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# Bomb in A Kleenex Box\* Or I was a teenage atomic spy The Ted Hall Story

For centuries, scholars and pundits have debated the major causes behind historical events of a seminal and momentous nature. In recent times, select individuals have claimed that geography, the pursuit of oil and even the birth order of major historical figures were main sources behind many of the major conflicts of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. (1)

Many of the above theories have some basis in fact, and all of them have in some sense been a part of the make-up of the "forces of history" both in modern times and antiquity. (2)

It is certainly true that history is indeed caused by climatic events, boom and bust cycles involving much sought after resources, and family squabbles. However, while it is undeniable that history is propelled often by larger than life forces and events, it is also instructive to remember historical change can also be brought about by the decisions of ordinary human beings. This point is often forgotten when people recall historic events. As time passes, even the most passionate teachers of history tend to view major events on a consistently macro level.

For Example, World War II is often viewed as a series of battles that eventually culminated in the triumph of the Allies. While this is certainly the case, it is also true that the Allied victory was not due solely to some Hegelian dialectic that was beyond the bounds of human control. In addition, it was also because of a host of decisions made by political luminaries such as FDR, as well as by average people who, at a crucial historical juncture, made a critical choice that had ramifications far beyond the initial decision (K. H. Timmerman at the Bridge at Remagen). (3)

In the end then, it is the decisions of individuals who drive history. Sometimes as noted, these decisions are made by individuals of such stature that their names are forever associated with the event

in question; on other occasions, these cataclysmic decisions are made by "bit" players, who may or may not receive the credit they deserve for their role (depending on the extent of historical research done on the event).

With this in mind this paper will attempt to shed light on the historical issue of how the Soviet Union came to acquire the scientific information it required to develop an atomic weapon. Most importantly however, it will view this question through the life and activities of one Theodore Holtzberg or as he would one day become known, Ted Hall.

Hall was by no means the only individual involved in the Manhattan Project to become a spy for Stalin's spy network, but his story is an interesting one precisely because, unlike Klaus Fuchs or any of the major players in the series of events that brought the bomb to the Soviets, Hall at the time of his espionage activities, was still very much wet behind the ears.

While he was beyond a doubt a bright and talented student in the realm of physics and mathematics at the time that he conducted his espionage activities, Ted had done little to nothing of note in his life but do well in school. Yet before his career as a spy would come to a close, he would be hugely successful in forwarding vast amounts of critical information to his Soviet handlers. Even more amazing perhaps is that, despite the fact that the authorities would come to discover his activities, he would not die in the clutches of the electric chair, as had been the fate of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, but would live out his life as a free man in the United Kingdom and die a peaceful death at the age of 74. (4)

This paper will explore the events that formed the context for Hall's transformation from a schoolboy wunderkind into a valuable asset in the Kremlin's attempts to develop an atomic weapon. It will also explore the reasons for his decision to aid the Comintern, the methods he employed in achieving his goal as well as the effect that his work as a Soviet spy had on his "normal" life. When I am done I hope not only to have provided the reader some insight into the mind and methods of Ted Hall, but also to have shown, that the decisions of one individual at a crucial time can have an indelible effect on the history.

# Beginnings

The circumstances of his birth would guarantee that Theodore Holtzberg (Hall) would be a child of the Great Depression. The progeny of Russian immigrants who had been forced to flee the Czar's pogroms in the early 1890's, Hall's father and grandfather were furriers who had set up shop in New York's teeming East Side. Initially his father, Barney Holtzberg, had been successful enough to move his family into a well-appointed three-story home in Far Rockaway on the South Shore of Long Island. However, after the seminal events of 1929, there was a marked reduction in the demand for luxury items such as fur coats, and the Holtzbergs were forced to move back into a cramped Manhattan apartment in Washington Heights. (5)

At the time that the senior Holtzberg had been forced to move his family back to Manhattan, Ted was almost 5. In many ways he had been a miracle child. He had been born in October of 1925. In October of 1914, his mother had given birth to twins; it had not been an easy delivery. Hall's younger brother Edward had survived, but the other twin had died. After the traumatic event, doctors informed his mother Rose, that her childbearing days had come to a close. (6) Ted's unexpected arrival proved them wrong.

