

4. It does not follow at all that the "leadership" in that part of Europe should be left to Russia. Such a solution would be as harmful as acquiescence to German ambitions. It would be dangerous for all the countries concerned, including Russia herself. The nations of Central and South-Eastern Europe have their national and cultural individualities as fully developed as those of the nations of Western Europe. The ideals for which the Allies are fighting the present war would be violated if these nations did not recover full independence. There can be no independence under the "leadership" of Russia—a great Power which pursues a policy aiming at the introduction of the Communist system in the neighbouring countries, with the purpose of incorporating them into the Soviet Union. Moreover, the inclusion of Central and South-Eastern Europe in the economic system of the U.S.S.R. would in the nature of things impose on the countries concerned a lower standard of living and isolate them from international trade.

The justified desire of the nations of Central and South-Eastern Europe to set themselves free from Soviet rule would provide Germany with opportunities for intrigue and scheming in favour of eccentric and irredentist tendencies within that region. Consequently, the Russian "leadership" in Central and South-Eastern Europe would be a source of weakness for Russia and an encouragement to aggression for Germany.

5. The independence of the countries of that part of Europe from their powerful neighbours can be achieved mainly through their own endeavours. They will have not only to settle the controversies which had hitherto separated them, but to unite their economic, political and military resources. This is in the interest of all the United Nations, who will no doubt help to achieve as quickly as possible the consolidation of Central and South-Eastern Europe.

6. The countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe may be organised, either in one federal union or in two unions collaborating with each other. The second alternative might be desirable if the inclusion of a large number of countries of different structure within one federation or confederation should make it weak and easily disrupted. In that case, the first, strictly Central European union would comprise Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Roumania; while the second would include the Balkan countries: Yugoslavia, Albania, Bulgaria and Greece (possibly also Turkey).

7. This *bloc* would collaborate with the Scandinavian and Baltic countries and would form—in co-operation with the English-speaking nations and with France—one of the main pillars of European peace. Being by its very nature a constructive and peaceful organisation, the central *bloc* would not have any aggressive designs against Russia. On the contrary, it would serve as a natural shield against any possible recurrence of German aggression. The central *bloc* would also maintain correct neighbourly relations with disarmed Germany. It would be one of the important elements in the world organisation which is expected to be established after the war.

8. Lithuania—a country closely associated by its history, traditions and culture with Poland and Central Europe—should belong to the central *bloc*. Only close co-operation with Poland can guarantee Lithuania her national independence. The other countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe are in a similar position. The events of 1939–40 have proved that a downfall of Poland causes the inevitable loss of their independence to all the other nations of this region. Poland holds a key position in this part of Europe.

9. The participation of Austria in the *bloc* of Central and South-Eastern Europe is politically undesirable, because Austria would certainly become—later, if not immediately—an outpost of German influence. For the same reason the idea of a Danubian Union, embracing the lands of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, but excluding Poland and most of the Baltic countries, should not be adopted. It is a plan supported by Germany. Such a union would provide Austria with opportunities for sponsoring Hungarian revisionism, and it might easily become the instrument of a revived German imperialism.

10. Central and South-Eastern Europe would become one economic area, which would have world importance owing to its size and geographical position, linking the west and east of Europe, as well as forming a bridge to the Middle East. The population of this area, which totals over 100 millions, and its natural wealth warrant the prosperity of such an economic unit.

11. The economic consolidation of the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe would be achieved by establishing uniform economic legislation,