greatly changed the technique of breast-cancer treatment.

I did not need a visa for France because Chile has a treaty with that republic which makes this unnecessary and also because I am Chevalier of the Legion d'Honneur.

I then sent my passport to the American embassy, but as the time for my departure drew nearer and this had not been returned, I requested my secretary, as I had done in the cases of the British and other visas, to obtain it from the embassy. The American consul invited me to go and see him. I regret to say, however, that he proved to be an impossible person. I felt some pity for him, as I realized I was in the presence of a 100 per cent bureaucrat, that is, a person as unable to discriminate as the desk on which he writes. He told me he could not grant a visa at the moment but would consult the State Department.

I called his attention to my previous trips, my membership in many American scientific societies and academies, and

especially to the fact that I am Honorary Fellow of the College of Radiology of North America. I asked for an explanation of this attitude and his interference, which was unusual, on account of my having a diplomatic passport.

Then I went to see the ambassador and was deeply impressed by the anomalous position of this gentleman: he was under the actual supervision of his consul. This reminded me of the nazi and communist organizations: the ambassadors and apparent heads of diplomatic missions are submitted to the undignified superiority and close control of employees who should normally be under their command.

I was very upset and said unkind words to your consular representative here and sent a very strong letter to your ambassador in which I expressed my deepest concern, first for his acceptance of a meaningless position, unworthy of his many personal merits, and secondly because of my having learned that the United States is adopting laws that are contrary to the ideals of the founders of your country and of the Four Freedoms of Roosevelt.

I told him also that I considered it a personal offense of the United States to the free men of the world, to those who have never done anything against laws and morals in any country. I consider that the refusal by the American government of a visa means that they think that the proposed visitor is a man that has put himself outside the normal regulations of life and society.

Surely you understand that no honest man can accept such a position without a strong protest. I have a family. I have children. I have students who are my pupils. I have colleagues and medical doctors who have learned at my side. I am a member of the Faculty of Medicine of Santiago and honorary member of many South American radiological societies. I have been Minister of Education and Prime Minister in my country. Therefore, my name and my prestige should be clean, and I have always endeavoured that this should be so.

I left for Europe, where many cases like mine have upset the good feeling of scientific centers toward the United States. Everyone there talks about the arrogance and intolerance of the United States in trying to determine the future of humanity and to influence each man and each nation's actions. The United States also seems to believe, so they say in Europe and Chile as well, that it has the power of saying what is right

(Continued on page 258)

My Efforts to Obtain a Passport

LINUS PAULING



Linus Pauling has been described by Albert Einstein as "one of the most prominent and inventive scientists in this country" in a letter of May 21, protesting the State Department's refusal to issue a passport to Dr. Pauling. In the following article, Dr. Pauling, director of the Gates and Crellin Laboratory of Chemistry at the California Institute of Technology, tells his own story of the refusal of a passport. A letter received after this article was written for the Bulletin and appended to the article tells of the final reversal of the decision and the tardy granting of a passport to this internationally known scientist.

ON JANUARY 24, 1952, I asked the Department of State to issue a passport to me, for travel in Europe for scientific purposes—to take part in a discussion meeting on the structure of proteins that had been arranged by the Royal Society of London for May 1, 1952, to give lectures on scientific subjects before universities, to discuss scientific questions, especially the structure of proteins, with foreign investigators, and to receive an honorary degree (Docteur de l'Université) from the University of Toulouse.

I was astounded to receive a letter, dated February 14, 1952, from the chief of the Passport Division of the Department of State, saying that my request for a passport had been carefully considered by the Department, and that a passport was not being issued to me "since the Department is of the opinion that your proposed travel would not be in the best interests of the United States."

So far as I knew, there was no mechanism of appeal from the decision of the Passport Division of the Department of State; no information whatever about the possibility of appeal was given to me. I decided that I would submit a petition to the President of the United States, expressing my own strong opinion that the denial of a passport to me would in fact not be in the best interests of the United States, and I addressed such a petition to him on February 29, 1952. One month later I received an answer from William D. Hassett, secretary to the

President, saying that the parts of my letter dealing with the request for a passport had been referred to the appropriate officials in the Department of State.

I then sent two letters to the chief of the Passport Division, asking that the decision be reconsidered, stating that I had decided to restrict the proposed travel to England to the period April 27 to June 8, and pointing out again that the travel was purely for scientific purposes, which were described in detail (I had in the meantime accepted an invitation to deliver a Friday Evening Discourse on the structure of proteins before the Royal Institution of Great Britain on May 16, 1952), and a brief vacation for my wife and me. A reply stating, "Notwithstanding the engagements which you have made abroad the Department finds it impossible to grant you a passport of this government at this time," was received by me on April 23, having been sent on April 18.

In the meantime, on our own initiative, my wife and I had gone, on the afternoon of April 21, to the office of the chief of the Passport Division. After a short discussion with us she said that we had better talk to her immediate superior, Mr. S. D. Boykin, director of the Office of Security and Consular Affairs. Mr. Boykin asked why I had not submitted any material to the Department of State to refute the charges made against me. I said that it had not at any time been suggested to me by any representative of the Department of State that I could

appeal the decision of the Passport Division or that I could submit any material to the Department of State, but that I should be glad to do so if I were told what information was desired.

He suggested that the decision had been made because of the suspicion that I was a Communist, and because my anti-communist statements had not been sufficiently strong. He also said that it had been reported that I had made statements criticizing the United States, and he suggested that I should provide information about these statements; however, he said that he was not at liberty to tell me what the reputed statements were. He showed much interest in the attack that has been made during recent years by the Russians on the theory of resonance and on me, as an exponent of this theory.

He said that if I were to submit material to him, the Department of State would review the case with as much celerity as possible. Accordingly, on the next morning I took to his office some documents that I surmised to be pertinent, including a statement, made under oath, that I am not a Communist, never have been a Communist, and never have been involved with the Communist party; and some other documents were sent airmail from Pasadena.

At 4 P.M. on Monday, April 28, two-and-one-half hours before the time scheduled for our departure for London from Idlewild, I received, at the National Academy of Sciences in Washington, where I was waiting for the passport, a telephone call from the chief of the Passport Division, who said that Mr. Humelsine, the Undersecretary of State, had upheld her original decision.