Despite having to move back to a lesser situation, the Holtzberg's were far better off than many families during that difficult time. Ted and the family had a roof over their head and adequate food and clothing during the dark days of the 30s. Even so, like many Americans of the time, the family harbored anger and resentment at the system that had failed so many and the political and business leaders who they felt were responsible for the disaster. Much of this resentment was caused by the utter incapability of the upper crust to acknowledge that there even was a problem, and as was the case with so many during the period, "The effects of the depression pulled the Holtzberg family more firmly to the left." (7)

Calvin Coolidge had once noted that "the man who builds a factory builds a temple and the man who works for him worship's there. Silent Cal had gone further to proclaim that the "business of America is business. (8)

This adage had become a true article of faith. When the bottom fell out of the financial underpinnings of the republic, it was not surprising that President Hoover would opine that the best way to get America back to work was to attend to the needs of those who owned the factories and businesses. By helping those who controlled the "means of production" the nation would in time be able to provide real relief from the economic devastation that had brought a quarter of the nation to abject poverty and devastation.

In keeping with this theory, Hoover believed that massive government assistance programs would sap the initiative of the working man. Despite stark evidence to the contrary, Hoover held that although there were many in need, it would be inappropriate for their salvation to come from the government. If there was to be any kind of assistance programs they should be provided by churches

and charities. Little did he realize the horrible state of affairs that existed? People were starving. Children were particularly affected. (9)

The desperateness of the times is best illustrated by the story of the school teacher who, hoping to remedy one of her student's apparent lethargy and sleepiness, suggested that the little girl go home and get something to eat. The student replied that she could not, because "it was her sister's day to eat." Lillian Wald, a well respected social worker of the time, asked the question "Have you ever seen the uncontrolled trembling of parents who have starved themselves for weeks so that their children might not go hungry. Hoover remained oblivious, noting, "nobody is actually starving," and that, "the hobos... are better fed than they have ever been." (10)

Hoover was not alone in his view that that the country could work its way out of this "depression." Newspaper headlines in June of 1932 noted that "Business Pulse Beating Faster: Factories Opening All Over the Country," and "Revival in Trade Gains Momentum Throughout the East: Road is Clear to Prosperity Capital Feels." The crime was, as William Manchester notes in his work *The Glory and the Dream*, that nowhere was there any mention that at the time, in the United States, the richest country in the world, 15 million men were looking for jobs that did not exist (11)

As noted, due to the industriousness of his father, the Holtzbergs had been able to escape the fate of so many less fortunate souls. Even so, the world of his youth was a world in which millions were beginning to ask questions about business, capitalism and the so called benefits of the "American way" that had never been asked before. Radicalism had been a force in America for quite some time. But the Great Depression was a vehicle that changed conversations on "parlor socialism" into real discussions about the role of government, and the responsibility that a society had towards its citizens.

Was there a better way? Was there a system that would allow people to live in freedom and also meet their basic needs?

One cannot say for sure, but it is important to note the effects of the Great Depression on the forming of young Theodore Holtzberg's view of the world. Had he been raised in a different time and place, it is likely that spying for the Soviet Union would have been the last thing on his mind. But this was certainly not the case. Even though he was not directly affected, Ted must have sensed that life was not always just and that like Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR), one could not sit back and expect the problems of the world to be fixed by some invisible hand; sometimes one had to take action.

#### Whiz Kid

Almost from his first day of school, the youngest of Barney Holtzburgs's children proved to be an academic whiz kid of the highest order. To say that he was precocious would be a gross understatement. Ted whipped through P.S. 173, the local public school almost without breaking a sweat. By junior high he had skipped three grades and been appointed a teacher's helper in many of his classes. In Miss Lilienthal's Algebra class he would often be sent to a quiet area of the classroom to tutor classmates who were 3 years his senior. (12)

But there was something else about young Ted in addition to his apparent academic talents. Ted was not one to accept conventional thinking or authority unless he was convinced that the statements and corollaries being thrust upon him were logical and fit in with his understanding of the physical world.

He would become infuriated with his mother when she ended arguments with the admonition, "do it because I said to do it." Hall himself noted that even at a young age he was aware that issuing commands was not a permissible way to win a logical argument and that while he may not have triumphed in every childhood verbal altercation with his mother, he always felt that he had at least defeated her on a logical basis. (13)

In 1937, at the age of 12, the budding scholar applied for one of the 80 spots in Townsend Harris High School, then an elite public school for boys. Three years later he was smart enough to gain initial acceptance at Columbia University, but this college career came to an abrupt halt when they learned he was only 14. (14)

### I Felt That I had a Social Debt

It was during this time that Hall began to explore and embrace the progressive ideas that would one day prompt him to take steps to "save the world from destruction." He enrolled at Queens College and, in 1942, transferred to Harvard. As noted, the depression was not just an economic event; it was for Ted, as it was for millions, an education in learning about the causes of economic injustice and the excesses of capitalism. (15)

Like many younger siblings, Ted looked up to and was greatly influenced by his older brother Edward. It would be Ed's influence that led him to join the leftist American Student Union at the age of 13. It was through Ed that he learned that the depression was not just a word one read in the newspaper but a set of economic conditions that made life difficult for the common man. It was also

during this time that Edward would, much to the chagrin of their parents, convince Ted to legally change his name to Hall. Edwards's action was based purely on the notion that the move would be a valuable tool in combating the all too pervasive anti-Semitism for the time. Eventually even their parents would agree that both would have an easier time gaining employment if their last name was Hall rather than Holtzberg.

The Hall brothers were to be admired for their initiative, but in the 30's a man needed more than a change of his last name to find work. His brother, like millions of others, was struggling to build a life for himself. Ed was a student at the City College of New York but needed a night job to support himself. In an effort to make ends meet, his brother worked for a time as a shoe salesman, attempting to sell his wares to people who, like him, often times had no idea where their next meal was coming from. (16)

Ed saw in FDR a man who appreciated the fact that government had a role in procuring economic justice. But again, like others, he also considered that bigger ideas than those contained in the New Deal might be required to make the world a place where everyone could reach their potential. It would be Ed who would expose him to the Communist Manifesto and other left leaning literature.

From his brother, young Ted developed a healthy fear of Fascism, not only in far away places like Germany, Italy and Spain, but also in America. Apparently much of the literature Ed brought home contained stories of secret groups within the U.S. military who at a given time would be tasked with rounding up dissenters and placing them in concentration camps. Hall is on record as noting that to his mind these schemes were fairly well documented, with evidence of existing plots. Even years later, Hall was of the opinion that the threat of a fascist takeover in the U.S. to his mind had been quite real.

This fear and mistrust of fascism was often accompanied by the belief that the main bulwark against the triumph of a perceived unstoppable wave of harsh right wing dictatorships was not the United States, but the Soviet Union.

Thus, like many bright young and talented people of his time, Ted Hall's view of the world was formed by the notion that the Great Depression was prima facie evidence that capitalism, as it was understood by men like Coolidge and Hoover, was incapable of providing economic justice to the masses. In addition, if justice was to prevail against the siren call of fascism that so much of the world seemed to be embracing at the time, then it would likely be the ideas of Marx and Engels and not Madison and Hamilton that would need to be embraced. (18)

There is no evidence that Hall was a confirmed Marxist, however there is no doubt that he was strongly influenced by his brother's questioning of the status quo and the tenets of Marxist ideology.

(19)

Hall was certainly not alone at the time. There were many in the academic and intellectual world that had fully embraced the idea that Marxism held the key to the future of mankind. If one reads the books Witness and The God that failed it becomes apparent that at least initially many bright intelligent people of the time were so effected by the negative aspects of the industrial revolution and lack of substantive action during the Depression that they not only embraced Marxism as a political philosophy but as an article of faith. (20)

Again, the evidence indicates that, unlike the young Whittaker Chambers, the young Hall saw the USSR and bolshevism not as a panacea for the ills of mankind, but as a brake on other potentially harsh solutions that might prompt America to fall under the dark shadow of fascism. Like many at the time, Hall would likely be characterized more as a "progressive" than a Marxist, but his refusal to

grant his full intellectual imprimatur to the goals of the Comintern would not prevent him from working with them. (21)

Despite its many positive points, America was in Hall's mind as susceptible to Fascism as any nation, and if America could be seduced, then there would be no hope for the future of mankind. With this in mind, Hall would, in time, use the ambitions of the USSR to protect the world against this possibility. Thus while at Harvard, Hall intended to not only pursue the study of theoretical physics, he also noted at the time that "I...felt that I had a social debt, that people should do things which would benefit humanity." (22)

#### Harvard

Harvard University, as it has been for countless numbers of its graduates, was a bit of a watershed for the precocious Hall. There he would continue his superlative academic work. As a result of his knowledge of relativity and quantum mechanics he was awarded a special scholarship and allowed to skip his first year of classes.