I cabled the Royal Society that I could not attend the meeting because a passport had been denied me. A letter by Sir Robert Robinson, expressing disappointment at the action, appeared in the *London Times* of May 5th.

On May 10th I was told by a reporter that the public relations officer

of the Department of State had announced that a passport had been refused me, and I then issued to reporters a statement that I had prepared. This statement ended with the following paragraph:

During recent years my work on the theory of resonance in chemistry has been under attack in Russia. Russian chemists have been forbidden to make use of this theory in their scientific work. The action of the State Department in refusing me a passport represents a different way of interfering with the progress of science and restricting the freedom of the individual citizen. In my opinion it reflects a dangerous trend away from our fundamental democratic principles, upon which our nation is based.

On May 16th I applied again for a passport, for July and August 1952, in order to participate in the Discussion Meeting of the Faraday Society on the physical chemistry of the proteins (6-8 August) and to talk about scientific problems with British scientists. This letter contained the following paragraph:

When my earlier request for a passport was denied the statement was made that your Department was of the opinion that my proposed travel would not be in the best interests of the United States. I am strongly of the opinion that my proposed travel to the British Isles, purely for scientific purposes, would in fact be in the best interests of the United States, and that the statement does not constitute a reason for refusing me a passport. I ask accordingly that if my present request for a passport be denied I be provided with a statement of the reason for the action.

I also offered in this letter and in later letters to come to the Department of State to answer any questions that the Secretary of State might wish to ask me. No answer to these letters has been received by me.

On May 24, 1952, the Department of State released a statement about its passport policy. This statement has not been of help to me, because the reasons for denying a passport that are mentioned in the statement do not apply to me.

Moreover, some parts of the statement seem to me to give a false impression. It is said that "Any applicant who has been refused a passport has every right and is given every opportunity to request further consideration of his case and may present any evidence or information which he may wish to have considered." When I was informed, by letters of February 14, 1952 and April 18, 1952, that a passport was not being granted to me,

there was no statement or intimation that I had any right to ask for further consideration of the case, or that I might present any evidence or information. There was no opportunity presented to me for further consideration of my case or for the presentation of evidence or information.

I may have been exceptional in having been allowed, on April 21, 1952, to speak to the chief of the Passport Division and then to her superior, the director of the Office of Security and Consular Affairs. It was only at this time that the suggestion was made to me that I might provide material for the consideration of the Department of State; however, it seems to me that the willingness of the Department of State to consider material about the charges made against me has little significance when the Department of State was not willing to give me any precise information about the nature of these charges.

The statement also says that:

The consultations between officers of the Passport Division and officers of other divisions of the Department and with the Foreign Service abroad, in effect, constitute in a given case a most fair and comprehensive board of review action in the denial of a passport in the interests of the United States.

Inasmuch as I was not given any precise information about the reason for the refusal of a passport to me, I deny that I was given a fair and comprehensive board of review action in the denial of a passport to me "in the interests of the United States."

In a news conference on June 18 the Secretary of State said, "He [the applicant for a passport] is also informed that he may be represented by counsel of his choice, and that he or his counsel, or both, may be heard by the chief of the Passport Division, or some other responsible officer." No such information was given me at any time.

In a speech before the Senate on June 6, Senator Wayne Morse stated that he had written to the Secretary of State, asking for information about the alleged refusal to issue a passport to me (identified as Professor X, of the California Institute of Technology, desired to make a trip to England). He received an answer from the chief of the Passport Division, stating that the Department of State was not in a position to furnish detailed information about the facts which were the basis for its decision. Senator Morse said:

Mr. President, denial of a passport is not a minor thing. In my opinion, denial

of a passport limits the freedom of a citizen of the United States. Freedom must be limited whenever the facts in a given case justify the limiting of freedom in the public interest, and I would be the first in the Senate to defend that principle to the end. But I am also going to insist that freedom of an American citizen must not be limited by arbitrary, unchecked, capricious discretion of an administrator of the government, even though he may be Secretary of State. . . . The reputations of people are being assassinated by the Passport Division of the State Department, for which procedure the Secretary of State is responsible. The Secretary of State has indicated on various occasions his opposition to character assassination tactics. He had better look to his own Department. He had better look to the procedures of his own Passport Division, because so long as the Secretary of State supports his procedure in the Passport Division, he, too, is guilty of character assassination, because he is guilty of bringing people into disrepute under circumstances in which they cannot prove their innocence. I do not wish to hear the Secretary of State on the presumption-of-innocence doctrine until the Secretary of State is willing, as he has the power to do, to change the procedures of the Passport Division of the State Department in a manner which will comply with the presumption-on-innocence doctrine.

I wrote to Senator Morse to thank him for taking an interest in the question of the issuance of a passport to me, and in the broader question of the attitude of the government toward its citizens who desire to travel. I said to him, in addition, that I regretted that he had referred to me as Professor X; that I would have preferred him to refer to me as Professor A. In algebra it is conventional to use the letter x , and other letters in the latter part of the alphabet, to refer to unknown quantities, the letters a, b, c, \dots being used to refer to known quantities.

There is nothing unknown about me. I am, perhaps more than most people, a known quantity. There are only infinitesimals in my past that might be kept secret, aside from the classified information that I obtained during the period 1940 to 1946, which does not include any classified information on atomic energy.

In my dealings with the Department of State I have offered to answer any questions that the Secretary of State may wish to ask me. After my conference with Mr. Boykin I did my best to surmise what sort of information the Department would like to have, even though he was unwilling to go beyond vague generalities; and I provided the Department of State with hundreds of pages of material.

The action of the Department of State in refusing me a passport and in stating that the passport was refused because it is the opinion of the Department that my "proposed travel is not in the best interests of the United States" may well, however, cause a great many people to suspect me of improper or disgraceful behavior, the records of which are preserved in the State Department files; presumably my behavior is so improper that the Department of State cannot trust the people of the United States by letting them know its nature.

It seems to me that this action of the Department of State does indeed constitute assassination of reputation, as it was characterized by Senator Morse. I myself hope that it is not assassination, but only a temporary damaging of my reputation, which will be restored to its earlier state by future events.

I have not been very successful in guessing the reason for the action of the Department of State. Most of the reasons that have been suggested or that may be surmised seem to me to be unworthy of a department of the government of our nation. In particular, there is the suggestion that, while I have not been guilty of any illegal action, I have expressed political opinions that are contrary to the official opinions of the government. (I have, of course, not been alone in this expression of opinion—some of my opinions about political issues are closely similar to those that have been announced by Senator Robert A. Taft.)

This explanation, which was suggested to me by my recollection of the conference with Mr. Boykin, has received some unofficial support in a letter sent to me by a citizen, not formally connected with the government, who, after mentioning his contacts with government agencies, listed three actions that I might take, after which he would throw his full energies into operation in my behalf.

I believe that it is essential to our future security that we adhere to the principles laid down by the founders of our country; that we support the Constitution, which states that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances." I believe that the executive branches of the government should

not take action that effectively violates this section of the Constitution.

As a citizen who has been refused a passport "because the Department of State is of the opinion that your proposed travel would not be in the best interests of the United States" and who has been denied the right to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with witnesses, to be given the opportunity of review of the question by an impartial group, I have strongly to support the thesis expressed by Warren Hull Saltzman in his article, "Passport Refusals for Political Reasons: Constitutional Issues and Judicial Review" (*Yale Law Journal*, LXI [1952], 171), as follows:

The denial of passports to its citizens has long been one of the principal instruments of intimidation and of control used by totalitarian governments: of intimidation, since the individual is virtually

imprisoned at home without a passport; of control, in that the government can thus determine what information and opinion about conditions abroad reach its people. The government of the United States has protested the refusal of totalitarian governments to allow their citizens freely to travel abroad as a denial of fundamental human rights, and has repeatedly urged a policy of enlarged human interchange as a step towards international understanding and the relief of international tension. . . . Under the circumstances of modern international life every American citizen has a constitutional right to a passport, and the protection of that right has become an urgent matter of national policy as well as of civil liberty. If our preaching is to accord with our practice, that right should be curtailed only for good cause and with that regard for fairness embodied in the phrase "due process." Nothing less will achieve the objective envisioned in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—free travel in a world society.

Protest from University of Chicago Scientists

The Honorable
DEAN G. ACHESON
Secretary of State
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SECRETARY:

The scientific community has been deeply shocked by the statement that Professor Linus Pauling, American citizen, former president of the American Chemical Society, and professor of chemistry at the California Institute of Technology, has been refused an American passport for travel to a meeting of the Royal Society in England.

Most of the scientists of America feel that they know Linus Pauling. All of us know his scientific work. Many of us who sign this letter have known him with varying degrees of intimacy for very many years, and have discussed with him not only scientific matters but subjects of social and political import. Probably none of us have agreed with him in all his subjects. We have all found reason to respect his scientific opinions. Most, if not all of us, have disagreed with his political views, and some of us may have found occasion to regard them as not even worthy of the high regard we have found necessary for his scientific viewpoints. But no one of us, nor any with whom we have talked, has questioned his integrity and sincerity nor his essential loyalty to the United States.

We have all been long convinced that the world is deeply enmeshed in a desperate struggle between the forces of evil repression and those of freedom and liberty. Those of us who sign this letter have had no doubt that the Russian

government has represented the evil in this conflict. We have always hoped that the government of the United States would stand clearly on the side of freedom and liberty. We cannot reconcile with this hope the withdrawal of passport privileges without trial, without a hearing, and without recourse to an appeal, on the suspicion that the political opinions of a citizen are not those of the majority of the nation.

Our main plea in this case is a matter of pure principle. The principle of freedom is that a man is innocent of wrongdoing until proven guilty before a jury of his peers of a violation of a law of our land. Professor Pauling is a man of international fame. It is essential for the maintenance of what remains of our free world that free interchange of ideas within this world be maintained. The travel of citizens of the free countries within this free community is an absolutely essential requirement of this freedom. Since Professor Pauling is not guilty of violation of our laws, we see no justification for suspension of this fundamental necessary freedom.

But even aside from our interest in the principle of freedom, we are incredulous of the reason given for withholding the passport: that it "is not in the best interests of the United States" to grant the passport. We cannot believe, with the greatest stretch of our imagination, that any reason can exist which would make the granting of a passport of so great harm to this country as its withdrawal.

We are well aware that information, or the suspicion of information, of which

we are not informed may be in governmental files. Those of us who think that we know Pauling well cannot believe that any really detrimental facts exist. Those of us who know him less well may be less sure of this. But none of us can imagine circumstances by which the granting of a passport can be one-tenth so harmful to the interests of this country as the creation in the world of this *cause célèbre* that its withholding has done. What harm, what information, what tales could Professor Pauling take with him to England, even were he so inclined, that can compare in damage to the incredible advertisement that this country forbids one of its most illustrious citizens to travel? We ask you respectfully, Mr. Secretary, that this decision be reversed.

HERBERT L. ANDERSON
SAMUEL K. ALLISON
ENRICO FERMI
WILLARD F. LIBBY
JOSEPH E. MAYER
EDWARD TELLER
HAROLD C. UREY

PROTEST FROM SWEDISH NOBEL LAUREATE

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE
OF THE UNITED STATES
Washington, D. C., U.S.A.

DEAR SIR:

I take the liberty of writing to you to express my concern about the difficulties which have arisen for Professor Linus Pauling, California Institute of Technology, in obtaining a passport to go to Europe in order to take part in important scientific conferences. This concern is shared by scientists all over the world.

No doubt you are aware of the fact that Professor Pauling is one of the leading scientists of our time, well known for his epoch-making contributions to the modern development of chemistry. His recent work on the structure of proteins—a result of many years of painstaking investigations—is of the utmost importance to chemistry, medicine, and the science of life. It will certainly be one of the main subjects at several scientific meetings the next few months, among them the second International Congress of Biochemistry in Paris, July 21–27, 1952.

I cannot believe that it is in the interest of the United States that the man who has the credit for these discoveries and who greatly deserves the gratitude of mankind, should be prevented from establishing personal international contacts, which are essential for the development of a field of the utmost importance for the welfare of human beings.