At the time that Hall matriculated at Harvard, if one was a physics student, the goal was to make it into Professor John Van Vleck's class. Van Vleck was regarded as one of the foremost experts in the realm of quantum physics, and his grasp of the subject was not only appreciated by the University, but also by Robert Oppenheimer, the head scientist of the Manhattan Project, the US Government's effort to build an atomic device. In time the professor would be secretly selected by Oppneheimer to work with him on the project.

Hall thrived under Van Vleck's tutelage. As would be expected, Van Vleck was incredibly impressed with the fledgling genius's knowledge and grasp of subject matter that was beyond the grasp of most physicists. (23)

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In time, Van Vleck would recommend Hall to Oppenheimer. So it was that in January of 1944, Hall, at the tender age of 19, found himself headed for the high desert of New Mexico. Once there he would work in an isolated location called Los Alamos, the town, that housed the best and the brightest minds that America and the free world could offer in the realm of nuclear physics. Los Alamos had literally risen out of the dust and cactus of the New Mexico desert. Here Ted would work with other brilliant men to accomplish one goal. It was the same goal that had prompted Einstein to pen a letter to FDR, namely that of beating the Fueher's henchmen to the punch in the construction of a nuclear device. (24)

In a few very short years, Hall had gone from a child wunderkind to working on what was one of the most important scientific challenges in the history of mankind.

Hall's time in the classroom at Harvard was well spent, and he would bring the knowledge and insights he gained there with him to Los Alamos. But, Hall would bring to the high desert, not only his scientific brilliance, but also the aforementioned hatred of fascism, the desire for a better world, and perhaps most importantly, the thoughts and influences of his former roommate at Harvard, a quiet reclusive individual by the name of Saville Sax. (25)

Sax, like Hall, was the product of Russian immigrants, Sax also had an interest in the physics, but that was where the similarity between the two ended. Sax's family had never been as successful as Hall's; the Sax's had never really assimilated. This provided Saville with an even greater contempt for capitalism and bourgeois middle class values. In short, Saville may have been shy and reclusive in

many aspects of his life, but his less assertive demeanor masked a dedicated intellectual zeal for the ideals and goals of the Communist party. (26)

Shortly before Hall left for Los Alamos, Sax caught wind that his roommate might possibly be involved in some type of secret military project. Sensing that this could be an opportunity, Sax whispered to him that "If this turns out to be a weapon that is really awful what you should do is tell the Russians." Apparently at the time, Hall admonished Sax to stop talking and firmly advised him that he should never, ever mention the subject to anyone. What Hall did not do was tell him that his idea was out of the question. (27)

## **Implosion**

At the time that Sax proffered his advice to Ted Hall, he would never know just how much help his roommate would be to the USSR in their efforts to build a workable atomic device. It is a matter of debate to this day how much the espionage that took place during the Manhattan project helped the Russians, but no one disputes that for both the Russians and the Allies, the problem of implosion was a major hurdle to overcome. (28)

In layman's terms the creation of a nuclear reaction/explosion is only part of the challenge in the building of an atomic device. The key is that you want to be able to live to tell the tale after it has occurred. In short, it is not enough to cause an atomic reaction, you have to harness it. In military terms this calls for designing a device that you can use against your enemy but on your terms and at a time and location of your choosing. (29) This means that the trigger that detonates the device must be something that you can control up to the point of delivery. This was as a major issue, and a huge stumbling block in the effort to complete the project. Figuring out the best way to construct the bomb so it would explode at the bidding of those whose had delivered was key. Ted Hall, due to his

enormous grasp of the subject matter, and partly due to luck was assigned to the implosion problem. Much of the information that he would eventually provide to the Soviets would be almost exclusively concerned with this crucial issue. (30)

## I was a Teenage Spy

In October of 1944, Ted Hall decided to use his two weeks of annual leave to travel back to New York to celebrate his 19<sup>th</sup> birthday. During this brief time back in New York, he made the fateful decision to share his knowledge of the Manhattan Project with the Soviet Union. Choosing what he believed to be the path of least resistance, he contacted the New York office of the Russian trade organization Amtorg. Hall believed that contacting a business rather than a military or diplomatic contact would provide him some cover. He was encouraged in these efforts by his former roommate, Mr. Sax. (31)

Initially, the Russian espionage officials were more than suspicious of both Hall and Sax, believing them to be FBI plants; however in time Hall was steered to a Russian "journalist" with sufficient scientific knowledge to verify that Hall really knew his stuff and was not a plant at all, but a potential goldmine of information.