Respectfully yours,

ARNE TISELIUS
Ph.D., D.Sc., M.D., Nobel Laureate,
President of the International Union of
Pure and Applied Chemistry

THE DECISION REVERSED

15 July 1952

Editor
Bulletin of Atomic Scientists
956 East 58th Street
Chicago 37, Illinois

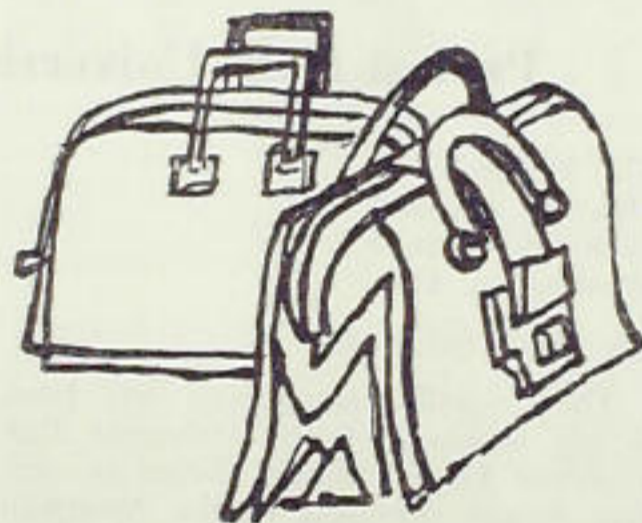
DEAR SIR:

I have just been informed by telephone that the Department of State has issued a passport to me, which I shall pick up in New York. My wife and I leave tomorrow for France and England.

I was informed by telephone from the State Department office in Los Angeles that a passport would be issued to me if I would sign a statement that I am not and never have been a Communist. I signed this statement on the afternoon of 11 July 1952. The statement added nothing to the evidence, because a similar statement had been given to the State Department before the refusal of a passport to me in April.

Sincerely yours,

LINUS PAULING



Marcus Cunliffe: British Reactions to the McCarran Acts

(Continued from page 233)

in Britain. It arouses no more enthusiasm in educated circles than phrenology or bimetallism. During the 1920's and 1930's, here as in America, communism did have some appeal, in part because of its dramatic resistance to fascism. But even the small proportion of Englishmen who were drawn to communism have since abandoned it. They are prepared to grant that their former interest in communism was, in some ways, misguided, like one's first adolescent love affair. But when they read of the exclusion of Professor Polanyi, who has never had a favorable view of communism, they conclude that America would surely refuse them admittance. More, they repudiate the notion, embodied in the recent Immigration Act, that they

could qualify for admittance only by producing evidence of their own penitence. Why, they ask, should they kneel at a Mercy Seat of Senator McCarran's devising?

Human nature being what it is, my acquaintances are more impressed by the few stories of exclusion from the United States than by the great mass of visa-applications in which no complications arise. The cases of Michael Polanyi, of the Polish poet Czeslaw Milosz, of the Italian writer Alberto Moravia, of the Nobel Prize chemist E. B. Chain, of the Danish scholar Stender-Petersen—or for that matter the temporary exclusion of the Catholic novelist Grahame Greene—these cases, as *Life* has pointed out, provide powerful ammunition for the enemies of America, and dismay its friends.

If they were merely the products of defective legislation, or of administrative carelessness, they could be explained away. But insofar as they appear to my acquaintances to represent a considered and official American attitude to leading European thinkers, they do much to weaken the solidarity of the Atlantic community. And are not such cases likely to multiply? For, given a long continuance of the Cold War, will not Senator McCarran and his kind grow ever more rigid in their views of the world outside the United States?

It is the future possibilities that alarm my colleagues. They, and I with them, hope desperately that our 1952 will not lead to the 1984 of George Orwell's ghastly vision. It could happen if, in the words of Michael Polanyi, we "build up a world of phantoms in which men are lost in a maze of mutual suspicion."

The United States has quite enough worries without inventing imaginary perils for itself. If Europeans wishing to visit America are to be submitted to a security check, let this be in accordance with common sense. Let eminent Americans and Europeans who know the intending visitor vouch for him; let him be spared the embarrassing and inefficient scrutiny of consular officials who, with the best will in the world, cannot possibly know from the dossiers supplied to them whether the applicant is a spy or an unoffending scientist or scholar. And where the applicant is a person who would not have access to confidential information in the United States, let it be assumed as a working rule that he is *not* a Soviet spy, not even if—in common with half the population of Britain—he calls himself a socialist.

The McCarran Act

The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952,¹ sponsored by Senator McCarran, reproduces the provisions of Senator McCarran's Internal Security Act of 1950 as they bear on the conditions under which visas may be granted for entry into the United States. We present below two passages relevant to the granting of visas. They are substantially identical with the corresponding portions of the Internal Security Act of 1950, except for the additions which we print in italics.

GENERAL CLASSES OF ALIENS INELIGIBLE TO RECEIVE VISAS AND EXCLUDED FROM ADMISSION

SEC. 212 (a) Except as otherwise provided in this Act, the following classes of aliens shall be ineligible to receive visas and shall be excluded from admission into the United States: . . .

(27) Aliens who *the consular officer or the Attorney General knows or has reason to believe seek to enter the United States solely, principally, or incidentally to engage in activities which would be prejudicial to the public interest, or endanger the welfare, safety, or security of the United States;*

(28) Aliens who are, or at any time have been, members of any of the following classes:

(A) Aliens who are anarchists;

(B) Aliens who advocate or teach, or who are members of or affiliated with any organization that advocates or teaches, opposition to all organized government;

(C) Aliens who are members of or affiliated with (i) the Communist party of the United States, (ii) any other totalitarian party of the United States, (iii) the Communist Political Association, (iv) the Communist or any other totalitarian party of any state of the United States, of any foreign state, or of any political or geographical subdivision of any foreign state, (v) any section, subsidiary, branch, affiliate, or subdivision of any such association or party, or (vi) the direct predecessors or successors of any such association or party, regardless of what name such group or organization may have used, may now bear, or may hereafter adopt: *Provided, That nothing in this paragraph, or in any other provision of this Act, shall be construed as declaring that the Communist party does not advocate the overthrow of the government of*

the United States by force, violence, or other unconstitutional means;