Once their credibility had been established, plans were made to have Sax meet Hall in Albuquerque, the nearest city to the Los Alamos installation, to hand over the critical details of his work. Once Sax received the information from Hall, he would return to New York and provide it to the Soviets. (32)

In November of 1944, Sax and Hall literally bumped into one another at the prearranged Albuquerque meeting place. History records that their meeting was so amateurish that it would have appalled their KGB handlers. While the meeting may have received low marks for style, it was

nonetheless successful. Sax returned to New York with a hand-written explanation of a bold new idea for assembling critical mass so rapidly that the risk of a fizzle could be eliminated. The idea would very soon become the foundation of the plutonium bomb. (33)

Later, Hall would meet again in the same city with one Lona Cohen. Cohen had been a water carrier in the realm of espionage for the Soviets for years. Like Sax she was a confirmed Marxist and an intrepid spy. During their meeting Hall provided her with additional papers that dealt with his work. Soon after the exchange, Cohen would be involved in one of the most unique espionage incidents of the Cold War.

After receiving the documents, Cohen hurried back to her boarding house and stuffed the papers in the bottom of a Kleenex box. She then hurried to the train station, for her return trip to New York. Once at the station, she soon realized that a massive security check was being conducted and that passengers were being searched as they entered the cars.

Understanding the risk, she slowed her pace, trying to time her arrival at the entrance to the passenger car shortly before the train was due to pull out. She arrived at the door with minutes to spare and immediately began fumbling through her coat and handbag allegedly looking for her "lost" ticket. While she was conducting her search, she handed the Kleenex box to the policeman who was accompanying the Federal Agent conducting the search. When she heard, the cry "all aboard," she miraculously produced her ticket and stepped into the car purposely leaving the Kleenex box in the hands of the constable. As she expected, the member of Albuquerque's finest called out to her, "Madam you forgot this" and handed the box up to her through the window. Cohen had pulled it off. She had put some of the most sensitive secrets of the Manhattan project in the hands of the authorities and they had handed them back to her with a wink and a smile. (34)

One important point that has yet to be mentioned is that Hall's time at Los Alamos was not spent in a civilian capacity. Ted Hall was of draft age and in good health, so he was mustered into the Army. He was (as one might expect) the most unlikely of soldiers, refusing at times to say "sir" and asking special permission to wear a yarmulke. In a regular army unit his lack of military bearing would probably have landed him in the stockade, but Los Alamos was not Ft. Benning and the fact that millions of American boys could be taught to fire a M1 rifle, but very few had the wherewithal to help build a workable trigger for a nuclear device. (35)

So it was that Ted's fear of fascism and the desire to ensure a level playing field on the world scene culminated in the transference of critical atomic research information to the Soviet Union. As noted in William Manchester's *Glory and the Dream*, historical experts debate to this day how much the Soviet espionage ring that existed in the United States during the 30s and 40s contributed to the USSR's efforts. Perhaps the information gleaned shortened the time or provided the one missing piece of the atomic puzzle that was needed. Beyond dispute however, is that the Soviets did develop an atomic device, and that the information they received from individuals such as Hall most certainly did not hurt their efforts. (36)

## End of the Line

On one level, Hall's "career" as a spy ended in 1949, when events made it clear to him that his zeal to ensure that Russia had the bomb had not served as a brake on the fascist tendencies of the United States, but had in fact contributed to an increase in the application of physics to military projects in both nations. Disillusioned, he severed his relationship with the ring. (37)

Were it not for the fact that American codebreakers had been working assiduously to crack the coded diplomatic dispatches between Moscow and New York, Ted Hall might have been known only as one of the many gifted scientists who worked on the Manhattan project.