(D) Aliens not within any of the other provisions of this paragraph who advocate the economic, international, and governmental doctrines of world communism or the establishment in the United States of a totalitarian dictatorship, or who are members of or affiliated with any organization that advocates the economic, international, and governmental doctrines of world communism or the establishment in the United States of a totalitarian dictatorship, either through its own utterances or through any written or printed publications issued or published by or with the permission or consent of or under the authority of such organization or paid for by the funds of, or funds furnished by, such organization;

(E) Aliens not within any of the other provisions of this paragraph, who are members of or affiliated with any organization during the time it is registered or required to be registered under section 7 of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950, unless such aliens establish that they did not have knowledge or reason to believe at the time they became members of or affiliated with such an organization (and did not thereafter and prior to the date upon which such organization was so registered or so required to be registered have such knowledge or reason to believe) that such organization was a communist organization;

(F) Aliens who advocate or teach or who are members of or affiliated with any organization that advocates or teaches (i) the overthrow by force, violence, or other unconstitutional means, of the government of the United States or of all forms of law; or (ii) the duty, necessity, or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of any officer or officers (either of specific individuals or of officers generally) of the government of the United States or of any other organized govern-

ment, because of his or their official character; or (iii) the unlawful damage, injury, or destruction of property; or (iv) sabotage;

(G) Aliens who write or publish, or cause to be written or published, or who knowingly circulate, distribute, print, or display, or knowingly cause to be circulated, distributed, printed, published, or displayed, or who knowingly have in their possession for the purpose of circulation, publication, distribution, or display, any written or printed matter, advocating or teaching opposition to all organized government, or advocating or teaching (i) the overthrow by force, violence, or other unconstitutional means of the government of the United States or of all forms of law; or (ii) the duty, necessity, or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of any officer or officers (either of specific individuals or of officers generally) of the government of the United States or of any other organized government, because of his or their official character; or (iii) the unlawful damage, injury, or destruction of property; or (iv) sabotage; or (v) the economic, international, and governmental doctrines of world communism or the establishment in the United States of a totalitarian dictatorship;

(H) Aliens who are members of or affiliated with any organization that writes, circulates, distributes, prints, publishes, or displays, or causes to be written, circulated, distributed, printed, published, or displayed, or that has in its possession for the purpose of circulation, distribution, publication, issue, or display, any written or printed matter of the character described in paragraph (G);

(I) *Any alien who is within any of the classes described in subparagraphs (B), (C), (D), (E), (F), (G), and (H) of this paragraph because of membership in or affiliation with a party or organization or a section, subsidiary, branch, affiliate, or subdivision thereof, may, if not otherwise ineligible, be issued a visa if such alien establishes to the satisfaction of the consular officer when applying for a visa and the consular officer finds that (i) such membership or affiliation is or was involuntary, or is or was solely when under sixteen years of age, by operation of law, or for purposes of obtaining employment, food rations, or other essentials of living and where necessary for such purposes or (ii) (a) since the termination of such membership or affiliation, such alien is and has been, for at least five years prior to the date of the application for admission actively opposed to the doctrine, program, principles, and ideology of such party or organization or the section, subsidiary, branch, or affiliate or subdivision thereof, and (b) the admission of such alien into the United States would be in the public interest. Any such alien to whom a visa has been issued under the provisions of this subparagraph may, if not otherwise inadmissible, be admitted into the United States if he shall establish to the satisfaction of the Attorney General*

¹ Public Law 414, chapter 477, 82nd Congress, 2nd session, H.R. 5678.

when applying for admission to the United States and the Attorney General finds that (i) such membership or affiliation is or was involuntary, or is or was solely when under sixteen years of age, by operation of law, or for purposes of obtaining employment, food rations, or other essentials of living and when necessary for such purposes, or (ii) (a) since the termination of such membership or affiliation, such alien is and has been, for at least five years prior to the date of the application for admission actively opposed to the doctrine, program, principles, and ideology of such party or organization or the section, subsidiary, branch, or affiliate or subdivision thereof, and (b) the admission of such alien into the United States would be in the public interest. The Attorney General shall promptly make a detailed report to the Congress in the case of each alien who is or shall be admitted into the United States under (ii) of this subparagraph.

(29) Aliens with respect to whom the consular officer or the Attorney General knows or has reasonable ground to believe probably would, after entry, (A) engage in activities which would be prohibited by the laws of the United States relating to espionage, sabotage, public disorder, or in other activity subversive to the national security, (B) engage in any activity a purpose of which is the opposition to, or the control or overthrow of, the government of the United States, by force, violence, or other unconstitutional means, or (C) join, affiliate with, or participate in the activities of any organization which is registered or required to be registered under section 7 of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950.

The following paragraph withdraws the non-quota immigrant provisions for professors:

ALLOCATION OF IMMIGRANT VISAS WITHIN QUOTAS

SEC. 203. (a) Immigrant visas to quota immigrants shall be allotted in each fiscal year as follows:

(1) The first 50 per centum of the quota of each quota area for such year, plus any portion of such quota not required for the issuance of immigrant visas to the classes specified in paragraphs (2) and (3), shall be made available for the issuance of immigrant visas (A) to qualified quota immigrants whose services are determined by the Attorney General to be needed urgently in the United States because of the high education, technical training, specialized experience, or exceptional ability of such immigrants and to be substantially beneficial prospectively to the national economy, cultural interests, or welfare of the United States, and (B) to qualified quota immigrants who are the spouse or children of any immigrant described in clause (A) if accompanying him.

Leonardo Guzman

(Continued from page 252)

and what is wrong. In short, Europe believes that the officials of the American State Department are becoming as intolerant and overbearing as were von Ribbentrop and his satellites in the past, and as are Stalin, Molotov, and Vishinsky at present.

Now we ask: for what purpose did American boys come to the European and Asiatic battle fronts? What ideals moved them so deeply that they did not hesitate to give up their comfort and security and caused many to lie in the sad graveyards we now look upon in awe when we visit France and Germany? They came and were heroic because they believed their sacrifice would bring to Europe and the world the understanding that enabled their forefathers to build a home and family in a new motherland in America when European intolerance uprooted them from their traditional countries.