In 1949, one of the stellar members of the United States Army's code-breaking element at Arlington Hall, a former girls school located the Virginia Suburbs, was one Meredith Gardner. During the late 40's Gardner began to make some progress in the cracking of the Soviet dispatches. The project on which Gardner was working had been dubbed VENONA. The name, like many codewords, stood for nothing in particular. Its purpose was to crack the one-time pad system that the Soviets used to encrypt the messages. In short, the code clerks tasked with enciphering would use a series of 5 number groups as substitutes for the words. Then, using the one-time pad they would add another predesignated 5-digit number. They would then add the two numbers using non -carrying arithmetic (no number higher than 9 was carried forward) to get the final number. (38)

The key to solving VENONA had its beginnings in the discovery by a young code clerk by the name of Cecil Phillips, who noticed, that the Soviet clerks, perhaps sometime in 1942 when the Russians were on the run from the Nazi onslaught, had used the one-time pads, more than one time. This provided a small but critical opening to solving the code, and Meredith Gardner had made the most of it. So much so that by 1949, Gardner had been able to decipher enough of the messages that he was able to put the FBI on the trail of more than 100 Soviet spies, among them Klaus Fuchs, Julius Rosenberg, David Greenglass, Ted Hall and Saville Sax. Both Hall and Sax denied any involvement, bur both were put under surveillance. In the end however, the Bureau was so wrapped up in the pursuit of the Rosenberg case that they failed to direct the full force of their efforts toward Hall.

In addition, by the time Hoover's G-men closed in on Hall, he was an openly left-wing activist who could be described as anything but covert. The Government remained highly suspicious, but they had little or nothing to prosecute except for the less than incriminating VENONA transcripts. The entire inquiry was eventually abandoned in 1951.

Hall continued to work in the field of medical research in the New York area until 1962.

Later that year he accepted an invitation to join the Cavendish laboratory in Cambridge England. During his time in the UK he was questioned by the authorities, but, no formal action was ever taken against him. On a few occasions Ted even returned to America to visit family and friends. He spent the remainder of his life conducting scientific research at Cambridge. He died a quiet death in November of 1999. (39)

#### **Conclusions**

So what are we to conclude regarding the late Ted Hall? Was he in fact the perfect spy? Did he get away with it? In some sense Hall led an incredible life. To his credit he was a man of great conviction; some might call him naïve, but he was very much a product of his times. Hall himself remained resolute to the end,

In the mid- nineties he told the authors of the book *Bombshell* that if he had not done what he was alleged to have done, "Maybe the course of history, if unchanged, could have led to the an atomic war in the past 50 years...If I helped to prevent that, I accept the charge." (40)

Some would say that Hall's good intentions do not excuse his assistance to a nation that by and large was an enemy of FDR's four freedoms. There is some truth in this. But, Hall was one of those rare

souls who, like Klaus Fuchs, felt that it was always a person's first responsibility to follow their own conscience.

On one level, Hall appeared to have led a charmed life. After all he was able to beat a very big rap." But this author is not so sure. It is pure conjecture, but despite the fact that he never went to jail, this author suspects that his activities in providing atomic information to the Russians might well troubled him more than he let on. After Hall fled America, he became in many ways, a "man without a country." Hall must have also been aware of the Hiss case, and the fact that the former high-level state department official was prosecuted years later for his activities with the Soviets (it must be noted that Hiss was eventually convicted of perjury and not espionage). Being a brilliant man, Ted must have been, at the very least, aware of the possibility that some latter-day Dick Nixon might latch onto some obscure piece of information and work with the British government to have him extradited to America for prosecution. (41)

But perhaps the most troubling aspect of Hall's life is the fact that the human mind naturally seeks closure. Almost everyone has an issue in his or her life that is never totally resolved. Sometimes the challenge is family related or perhaps tied to some perceived inability to overcome a known personal fault. Even in these fairly mundane things the inability to make peace with oneself makes it impossible to live a settled life.

When the issue at hand prevents you from being at peace with yourself, and also has the potential to send you to jail for a very long time, the inability to reach closure can be psychologically cataclysmic. If Hall had an issue with this, he never let on.

The previous statement from *Bombshell* regarding his attitude toward his espionage activities is prima facie evidence that at least publicly he went to his grave wanting the world to know that he had no regrets.

The issue of his personal reconciliation is now left to historians.

Harry Truman once said that the best way to live your life was to figure out the right thing to do and then take action based on your decision. (42) Truman would probably turn over in his grave if anyone related his advice to the Ted Hall story, but the fact is that Hall did what he thought was best, and in doing so, he demonstrated once again that history is not always made by kings, princes, and presidents but also by bright people from the "rank and file" of life," who decide to have the courage of their own convictions.

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