We feel that these boys who died in the struggle have been betrayed by the fearful minds of the members of the American Congress and State Department, men who show no convictions and believe that police and bureaucracy can change the free course of history. Surely, if the authors of the restrictive laws now in force in the United States had lived when the Pilgrims of the Mayflower reached America, they would not have permitted them to land.

In the restful quiet hours allowed me during my recent travels by steamers and aircrafts, I have given much thought to the possible reasons for this way of acting of your representatives in Chile. I am not a Communist; I am not even a Freemason, because I could not accept commands which could interfere with what I think and believe I should do in political or spiritual circumstances. My only worship is liberty and this is why I am a freethinker.

Because of this way of thinking of mine, people whom I know to be Communists once requested me to deliver a lecture on atomic problems and peace. I gave two of these lectures—one popular, in a big amphitheatre, the other more academic, in the University of Chile. What did I say amidst the expectant and dreadful silence?

First, that we should not complain of having achieved the production of atomic energy because humanity has been living and fighting since the beginning of history in order to get energy for its comfort and progress. I said that before Hiroshima and Nagasaki we had only a few grams of radium, but that now we dispose of the power equivalent to the energy of thousands of tons of this substance, which constitutes enormous wealth, full of potentialities for human welfare.

I affirmed that the atomic bomb, although it killed many thousands of Japanese and destroyed two cities, avoided

the death of many more thousands of American and Japanese young people by rapidly ending a war that in the normal course would have cost many years of fearful fighting and destruction of several more cities of even larger population than Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

I also said that, in a similar way to the use of powder and dynamite, we could employ nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, such as modifying the course of rivers, in order to transform deserts into prairies, in order to open easier ways of communication through the mountains which separate countries in Asia and South America.

I also said in that lecture that the hundred-year peace which Europe had enjoyed from the Vienna Conference until the Sarajevo crime was due, not to the action of idle diplomats, but to the good use, development, and application of steam and electrical energy which changed the standard of living of Europe and made it easier. I expressed the opinion that, if we did not have peace after 1914-1918 war, it was because nothing new had been produced by science to serve humanity's needs; but now that this new energy has been discovered, handled by men of good will, we are in a position to build a better world and to expand civilization even to the masses of Asia and Africa, where they do not yet know what our standard of living is like.

But I declared also that, in order to reach this goal, we should stop Russia's permanent and stubborn suspicion and America's hysterical nervousness. I proposed that press, radio, the church, writers, all should get together in an effort to produce a calm atmosphere in order to be able to see impartially what is going on in the Occident and in the Orient. I believe that if we analyze with scientific and practical minds the conveniences of the American and occidental ways of living and thinking and compare them to the present Russian ways of living, we could do a great favor to our people and to their people. Let us talk less of armaments and disagreements and more of the peaceful activities and of the points of contact of East and West.

Let us go on protesting the stupid Iron Curtain and let us go on asking to have it raised; but let us restrain ourselves from putting up an Iron Curtain also, because, if we do so, we shall arrive at the point where the East is now.

Let us try to show honestly and to prove that in democratic countries the laws are for the protection of citizens' rights and form the frame of their lives; and let us try to avoid their replacement in our countries by police and espionage, which are characteristic of tyrannies. The new laws which we are criticizing here are too close to this, because they have compelled the State Department and the Intelligence Service to organize international espionage to prepare dossiers on citizens of all the countries in the world.



News and Notes

Prepared by Dieter Dux

Atomic Energy and the Political Conventions

Though the Republican platform did not include any atomic energy plank—only the need for American atomic energy weapons “in abundance” and Russia’s possession of the atomic bomb as the result of the Administration’s appeasement of communism are mentioned—the permanent chairman of the Republican National Convention had something to say on the subject. Representative Martin, in a speech made as he took over his convention assignment, stated: “To men of vision the atomic era can be the greatest age of mankind if we have the foresight and wisdom to put it to peaceful use for the benefit of all humanity. To the Administration in Washington the atomic age spells only one thing—the atom bomb and war.”

The Democratic platform includes the following pledge:

- “1. To maintain vigorous and nonpartisan civilian administrations, with adequate security safeguards;
- “2. To promote the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes in the interests of America and mankind;
- “3. To build all the atomic and hydrogen firepower needed to defend the United States, to deter aggression, and promote world peace;
- “4. To exert every effort to bring about bona fide international control and inspection of all atomic weapons.”

Bacteriological Warfare

The debate over communist charges that the United States had employed bacteriological methods of warfare in Korea shifted to a new international forum during July—the quadrennial meeting of the International Red Cross Conference in Toronto, Canada.

It may be recalled that the issue was first raised by Mr. Malik before the Disarmament Commission of the U.N. earlier this year. The Russian representative urged at that time that eleven states accept and ratify the Geneva Protocol of 1925 concerning bacteriological warfare.

The American representative, Ambassador Cohen, argued against the Russian proposal, because “our experience with the paper pledges of certain states . . . makes it evident that the paper pledge approach has become obsolete.”

Instead, he urged the establishment of a foolproof system of arms reduction that would include the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction. Mr. Cohen charged that the Russian attempt to focus attention on the 1925 Protocol was conceived in order to deflect attention from their refusal to agree to the international control of atomic energy and the establishment of an effective system of limitation, regulation, and balanced reduction of armed forces and armaments. Said the Ambassador: “Bacteriological weapons can be eliminated only if certain states are willing, as the U. S. is willing, to establish an effective system of safeguards. The technical safeguards connected with bacteriological warfare would differ from those of atomic energy and also from those in connection with other types of nonatomic weapons in that different materials and techniques would be involved.

“The first and all-important safeguard against bacteriological warfare, however, is an open world, a world where no state could develop the military strength necessary for aggression without other states having ample warning and the opportunity to protect themselves.”

The debate continued before the Security Council in June, where Mr. Malik renewed his appeal for the ratification of the Geneva Protocol and the United States urged that the Council request and sponsor an investigation of the B.W. charges by the International Red Cross. The Russian proposal failed to be adopted, only the Soviet Union voting for it, though other members of the Council abstained, and the American proposal was defeated by a Russian veto.

A further U. S. resolution that the whole Geneva Protocol issue be referred back to the Disarmament Commission was similarly defeated. Finally, at the Toronto Conference of the Red Cross, members of communist delegations introduced a number of resolutions which

called for the Conference to condemn the alleged use of germ warfare by the U.N. command in Korea and asked national Red Cross Societies to “mobilize world opinion for an immediate cessation of these atrocities.”

However, the Conference adopted by a 69 to 12 majority, and over Russian objections, a milder resolution which merely invited “the governments concerned to have these charges examined on the basis of a common agreement.”

U.S. Atomic Energy Commission

Expansion.—Award of construction contracts for expansion of the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission’s gaseous diffusion plants at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, and Paducah, Kentucky, was announced on July 21, by M. W. Boyer, AEC General Manager. The two contracts amount to 923 million dollars.

The manager of the Hanford Operations Office announced on July 26 that negotiations have been completed with Kaiser Engineers, a division of Henry J. Kaiser Company, for construction of the new expansion program on the Hanford plutonium producing project.

The Commission announced on August 12, that it would construct a new gaseous diffusion plant for the production of uranium 235 in Pike county, Ohio, about 22 miles north of Portsmouth, Ohio.

Preliminary design calls for a plant estimated to cost about \$1,200,000,000. It will require up to 400,000 kilowatts of power—to be supplied from existing facilities—for early operations, and new power plants will be built to supply the maximum of 1,800,000 kilowatts needed when the entire plant is in operation.

Although portions of the plant will be placed in operation as soon as completed, construction of the plant as a whole is scheduled to take about four years.

Isotope Production.—Reactor-produced radioactive polonium-210 may now be purchased at Oak Ridge for research activities.

Marking the sixth anniversary of the isotope distribution program, Oak Ridge National Laboratory made a six-year report showing more than 35,000 shipments since August 2, 1946, to users in 46 states and 333 foreign countries. Several thousand additional shipments were made from other sources, such as Brookhaven National Laboratory, Argonne National Laboratory and commercial processing concerns.

Nuclear-Powered Ships and Aircraft—It was announced on August 1 that development work on a nuclear power plant suitable for propulsion of large naval vessels such as aircraft carriers will be conducted by the Westinghouse Electric Corporation under a contract with the USAEC.

The existing contract between Westinghouse and the Commission has been modified to include work on the new

project. The work will be centered at the Bettis Plant, near Pittsburgh, Pa., operated by the Westinghouse Atomic Power Division.

Construction of facilities related to the eventual development of nuclear propulsion for aircraft was authorized by the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission on July 29.

Testing facilities will be built at the AEC's National Reactor Testing Station in Idaho.

The design, development, and fabrication of the prototype aircraft propulsion reactor are being done by the Aircraft Gas Turbine Department of General Electric at Lockland, Ohio. The nuclear phases of the project parallel the associated non-nuclear propulsion devices being developed by General Electric under an Air Force contract.

Semiannual Report.—The twelfth semiannual report of the AEC, published on July 31, listed new sources of raw materials available for the accelerated expansion program of the Commission.

Among foreign sources available, the Commission mentioned facilities in Canada and South Africa and unspecified sources in Australia. Domestic exploration is progressing, with the Colorado plateau showing the greatest promise, although some new uranium ore has been discovered in the Black Hills of South Dakota.

The AEC indicated also that significant advances had been achieved toward improved reactors and in medical uses of the atom. Work toward the development of nuclear propulsion of aircraft, it said, "gained momentum," and "substantial progress" had been made in weapons development.

The Commission reported finally that it was still spending large sums on basic research in the physical sciences.

Joint Committee Report on Raw Materials.—In a report to Congress, dated July 2, 1952, the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy made a number of recommendations concerning the raw materials program.

1. The AEC should rapidly and substantially increase uranium and thorium production from domestic sources.

2. The U.S. has such great need for uranium and thorium that procurement from foreign sources should also be increased, rapidly and substantially. Effort along these lines should reflect a sense of urgency created by the full awareness of the possibility that at some future date certain foreign sources might be cut off.

3. The military cannot escape responsibility for fixing weapon requirements at whatever level needed to defend the U.S. most effectively and cheaply. This responsibility can in no wise be avoided on the basis that uranium raw material availability must limit output.

In other words, so far as uranium raw materials are concerned, the military may ask for and get—following several years of lead time—as many bombs as they

consider to be necessary to deter war or to win a war quickly if it comes.

Science Attachés for Bonn

Two science attachés have been assigned to serve as science advisers to the High Commissioner for Germany at Bonn. They are Dr. William W. Greulich and Dr. Richard T. Arnold. These appointments represent further progress in carrying out the recommendations of the Berkner report, *Science and Foreign Relations*, adopted by the Department two years ago. Science attachés were assigned to American missions at London, Stockholm, and Bern last year, and to the Paris embassy earlier this year.

Point IV

Pakistan.—The Department of State announced on July 1 the details of a broad program of internal development in Pakistan to be undertaken with United States cooperation under the Point IV program. An agreement outlining the specific projects to be carried out was signed June 30, providing for the expenditure of \$10,000,000 of U.S. funds.

Matching funds in rupees are to be provided by Pakistan for the projects.

One major project, to which almost \$2,500,000 of U.S. money will be devoted, consists of a rural agricultural-industrial development program covering improved methods of crop and livestock production, marketing, home management, health, education, village industries—notably handicrafts—and cooperative organizations in marketing, purchasing, and rural credit.

Institutes for training the necessary village workers for this program are to be attached to four provincial agricultural colleges, with the United States furnishing some of the teachers and equipment.

Lebanon.—The governments of the United States and Lebanon have signed an agreement outlining the scope of activities to be undertaken through the Point IV program.

The U.S. contribution has been set at \$3,100,000. Under the agreement an extensive list of projects is scheduled, with major emphasis on agriculture, health, sanitation, and natural resource development. Other broad project categories include education and training grants, social affairs, transportation and communication.

National Science Foundation

Russian-English Scientific Dictionary.—A series of studies which may eventually lead to the compilation of a new comprehensive Russian-English scientific dictionary are being undertaken by Columbia University of New York under contract with the National Science Foundation.

During and since World War II the Russian scientific and technical vocabulary has expanded considerably, and English-speaking scientists have increas-

ingly felt the need for more adequate specialized dictionaries than are now available. Support of the Columbia project is one phase of a larger program of the Foundation to facilitate the translation and distribution of Russian scientific information among scientists in the United States.

Board Members Reappointed.—Eight members of the 24-member National Science Board of the National Science Foundation, whose initial two-year terms expired on May 10, 1952, have been reappointed by the President for full six-year terms, ending May 10, 1948. The appointments were confirmed by the Senate.

Members of the Board receiving reappointments are: Sophie D. Aberle, Robert P. Barnes, Chester I. Barnard, Detlev W. Bronk, Gerty T. Cori, Charles Dollard, Robert F. Loeb, and Andrey A. Potter.

Atomic Energy Developments Abroad

European Council for Nuclear Research.—The Council of Representatives of European States for Planning an International Laboratory and Organizing other forms of cooperation in Nuclear Research ended a three-day meeting at Copenhagen during early July, at which time it adopted a work plan and preliminary budget estimates.

These were based on a survey of the present situation in the various fields of nuclear research made at a two-weeks' conference of more than 40 physicists, organized by Niels Bohr, immediately before the Council meeting.

The German representative, Werner Heisenberg, presented to the Council the survey which made special reference to the problems that could be most fruitfully approached through European cooperation. The report declared that the center of interest in atomic physics has moved from the nucleus to the elementary particles. More information was needed about the properties of these elementary particles, and to collect data, investigations would have to be carried out with particles of high energy.

The Council approved this report, and asked its four study groups to prepare for its next meeting, to be held in Amsterdam in October, a preliminary study on the proposed international nuclear research laboratory, for submission to member governments.

Dr. R. Fry (U.K.), who attended the meeting of the council as an official observer from the Royal Society, said that the United Kingdom was deeply interested in this form of European collaboration, but that it had not formally committed itself to the Council.

A number of British experts and consultants, however, are to work in the various study groups. A decision about the location of the proposed laboratory is expected to be taken at the next meeting of the council. So far the Swiss government alone has offered a site for the laboratory,

but Denmark has reserved the right to make a similar proposal. It is also expected that it will be possible to hold the meeting of plenipotentiaries at which the laboratory will be created officially in May, 1953.

The Council decided that it shall be known in the future as the European Council for Nuclear Research and to use the abbreviation CERN. The establishment of the Council, which has been set up with the collaboration of Unesco, marks the first time European states have set up a body responsible for organizing active scientific research in common. The agreement stipulates in particular that all eleven countries will permit free and complete exchange of all information on this subject coming out of national research.

British Atomic Weapons Test.—The British monthly *Atomics*, in an editorial in its July issue, indicates regret that it has been decided that no parliamentary, press, or foreign observers will be allowed to be present at the test of the first British atomic weapon, which is due to take place at the Monte Bello Islands off the northwest coast of Australia.

The editorial points out further that while the USAEC has previously been criticized for not permitting British observers to watch any of the more recent tests in Nevada or in the Pacific, that refusal has not been extended to members of the American press or legislature.

Australian Uranium.—The N.Y. *Herald Tribune*, in a story on July 13 by Massey Stanley datelined Canberra, quotes two "well-substantiated reports" that uranium exports will be worth 5 million pounds to Australia in the first year of the recently concluded agreement with the USAEC and that ore from the Rum Jungle area contains at least 2 per cent uranium, compared with up to 1 per cent in ore from the Belgian Congo and Canada.

Although actual production figures have been listed as secret, the story quotes recent statements in the Australian parliament that Australia has sufficient uranium for "thousands of years use of atomic power."

Uranium from South African Gold Mines.—South Africa will be ready to begin the production of uranium from gold-bearing ores by the end of September, according to a report by the *Manchester Guardian* South African correspondent. Uranium oxide, in the liquid state, is extracted by a secret process from gold "tailings," a mining residue, and dehydrated before the product is shipped. The plant, which has been jointly financed by the United States and Great Britain, has been erected at the West Rand Consolidated mine; and is the first of several to be established at South African gold mines over a wide area; the dispersal of this activity has been planned to lessen vulnerability. South Africa is under agreement to sell her uranium product to the U.S. and Britain.

Australian Cyclo-Synchrotron.—*Science Newsletter* on July 19 reports that a cyclo-synchrotron is to be installed at the Research School of Physical Sciences now under construction in Australia near Canberra. The machine was invented by Professor Marcus L. E. Oliphant, who expects the massive instrument, when fully completed in 1955, to accelerate atomic particles to more than 2 billion electron volts.

Memorial in Hiroshima.—On the seventh anniversary of Hiroshima, survivors of that day met silently before the new memorial erected by the people of Hiroshima. The memorial bears the following inscription which reads in translation: "Sleep quietly. The mistake will not be repeated."

Hydrogen Bomb Rumor in Italy.—In a story on July 28 the *Giornale d'Italia* reported that an Italian scientist, Ubaldo Loschi had discovered the secret of the hydrogen bomb and that the first bomb of this kind had been exploded.

On July 30 the A.P. quoted Dr. Loschi as denying that he had touched off a hydrogen bomb. The Italian atomic scientist, however, said that he had devised a new formula which will help produce "atomic energy in a continuous and controlled manner for industrial and peaceful purposes, but not for bombs."

M. MINNAERT

(Continued from page 249)

This little incident of the travel grant and the visa was of course painful to me, but I never bear grudges about personal offenses. If the U. S. government did not wish me to come over, it should have simply refused the travel grant and the visa from the start and it should have taken full responsibility for this refusal.

My story has some importance only in so far as it clearly shows that the U. S. government seems to be afraid of freely expressed ideas and of the free interchange of opinion. This seems to be confirmed by recent similar cases, and I do not see how this conclusion can be avoided.

This must be a warning to all Americans to whom freedom of thought is still held as a high value.

Needless to say, I shall go on admiring very many cultural and technical achievements of your great country and maintaining excellent relations with my astronomical colleagues there, whose friendship is dear to me.

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